

# THE SCHOOL OF SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

In August, 1932, the School ceased to be a department of King's College and acquired the status of an independent department (or institute) of the University of London. The new Council elected a Committee of Management from among its members, and subsequently appointed a Publications Committee. The Standing Committee of the Staff was constituted the Academic Board of the School.

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*Comparative Slavonic Philology* : N. B. JOPSON, M.A. (Reader).  
*Slavonic Literatures* : Professor JANKO LAVRIN (Honorary Lecturer)  
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### PROFESSOR PARES.

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*Russian Literature* : G. STRUVE, B.A. (Lecturer).  
*Russian History* : Sir BERNARD PARES, K.B.E., M.A. (Professor).  
*Russian Economic Conditions* : S. P. TURIN (Lecturer).

## *Central European Department.*

### Professor SETON-WATSON.

- Central European History* : R. W. SETON-WATSON, D.Litt., Ph.D., F.B.A. (Masaryk Professor).  
*Czechoslovak Language and Literature* : P. SELVER, B.A. (Lecturer).  
*Serbo-Croat Language and Literature* : D. SUBOTIĆ, Ph.D., B.Litt. (Reader).

The session 1932-33 has been a busy one from the administrative point of view, and steps are being taken to make the work of the

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School and the subjects it covers more widely known. The School offered to send a Lecturer in Russian Language to hold classes in Russian at University College and at the Imperial College of Science. As a result a class of seven students was formed at University College, while at the Imperial College it is hoped that a class will be formed next session. There was a slight increase in the number of students, the total being 86: the following table will show their distribution:—

D.Lit .. .. .	2
Ph.D. .. .	7
M.A. .. .	2
B.A. Honours (Russian) .. .	6
B.A. General (Russian) .. .	1
Academic Diploma in Slavonic Studies (Russian)	1
Intermediate B.A. (Russian) .. .	2
Diploma in Journalism (Russian) .. .	2
Seminar in Near Eastern History (B.A. Hons. special subject) .. .	16
Officers attending intensive courses in Russian and Polish .. .	11
Occasional students of Russian .. .	31
„ „ „ Serbo-Croat .. .	3
„ „ „ Czech .. .	2
„ „ „ Polish .. .	1

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86

The following Public Lectures were delivered in the School during the session 1932-33:—

Sir BERNARD PARES, "Contemporary Russia" (19 lectures).

Professor SETON-WATSON, "Austria under Francis and Metternich" (10 lectures).

"The Origins of the Czechoslovak State" (10 lectures).

N. B. JOPSON, "The Slavonic Peoples before their Dispersion."  
"The Slavs and Western Europe a Thousand Years Ago."

W. BOROWY, "Cultural Relations between Poland and England" (9 lectures).

G. STRUVE, "Russian Literary Criticism" (4 lectures).  
"Some Contemporary Russian Writers" (4 lectures).

S. P. TURIN, "The Social-Economic Conditions of Russia Today" (2 public lectures and 7 seminar classes).

"The Economic and Political Structure of Russia Today" (1 public lecture and 8 seminar classes).

"The Agrarian Revolution in Russia and Collectivisation."

J. HANAK, "Bohemian History in the Nineteenth Century" (4 lectures).

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July

# THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW.

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## POETRY

### THE PROPHET.

*Translated from the Russian of PUSHKIN*<sup>1</sup>

By MAURICE BARING.

With fainting soul athirst for Grace,  
I wandered in a desert place,  
And at the crossing of the ways  
I saw the sixfold Seraph blaze ;  
He touched mine eyes with fingers light  
As sleep that cometh in the night :  
And like a frightened eagle's eyes,  
They opened wide with prophecies.  
He touched mine ears, and they were drowned  
With tumult and a roaring sound :  
I heard convulsion in the sky,  
And flights of angel hosts on high,  
And beasts that move beneath the sea,  
And the sap creeping in the tree.  
And bending to my mouth he wrung  
From out of it my sinful tongue,  
And all its lies and idle rust,  
And 'twixt my lips a-perishing  
A subtle serpent's forkèd sting  
With right hand wet with blood he thrust.

<sup>1</sup> Pushkin, who was one of the very greatest poets of the beginning of the 19th century, has had to wait for a poet to translate him. In this most remarkable translation of the most inspired of Pushkin's poems, the inspiration of the original is carried over in full for the English reader.—ED.

And with his sword my breast he cleft,  
 My quaking heart thereout he reft,  
 And in the yawning of my breast  
 A coal of living fire he pressed.  
 Then in the desert I lay dead,  
 And God called unto me and said :  
 " Arise, and let My voice be heard,  
 Charged with My Will go forth and span  
 The land and sea, and let My Word  
 Lay waste with fire the heart of man."

#### PASSAGES FROM PUSHKIN

*Translated from the Russian by OLIVER ELTON.*

#### TATYANA TO ONEGIN.

*(Evgeny Onegin. Canto III, 31.)*

THAT I am writing you this letter  
 Will tell you all; and you are free  
 Now to despise me; and how better,  
 I wonder, could you punish me?  
 But you, if you are sparing ever  
 One drop of pity for my fate,  
 Will not have left me desolate.  
 I wished at first, believe me, never  
 To say a word, and then my shame  
 Had been unknown to you; small blame  
 Could I have hoped, but once a week  
 Here in our village, when you came,  
 To see you, and to hear you speak,  
 And pass a single word of greeting,  
 Think of you only, night and day,  
 And wait—until another meeting.  
 You are not sociable, they say;  
 The solitude, the country, bore you.  
 We are not smart in any way;  
 But always had a welcome for you.

Why came you? why to *us*? alone,  
 In this forgotten hamlet hidden,  
 I never should have known you, known

This bitterness of pangs unbidden.  
 And these emotions would have slept,  
 My soul its quiet ignorance kept :  
 —So, in due season, might I find,  
 Who knows? a husband to my mind ;  
 Have been a true wife—to another,  
 A pious, honourable mother.

“ Another ” ! . . . I would ne’er have given  
 To living man, this heart of mine !  
 This was the will of highest heaven,  
 This was appointed :—I am thine !  
 All my past life assurance gave  
 That we should meet—as though to bind me ;  
 God sent thee here, I know, to find me,  
 And thou wilt guard me to my grave. . .

Thou camest oft in visions to me ;  
 Wert dear, although I knew not thee ;  
 Thy tones reverberated through me,  
 Thy gaze absorbed, enchanted me  
 Long since . . . But no, I was not dreaming !  
 Straight, when thou camest, not in seeming,  
 I knew thee, I took fire, stood numb,  
 And my heart told me, “ He is come ! ”  
 Is it not so? Of old, believing  
 I heard thee speak, I listened there  
 To thee in quiet, giving care  
 To my poor folk, or while relieving  
 My sick and troubled soul in prayer.  
 Art thou, today, not he who came,  
 Flashed through the luminous darkness, nearing  
 My very pillow? just the same  
 Beloved vision, reappearing?

Art thou a guardian angel to me,  
 Or crafty tempter, to undo me?  
 Resolve my doubts and my confusion ;  
 It may be, this is all for nought  
 And an untutored soul’s illusion,  
 And fate quite otherwise has wrought.  
 But be it thus ; henceforth I yield me,



And all my fate, into thy hand ;  
 I weep, and here before thee stand,  
 Entreating only that thou shield me.

Conceive it : I am here, and lonely ;  
 None understands me ; and if only  
 My reason were not faint and weak !  
 But I am lost, unless I speak.  
 I wait on thee : one look will waken  
 The hopes with which my heart is shaken ;  
 Or—the dream snap its heavy spell  
 At one reproach—deserved too well !

No more of this ; I dread to read it ;  
 Yet, though I sink with fear and shame,  
 Your honour keeps me safe ; I plead it,  
 And to it boldly trust my name.

### FROM *EVGENY ONEGIN*.

(Canto IV, 40, 41.)

Now, this our Northern summer season  
 Gleams, and is gone—a travesty  
 Of Southern winters ; for some reason  
 We will not own it—no, not we !  
 Too soon, with daylight ever sparer  
 And blinks of sunshine ever rarer,  
 We feel the tang that autumn brings.  
 The woods, with mournful murmurings,  
 Are stript of secrecy and shadow ;  
 And the wild geese, with shrill parade,  
 Make for the South, in cavalcade ;  
 The low mist settles on the meadow.  
 A weary time we must await ;  
 November's knocking at the gate !

The dawn comes all in mist, and coldly.  
 No sound of work—the fields are dumb ;  
 And out upon the highway boldly  
 The wolf and famished she-wolf come.  
 The horse that passes knows him, snuffing,

And snorts; the wary traveller, puffing,  
 Pelts up the hill. At break of day  
 No herdsman now can drive away  
 His cattle from the shed; or, calling  
 At noontide with his horn, can bring  
 Them round to muster in a ring.  
 The girl spins in her cottage, drawling  
 Her song. The matchwood crackles bright,  
 Good company for wintry night!

FROM *EVGENY ONEGIN*.

(Canto V, I-II.)

THAT year the autumn was belated,  
 The weather held so long; and still  
 The world awaited winter, waited  
 For January to come; until,  
 On the third night, fell snow. Awaking  
 Early, Tatyana saw it making  
 The courtyard and the rooftree white,  
 And fence and flowerbed; saw the light  
 Ice-tracery on the panes, the cover  
 Of silver on the trees; the court  
 Gay with the magpies and their sport.  
 The mountains, softly strewn all over,  
 Sparkled with winter's carpeting.  
 White, sharp, and clear was everything.

Winter! the peasant's heart now dances;  
 Again he journeys in his sleigh.  
 The old mare sniffs the snow, advancing  
 With shambling trot, as best she may.  
 The tilted cart is bravely swinging,  
 The powdery snow from ruts upflinging.  
 In sheepskin coat and belt of red  
 The driver perches at its head.  
 Next, in his little sledge's traces,  
 Pretending to be horse—and there  
 Black Puppy sits, for passenger—  
 With freezing hands, the houseboy races;  
 The rascal smarts, and grins the more  
 For mother, threatening at the door.

## THE WINTER ROAD.

THROUGH the eddying haze and shadows  
 Now the moon is making way,  
 And on melancholy meadows  
 Pours a melancholy ray.

Down the wintry road and dreary  
 Flies the troika, swift, alone,  
 And for ever tinkles its dreary  
 Tiny bell, in monotone ;

And the driver's ditty drawling  
 Has a homelike sound for me,  
 Sickness of the heart recalling,  
 Or old reckless revelry.

Ah, these snows and wastes, no lonely  
 Fire, or blackened hut, beguiles !  
 But, in slow procession, only  
 Motley posts that mark the miles !

—Nina, I return tomorrow,  
 And beside thy hearth, dear friend,  
 Drown my tedium and sorrow,  
 Gazing, gazing without end.

While the clock, with ticking finger,  
 Circles round, so evenly,  
 None shall pester us, none linger !  
 Midnight parts not thee and me.

—Nina, sad my way, and weary ;  
 Mute, the driver nods at last ;  
 Still the small bell tinkles, dreary,  
 And the moon is overcast.

## TO THE BROWNIE.

(*Domovomu.*)

To thee, our peaceful ground invisibly defending,  
 Here is my prayer, O Brownie kind and good :—  
 Keep safe my hamlet, and my garden wild, and wood,  
 And all my cloistered household unpretending !

May never rainstorm hurt these fields with perilous cold ;  
 May no belated autumn hurricane assail them !  
 But helpful, timely snowfall veil them  
 Above the moist, manuring mould !  
 By these ancestral shades stay secret sentinel ;  
 See thou intimidate the midnight robber spying ;  
 Guard from all ill unfriendly eyeing  
 The happy cottage where we dwell !  
 Patrol it watchfully about ; thy love betoken  
 To my small plot, and stream embankt that drowsy flows,  
 And this sequestered kitchen-close  
 With ancient crumbling wicket-gate and fences broken !  
 —Love, too, the hillock's slope of green  
 And meadows that I tread in idle rumination,  
 The cool lime-shades, the maples' murmuring screen :—  
 These are the haunts of inspiration !

## A POEM.

*Translated from the Russian of S. ESENIN by R. M. HEWITT.*

O fields of corn, O fields of corn,  
 An orphan's grief is mine ;  
 Heavy on my heart lies yesterday  
 But in my heart you shine.

The fleeting miles whistle like birds  
 About my horse's mane,  
 And the sun is sprinkling lavishly  
 Her holy healing rain.

O land of floods and agony  
 And gentle spring-tide powers,  
 Under the masters Dawn and Stars  
 I passed my schooling hours.

While in the Bible of the winds  
 I pondered o'er the words,  
 Isaiah came and walked with me  
 To keep my golden herds.

## WOMENITE FARM

*Translated from the Russian of S. N. SERGEYEV-TSENSKY by*  
N. B. JOPSON.

It was called Womenite Farm and those in it were called the Womenites, and how it got the name was quite simple. There was Berry the Cossack and his wife, and they had three sons and seven daughters. They married the sons, and then there were eleven womenfolk in all and four menfolk.

It was womenfolk here, womenfolk there, and womenfolk everywhere—at the farm gate, by the well, in the yard, about the kitchen-garden: womenfolk, and there was just the one cottage. And on every fence-stake, too, there was always some womenfolk's gear or other—a red petticoat out to dry or a white skirt being aired or else an oven pot or a milk jug draining. Whatever your eye lit on, you saw the handiwork of womenfolk; even the ricks in the thrashing floor were not stacked quite in a man's way—they were not high enough or round enough for a man, but they were handy for a woman, as any sharp-eyed steppe farmer could see from miles away, accustomed as he was to sweep the horizon with a single glance.

In the springtime there was a lot of poppy and high rose-mallows in the kitchen garden; in the summer Indian pinks with a scent so strong that you could not help sneezing; in the autumn there were dahlias and "oaklings" as the countryfolk call chrysanthemums—and all this came about because of the womenfolk there.

This is what you could hear:—

"Ay, yon's the road to take, man, past the farm where all them womenfolk are."

"And what about buying oats for our gelding on the farm where all them womenfolk are?"

"Don't you know who it was raising the dust like that in that fine turn-out—why, quite the gentleman, with his grey whiskers and all." "Why, it's the old womenite, I do believe." "Well, you'll likely be right."

[The Russian title "*Babyuki*" reflects a certain tinge of disparagement with which the Russian peasant speaks of a *baba* or peasant woman as less efficient than the men. We have therefore translated it "Womenite Farm." School boys, accustomed to repeated iteration of the names of the heathen tribes, Hittites, Jebuzites, and so on, in a similar way use "ites" for the termination of rival houses to their own in the school; and we recall also the description of the Yorke family in Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley*—certainly the most brilliant episode in the book—where the small, clever and enterprising boy, Martin Yorke, speaks habitually of the rival sex as "the womenites."—ED.]

So the name came of itself—Womenite Farm, and those in it the Womenites. As time went on the local folk snapped up all the little Berry wenches Womenfolk—they were useful for farm work. The farm contracted alliances with the neighbouring farms and steadings, but to make up for the womenfolk who were married off, there was a treble assignment of girls that old Berry's three sons flooded the farm with. This was an unfailing rule and continued as regularly as it had begun; there was the steppe road and by the road the farm, and there were womenfolk here, there and everywhere: at the gate, in the yard and about the kitchen-garden. Whatever your eye lit upon, it was nothing but womenfolk; on every fence-stake there would be a red petticoat, a white skirt, handkerchiefs, and pots and long-necked earthenware jars with their bottoms uppermost, and it was the one cottage still, but it now sprawled out on all four sides like a proper bird-fancier's dovecote. And by now there were more sheds, more barns, more stables, more byres, more sties and more pens.

Old Womenite had become quite ancient by now, but he still had not provided his sons with their portion.

People said that he had made money by "the bear." A long time ago, before "Sevastopol," even gypsies had gone the round of the villages with their bears and had passed counterfeit Rostov paper money, and old Berry was supposed to be acquainted with them. Anyhow, whether it was from "the bear" or not, there was money about. Old Womenite knew nothing of banks, but there was an old iron-clamped family chest, the "settle"—and in that settle was secreted all the treasure of the womenites, and the old man slept on the stove "hard by the settle," just like the fire-snake of the fairy tales, and kept guard over it.

Whether it was wheat to be sold in autumn or stuck pigs or wool—everything went off well; the cash got into the old boy's pockets—and so into the settle. And when he saw that a store of it had mounted up, he said to his sons:—

"Hm . . . a deal of money, that is as may be, but what the devil is the good of it? Go and look, my lads, for something decent to buy with it."

And the lads—the youngest of them was a grandfather by then—began to puzzle over which of the local squires it would be most profitable to buy land from.

So the womenites got into their hands more than a couple of thousand acres along with six holdings, nothing much to look at, without any gabled houses or avenues of lime trees—not very

different in fact from their own farm. Into one of the holdings they would put the grandson their father told them to put in, into another another, and the rents they got went into the same family chest, by Granddad's stove.

You couldn't say that there was no quarrelling at Womenite Farm, for where there are women there is wrangling, but the wranglings were family disputes, short and harmless, like the flare of summer lightning at evening, and the old man, despite his grey hairs, was a veritable Solomon at judging.

One of the womenfolk once lost a necklace of coins. Just as she was dressing for church, she put the necklace out on the window-sill (for it was in May) and was doing her hair before the glass, with no one passing by the window except her sister-in-law Chrissie; and then, in a trice, the necklace was gone.

There had never been any theft before in old Berry's house.

Because of this happening the old fellow climbed down from the stove and hobbled off to the council mound, his dirty black collarbone all hunched up and peeping uncannily through the open neck of his shirt. There was a fringe of white down round his smooth, dark poll; his beard was greenish and his mouth was quite toothless (for he was close on a hundred). And this was the picture:—

The old, old May sun of the steppes was looking down from above; the white-haired old man, as old as the sun, was seated on the mound in a white hempen shirt, and all round him were the womenfolk decked out in their holiday dresses of scarlet calico, and bursting with the healthiness of the steppes.

When they had all trooped up, they took up their positions as for a round dance; there were some forty women chattering away like magpies and reproachfully shaking their heads and staring full at the guilty Chrissie.

There were a few Cossacks also, but they stood a little way off, taking no share in women's matters. The only person close to old Berry was his youngest son, the seventy-year-old Mitro, waiting for orders as he had waited throughout the whole of his life.

"Come here now, you bitch," Solomon said to Chrissie, scratching himself vigorously and with his grimy palm shading his eyes from the sun—the sun in the sky, that is. "What's your name, eh?"

"Why, it's Chrissie," was the astonished reply.

"Ay, I see and know that you're Chrissie—but that's the right way like. . . ." And without hurrying the old gaffer repeated:

"Ay, little Chrissie. . . . And what's your name?" and he turned to the one whose necklace had been lost.

"Why, it's Hivra. . . ." she answered, as astonished as Chrissie, and throwing her hands up in her surprise.

"Hivra," the old man said after her, and fell to thinking what the name really was in its full form and couldn't call it to mind.

"Tell me now how it happened"—and he nodded to Hivra.

"Well, there I was standing, daddy, by the window, plaiting my hair and getting ready to go to church, for I wanted to be as smart as the others. Well, then I took off my necklace and put it on the window-sill"—Hivra said with painful deliberation—"and there wasn't anybody outside the window; there was only Molly the calf grazing, because she had hurt her leg and had not gone with the herd, grazing just as she is now doing. . . . And, look, just then Chrissie passed by. . . . And there was I just heedless like, and Chrissie walking up and down. Well, that's all right, I was thinking, but suddenly I looked. . . . no necklace."

"Listen now. . . . I'll swear on whatever you like. . . ." Chrissie burst out crying. "I'll swear by the Holy Virgin, I'll swear by St Nicholas. I'll swear by Barbara the Martyr."

And like a flash she was off into their cottage, had snatched down the black icon of St Nicholas and was out with it in her arms again before they could draw breath. She put it down at the old man's feet and fell headlong on the ground.

"Stop, stop"—and the old man put the icon aside. "Drat it, what a one you are for hurrying," and he wagged his head, pondered and, remembering no doubt that he was a Cossack, said: "Don't swear on Nicholas, but, see here now, on this rifle. . . . Ay, bring the rifle out of the cottage, Mitro."

And dawdling a little, Mitro brought the rifle out; it was a fowling piece, loaded with grape-shot for emergencies against wolves and bandits, and he handed it over to the old man.

The ancient placed it on his knee, grasped the trigger with his forefinger in the proper manner, and said to Chrissie:—

"There now, kiss the barrel."

The womenfolk backed away (for they had their natural womanly feelings) while Chrissie went down on her knees, crossed herself, knocked her head on the ground and was just going to lift it up again when a shot banged out just above her. Granddad was not attending and had absentmindedly pressed the trigger, and there was Chrissie with a pitiful terror-stricken shriek turning somersaults and flirking her bare legs about, while in the distance the brindled



calf flopped down heavily, the same Molly that Chrissie had spoken of; the grape-shot had hit her straight in the head as she was grazing, after it had flown over Chrissie.

That was the end of the trial.

When they cut the calf up and let the blood, they all gazed reproachfully at Granddad, who sat there still clutching his gun with a hangdog look and his mouth meekly chewing away.

Then the womenfolk fell upon Chrissie. Whose fault was it, if not hers, that the calf had been killed? . . . But when they had flayed the calf, for the day was sultry and they could not delay, and began to dress the hide, they found Hivra's necklace of coins in its paunch; it had pilfered it as it passed by the window.

When they told Granddad about it he wept. Then he had himself led to Nicholas's icon, knelt there for a long time, mumbled what scraps of prayer he still remembered, and wept for joy that God had visited him.

No one went to church that day, and all the womenites marched behind Hivra, in accordance with Granddad's orders, and solemnly asked Chrissie's pardon. And the old man set her by his side on the bench and with his trembling horny hands stroked her hair which was all smarmed down for the festive season, continually regaling her with peppermint biscuits and Constantinople peapods and all the sweets he could lay hands on.

"So you were afraid, poor little girlie," he consoled her. "And I, too, was afraid, old as I am. I thought I had killed you."

And Mitro added for all to hear: "Yes, it was the rifle which told where the truth was."

"It's holy, that rifle," the old man suddenly announced with conviction. "I see that it has not killed any of our orthodox."

And he resolved that very day to summon the priest from the village to hold a service, and on the spot where the necklace had been found, to build a chapel with an icon of St. Nicholas on its reading desk, and in front of the icon to have the necklace of coins hung up, and behind it the rifle. "For it, I now see, is also holy."

And that is what the womenites did. By September of that same year the chapel had been built; but they put the rifle, at the priest's suggestion, in a wooden case. When at last old Granddad died a year afterwards, only two months short of his century, they buried him by the chapel.

# HE

*Translated from the Polish of K. P. TETMAYER by H. E. KENNEDY.*

THE immense black bear was born and reared in the dark fir-forest beneath the shadow of the Great Peak, in a place where the sun shone only over the tops of the firs, but could not pierce with its rays the tangle of their boughs and branches, beneath which packs of fierce wolves chased the deer or boars forced their way with their powerful heads or the fatal, silent lynx in his pale, golden coat, slid along twisting paths.

On a certain spring day the bear heard sounds he had never heard before. Amazed, he stood at gaze and listened. Those sounds were measured strokes, hard and dull, awakening dry echoes. They moved forwards and upwards from the valley. Ere long the bear's amazed eyes saw men with axes in their hands, hewing off branches of the immemorial firs to left and to right, and thus making a long path behind them. There were several of them; they had bows on their backs and arrows in woven, reed quivers, and bags of food. At their waists were hung slings and bags full of pebbles. The bear looked at them with terrible, angry eyes. He would have liked to rush upon them to tear them in pieces and scatter them to the four winds, and yet a kind of awe kept him from approaching them. When they began to advance in his direction he gave vent to an angry, menacing growl, but he retreated into the undergrowth, made his way into its depths and, sitting down, lifted up his muzzle and sniffed.

A few days later a path had been cut right through the trees, to the meadow where tall, mountain-sorrel grew and burdocks with their broad leaves and a host of flowers and herbs that made the meadow shimmer and glow with blue and yellow and purple and green. Thither the men drove a flock of sheep and a herd of oxen, beside or behind which came seven big, white, hairy dogs, that were the size of wolves and looked like them. These dogs wore spiked collars.

At once the men began to make a shelter of stones. On the stones they placed branches of trees and pieces of bark, and on top of all they placed heavy stones to keep the branches and the bark from being blown away.

Round about the mountain meadow the forest grew empty. The stags and the does that had grazed there dispersed. The wolves drew near in the undergrowth, lured by the sight of the sheep and oxen, but they feared the dogs and the ever-watchful mountaineer

herdsmen and shepherds, who were armed with bows and slings that carried far, and with sharp axes and knives. But more than these they feared the fire that blazed day and night in the shelter, never going out. The wild, bristled sows that had lived there before, looking for edible roots, led their tribes of little ones far away. Even the bold, nay often foolhardy and aggressive, boars did not come near the meadow.

From high up among the rocks, above the two lakes that lay eternally drowsing in the valley, the swift, inquisitive chamois looked down, but they fled with huge leaps when the shepherds and their sheep came higher up among the crags. Only the mountain eagles sometimes rocked on their wide-spreading wings in mid air, took aim and fell like a thunderbolt on a lamb, which they bore away with them, if a feathered arrow did not reach them first, or a stone from a sling, or a swift axe thrown by some shepherd, that roared through the air, making mighty leaps and always going straight to its mark.

Soon a pen of branches was made for the sheep and other shelters for the shepherds near the first one, forming a shepherds' camp.

From afar off among the knee-timber the bear looked towards the meadow. A tribe of bears, as many as fifteen of them, lived in the Dark Fir Wood. There they grazed, there they multiplied and were reared, thence they made raids in the summer on the green oats and in the autumn on the golden that grew in the villages near the Vaga. There they slept the winter through. Sometimes they moved towards the Quiet Peak near Kopa, towards the Fish Lake and on to valleys where their fellows swarmed. They were the sole and absolute masters of the mountains. The elk, with his two-forked antlers, who lived lower down than they, fled heavily when he merely came across the tracks of their paws. The monstrous bisons with foreheads that were as hard as rock, that were as strong as a river in spate, did not graze high up and fought only with the bears of the valley, that dwelt in the lower woods. The old boars, with their long, gleaming tusks, chattered and champed their teeth when a bear was near, but, placing themselves near the edge of the undergrowth, they only made ready for defence, not for attack. The wolves, when they went together in a pack and were hungry, could be dangerous only on a plain, where no tree grew. Besides, they were starved and bold to the point of madness only in winter, when the bear, well covered, slept soundly.

So there was no rival, and it was love alone that filled the mountains with the roaring of fighting males that sounded like contending

storms Throughout the Dark Fir Wood, nay, perhaps through all the Tatra Range, there was none more terrible than the Black Bear. He had sides that were like tree-trunks, a head as big as a bush, a black, glossy coat, and when he rose up on his hind legs he looked like a tree. He was the most terrible bear of them all.

And it was he who first killed an ox on the meadow which the herds and shepherds had taken for their own. He killed it in broad daylight, when it had wandered far into the knee-timber. He hit it such a powerful stroke that it fell dead at once with a broken spine and hadn't even time to bellow. Its loss wasn't even noticed at once. It was only the multitude of eagles, vultures, hawks, falcons and owls above the carrion that led the herdsmen to it, but they found nothing but bones.

Emboldened by success, the bear attacked another ox of the herd. The cattle scattered in a panic, but the dogs ran up barking and the herdsmen, axe in hand, came after them. The bear ripped up the boldest among the dogs, hurled a rock down towards the men, but fled.

Then a struggle began, for other bears, too, tracked the oxen or attacked the sheep. Especially at night the shepherds and the dogs had to keep watch, for the lynxes stole through the undergrowth, and the wolves howled around, answering back the dogs that foamed at the mouth from continual barking.

A relentless struggle it was that began with the birds of prey in the air and the beasts of prey on the earth. But the shepherds had recognised by now that the greatest damage was done, the boldest onsets made, by the big, black bear—by "Him."

He got furious with the dogs and with the men. Sometimes day after day he could not strike down a single ox or make off with a single sheep. Autumn snow fell early, unexpectedly. It was so thick that it covered the bushes where the long-shaped bilberries grew, and broke the red branches of the blackberry bushes, and buried the grass. Famine came. Most of the herds and shepherds, with the oxen and some of the sheep, had gone down to the village, promising themselves to return when the snow melted. There remained only a couple of shepherds with a flock of sheep which were shut up in a pen and fed with hay that had been cut in the summer. Only two dogs remained there.

One dark and frosty night, full of wind and snow, "He" rushed, like a thunderstorm out of the clouds, from the shadows of the forest, fell on the meadow and raced towards the camp like an avalanche that had started among the rocks like a mountain torrent

from a lake overflowed with rain. The dogs rushed out to meet him, but he never minded them and they only barked from far off. With one leap he crossed the fence of the pen and fell upon the sheep that were packed close together and were bleating despairingly.

Quicker than thought he hit out with his paws, struck at the crowded sheep. He did not stop to drink their blood—he only hit and hit, beating with his paws and striking out behind him. He got wild with fury amid that frightful slaughter. He killed and killed.

The shepherds heard the barking of the dogs and the bleating of the sheep, but they could not run to help. The brands they tore from the fire went out with a hiss in the wet snow that was falling, and they feared to come near in the darkness, while their cries did not frighten the bear away. “He! He!” they repeated in despair, while “He” raged in the pen like a blaze in a barn full of straw and dry grain. When the sheep got through the broken fence of the pen and, mad with fear, rushed blindly in all directions, the bear began to drink the blood of those that were warmest, to tear slabs of flesh out of the dripping fleeces and swallow them. Finally, he seized one sheep and leaping out of the pen made away with it into the forest.

Next day there was weeping and lamentation in the meadow. It was not enough that “He” had killed more than thirty sheep; the wolves had seized upon many more when they scattered, as could be seen from the traces. Many of them could not be found at all, and none knew what happened to them. “He” had completely ruined the pen and, with weeping and cursing, with abuse and threats, the shepherds fled to the village, taking with them all the living and whole sheep that they could herd together. They shut up the carcasses of the dead sheep in one of their shelters and, having walled it round and about with boulders, they left it till they could return for the skins and meat. But “He” was on the watch. That very same night he fell, with his comrades, upon the shelter; they tore the boulders away, they swept down the defences, and they feasted there in such wise that the valley was strewn with bloody strips of fleece; and when, three days later, the weather grew warmer and the herds and shepherds came back to the Great Peak, they found the shelter broken down and all the meat devoured.

“He!”

“He!”

Emboldened by this success the bears harassed the shepherds day and night, so that many of them declared, when they went home that autumn, that they would not return there next spring;

and a terrible fame of "Him" was borne around through all the Tatra.

But "He" triumphed. In the gleam of the moonlight, somewhere up on the rocky sides of the Naked Peaks he stood, looking like a black rock himself, and gazed down from above into the empty valleys. He felt himself to be something powerful and invincible, like the mountain wind or a thunderbolt, that none can stand against. In the late autumn sunlight he rolled about on the golden, velvet-soft mountain meadows, in the tall, shining grass, looking like a fir-trunk—alone there, the most powerful of all things. Like he was to the silence of a winter night or to the morning frost that turns all things into ice. The empty, silent woods were once more his undivided kingdom. Gloomy, colossal, he bent branches with his paws as he crossed over immense rotten tree-trunks, or he swam through the exuberant grass of autumn, his back showing black amid it like a heavily-laden boat on rippling waves. His wanderings were filled with the sweet memory of the defeats he had inflicted, of his victory, of the rout of his enemies. His kingdom, handed down to him by his forefathers, had again become his exclusive possession.

He rushed down, like a rock broken off among the peaks, upon a fierce bison which had wandered up from the valley forests to the neighbourhood of Mount Krzyvan. The bison saw him come running down among the great, old firs which grew far apart from one another. It bent its head, with the frightful horns on its forehead, gave a short, throaty bellow and set its forelegs far apart, fixing its back ones well into the ground. Thus it stood, like a bridge beaten against by the broken ice of spring. But swifter than falls the red fir on Mount Kierz when the wind breaks it, the bear rushed upon him and struck him with his paw at the back of the neck. The blood spurted out. A loud, bleating sound forced itself from the throat of the wild beast, and, as two avalanches of rock, rushing down from two opposite mountain walls, meet in the ravine and the stones are piled up in walls and the roar of it fills the firmament, so these two, roaring, joined battle. But the mighty, deadly forehead of the bison only struck on vacancy. The bear slipped aside and for a second time struck the back of his enemy's neck, tearing off a strip of flesh, which fell off the bison's body like a strip of wood torn from a tree by a thunderbolt. The bison's terrible assailant dealt blow on blow, avoiding the heavy but swift movements of the bull-bison's horns and forehead. At last the bison, fleeing before death, turned its back and, all red with blood and leaving immense clots of it on the moss and branches it brushed against, began to run

away in panic despair, and the sound of its hooves was like the sound of hammers striking the earth. But the silent, old forest looked unmoved upon that struggle.

The bear longed for the sun after its fight, so it crossed the Niefertyrka Valley, going through the rocks at the bottom of the Great Peak, and there, under the rock wall, ever so high up, lying among the scattered rocks on the scorched grass, it warmed itself in the sun, looking down in lonely pride on the broad lands below, where man dwelt. . . . And there was no other animal up there, so high. Lower down, herds of chamois, whistling an alarm, fled with frenzied leaps to the inaccessible black crags, and above were only rock walls that were no menace and a little hawk fluttering its wings in the blue of the atmosphere, watching for the seven-coloured, long-beaked rock butterflies.

Winter came and with it the winter sleep. "He" slept in the shelter of a crag, somewhere in the Hlinska Valley, but while he slept, folks in the valleys took counsel together concerning him. For the herds and the shepherds were sorry not to be able to return to the grassy, Dark Fir Meadow, and besides the longing for a bloody revenge was hot in their hearts. And when spring came, fifteen men, well armed with bows, knives and hatchets, with shovels in their hands, and carrying iron traps furnished with thick chains, set out into the mountains by a path cut in the rocks.

The bear, who was awake already, saw them, and again he boiled with the desire to rush at them and scatter them through the woods - and again a kind of terror pushed him back into the thicket. Still he felt that thin bark was no easier to break when he bent a branch to get at the fruit than each of these men could be crushed. Now - now, the desire to have their blood seized him and would have impelled him to rush down upon them—but a mysterious awe restrained him. Oh, if only one of them would approach him - attack him. *That man* would be torn to bits, would stain the kneec-timber with his blood. . . . His most malicious desire, born of a bloodthirsty vengeance, was to look a man in the face . . . close, close ! But he dared not attack—he felt that there was some strange unknown, incomprehensible strength in man, in spite of the fact that for "his" arms he was as the supple, frail branch of a raspberry bush.

Again the herds and the shepherds came to the mountain meadow with oxen and sheep. More of them came, they drove up more sheep and cattle and they brought twelve dogs with them. A noise accompanied their march—singing and playing. The mountains

were filled with the whistling of pipes, with the buzzing hum of bagpipes, with the penetrating music of flutes and the far-echoing howl of long trumpets. The men marched thus, as it seemed, to frighten the animals away and to proclaim beforehand their occupation of these upper wilds, their conquest and the establishment of their rule over the Dark Fir Meadow.

Forerunners had already dug, with immeasurable difficulty, deep pits in the rocky soil, had covered these pits with intertwined twigs and branches, which were covered again with moss. This was for the trapping of wolves. For the bears they had set iron traps.

But "He," on the very first day after the oxen were driven up, rushed out of the knee-timber at the point of noon, having set eyes on a great grey ox. The ox saw the monster before it attacked, and bellowed in mortal fear. Raising its tail aloft, it took to its heels. But, in spite of the fierce attack of three dogs which had time to run up, the bear overtook the ox and it fell under the blows of his invincible paws. A reinforcement of two more dogs and seven herdsmen ran up. "He" retreated from the dying ox into the undergrowth, but he had let men know that he was there, that he reigned and had answered their triumphal entry of his kingdom. He had taken up the challenge; he had shown that he had not weakened.

And on a certain dark, drizzly night he decided to renew his attack, and that in the very centre of the camp, on the sheep-pens. But suddenly as he emerged from the knee-timber a terrible pain went through him and the long, pointed iron teeth of a trap sank into his hind leg on both sides. He roared with pain and tried to pull his leg away, but the iron teeth did not let go and a thick chain and an immense log of wood dragged behind him, rustling and clattering. Roaring continuously, he began to fling himself about, dragging the log behind him, but he could neither free himself nor could he retreat. The chain and the log caught in every branch of the undergrowth, in every root of the knee-timber.

The black, drizzling night rolled slowly on above him, above his terrible roaring, above the howling of terrified wolves and the fierce barking of the dogs, which stood far off round the scene of his misfortune. At times a gloomy crag looked out from among the clouds, overhanging the abyss, as if curious to know what was happening down below, where things live, where they are born, where they die.

And dawn came. A pale light flooded the valley, and at once men emerged from their shelters with bows, hatchets and clubs in their hands, and cautiously, slowly, with the barking dogs as their



vanguard, began to move upwards. And then they stood in wonder, for they saw "Him"; they knew him by his size and his black coat. There he was, perhaps eight times a man's height above them, with the trap, the chain and the log—up among the branches of a mighty fir, which, mad with pain and fury, he had climbed. Below, all round, there were little trees torn up by the roots, crushed and splintered branches, broken in pieces by his claws and teeth, crumpled bushes of knee-timber, rocks as heavy as millstones torn out of the earth.

The men stood and looked, amazed, not daring to approach.

"He!"

"He!"

Then one of them bent down, took up a stone, fixed it in his sling and flung it. Immediately a second did the same, and others drew the bows they had with them. A hail of arrows and stones began to fall on the branches, the tree-trunk and the bear. At that, he rushed down to throw himself upon the men—rushed down bloody and wounded, with more than one missile sticking in his body. He leapt towards the band of his assailants. The dogs retreated first, whining, and scattered. With them the men retreated—in haste. Only one highlander remained behind. He was tall and broad-shouldered and held an iron pike which he had stuck into a birch-branch. He stood with the handle of his pike resting against a rock and the sharp point forward.

With the trap dragging behind him, "He" came leaping towards the man and, when he was a few paces off, he stood up on his hind legs to strike his enemy with his forepaw—and his own breast was pierced through by the projecting iron point of the pike.

And now he looked on a man face to face, as he had desired.

A hatchet, thrown by one of the herdsman, barked through the air and cut into his skull behind the ears. Immediately afterwards a second hatchet struck him in the neck, a third on one of his forepaws. Stones thrown by hand began to hail down on his body. He fell over on his side with the pike in his breast, breaking down some little trees with the weight of his fall.

The men jumped forward, the dogs ran up to him . . . two curs, ripped up by his claws, died with terrible, dull groans. But arrows, hatchets, clubs and stones, coming from nearer and ever nearer, made him lose so much blood that it grew dark before his eyes and his limbs refused him their service. Only he saw, approaching as through a mist, the tall, broad-shouldered highlander who had held the pike before him, and then he felt a terrible blow from a club on

his forehead—a blow that shook his whole being and brought his head down to the earth.

Then again he saw men at close quarters, above him. . . .

The Dark Fir Wood was vanquished. “His” monstrous skin, stretched out and fixed to the earth with pegs, was drying in the sun.

## A RUSSIAN FOLK-TALE

IF YOU DON'T LIKE IT—DON'T LISTEN !

*Translated from the Russian by ELIZABETH HILL AND DORIS MUDIE.*

THERE once lived an old man and his old woman.

The old man and the old woman had a son called Ivan. They lived neither too many years nor too few; the old man died and the son grew up. The old woman spun two hanks of yarn. It was at this time that Ivan badly wanted to go to the fair; so he begged his mother to let him go.

“I’m going to the fair, mother. I shall offer my goods for sale, make money and grow rich.”

He took the yarn that had been spun by his old mother, arrived at the fair and began to trade. He sold his goods for ten roubles. He bought some gingerbread and some honey, climbed on to his cart and drove towards home.

On and on he drives and keeps dipping the gingerbread into the honey and then stuffs it into his mouth.

A rich merchant comes towards him rolling along in a fine carriage and four. The merchant sees Ivan, stops, and says to him :

“Why, peasant, what are you eating there with such relish? I should have thought the gingerbread could have been eaten plain, while you go dipping it into honey.”

“Why shouldn’t I have a little pleasure?” says Ivan. “I went to the fair, sold my goods for ten roubles and now I’m thinking of taking two hundred from you.”

“You just try!”

“Let’s come to terms. If you call me a liar, then I get two hundred roubles from you. But if you don’t call me a liar, then you can do what you like with me.”

“Right!” says the merchant.

They struck hands on the bargain and Ivan began to tell his tale.

"I was only very small when one day I went out into the wood; in the wood I saw a tree and in the tree was a hollow, and in the hollow were some roast quails that had built a nest. I thrust my hand into the hollow—I could not get it in; I thrust my foot into it and I could not get that in. I then tried to push my way into it and, with a hop, I found I was inside. I ate my fill. I wanted to crawl out, but it was not so easy, I had grown too fat with so much eating and the hole was too small. I, bright lad that I am, had an idea: I ran home, fetched an axe, hewed a hole in the tree and crawled out. I then thought I would have a drink. I walked until I came to the sea, took off my skull, dipped it into the water and had a good drink. All would have been well, but I dropped my skull into the water, and I saw it float out into the middle of the sea where wild ducks and geese built nests in it, and soon they began to lay eggs. What could I do? I hurled my axe at the skull but it did not reach it. The second time I hurled my axe too far, and the third time it also missed it. That is how I managed to kill all the ducks and geese while the eggs flew away by themselves. After that I went to the end of the sea and set it alight; when the sea was burnt out, I picked up my skull and began to wander about the world."

"Go on, peasant," says the merchant, "that's all quite true!"

"I drove into the wood to fetch some logs. I moved about here and there felling trees until some grey wolves fell on my horse and ripped up its stomach. But I was equal to that: I cut the thinnest of thin birch twigs and ran to the horse, gathered up its bowels, put them back into its stomach and stitched it up with the birch twigs. I loaded up my cart with logs and was thinking of turning back home. I whip up my horse, but he will not budge. What is the trouble? And then I see that the birch twig has grown so high, so high that it is reaching up to the clouds and is touching them with its leaves. So up I climbed to heaven, looked around and saw everything there was to be seen; but soon it was time to be thinking of climbing down to earth again. As bad luck would have it, my horse had jerked away from its place and had knocked down the twig. What was I to do? What could I do to help myself? I gathered some dust from the cloud, wove it into a stout rope, tied one end to the cloud and began to climb down. I climbed down and down until there was no rope left; the rope was not long enough. So what did I think out? I cut some rope

from the top and tied it to the bottom. I cut and I tied, I cut and I tied, and I kept lowering myself down, until there was nothing more to cut. But the earth was still far below. A strong wind then suddenly began to blow, and I was swayed and tossed from side to side. The rope snapped and I fell into hell. It took me all my time to get out. Yes, I was in hell. And what do you think I saw there? I saw your father running around carrying fools on his back."

"Liar!" yelled the merchant.

That was all Ivan wanted. He took the two hundred roubles and drove home. His mother was glad. She asked hosts of relations and guests to come, and they held a great feast.

I was at that feast and drank mead there. The mead ran down my chin, but it left my mouth dry.

## THE PROBLEM OF REVISION AND THE SLAV WORLD

DURING the past year the question of Revision has figured more and more prominently in international polemics. In proportion as the economic settlement imposed in Paris has crumbled and proved unworkable—until today none save “the men of the wild jackass” are left to defend it—there has been a parallel tendency in many quarters to assume that the territorial settlement of 1919-20 is no less imperfect and requires no less drastic revision. This is, of course, the view put forward by many propagandists in Central Europe and only too often repeated as an abstract proposition by British and American writers. But it was not until Signor Mussolini raised the question of revision as one of the central aims of the proposed Four Power Pact, and until Mr. MacDonald for a brief moment seemed disposed to endorse his view, that revision can be said to have acquired the rank of an urgent international problem. Thanks partly to the strong protests of such interested parties as Poland and the Little Entente, and partly to the sudden transformation wrought in the Central European situation by the advent of Herr Hitler to power, the Pact was eventually redrafted in a much more innocuous form.

This does not, however, mean that the problem of revision has been shelved, but only that the attempt to short-circuit Geneva and the machinery of the Covenant has been frustrated. It would be a grave blunder for those who regard revision of the treaties with disapproval or alarm, to adopt the tactics of the ostrich or, worse still, to treat the question as settled once for all. On the contrary, they must be ready to defend their cause by a full array of argument and fact and will be well advised to insist upon their opponents, without further delay, putting forward a precise definition of their claims.

Two years ago, in an article entitled “The Crisis of Democracy and the Slavonic World,” it was pointed out in this *Review* that “the worst obstacles to European pacification lie in the unsolved relations of the Slavs with their neighbours,” and it is from this angle that we propose to treat the question of revision. Let us, in the first instance, consider as briefly as possible the main zones affected, and then examine the extent to which in almost every case one or other Slav race is involved. And as a preface to this task, let us remind the reader of one very important historical aspect of the Great War, to which too little attention is paid in the West.

From the late Middle Ages onwards most of the Slavonic States

had entered upon a period of decline, during which, first Bulgaria, then Serbia, then Bohemia and, finally, Poland, lost their independence and only Russia maintained and extended its territorial power (notably at the expense of kindred Slavs). The 19th century kindled in each of these countries a preparatory national revival, which found expression in the great upheaval of 1918-19. The only Slav nation on the vanquished side, Bulgaria, suffered severe diminution, but retained its independence, while Bohemia and Poland recovered their lost independence in a somewhat altered form, and Jugoslavia achieved the almost complete unity of three out of the four Southern Slav races. Russia, on the other hand, lost her non-Slavonic territories in Europe (but not in Asia) and a part of the spoils which she had acquired at Poland's expense, but otherwise remained untouched. Unless, then, some further cataclysm ensues, it would seem probable that we have entered a new period, in which the Slav nations are no longer to be under non-Slav rule and are each free to work out their own internal problems—immensely complicated, it is true, by the emergence of a new Russian tyranny before which the old Tsardom seems mild and ineffective.

In this new situation the revisionist agitation represents a protest, on the part of the vanquished in the Great War, against the new frontiers, and a plea either for a reversion to the *status quo ante* or for very considerable modifications in a pre-war sense. Such claims relate to six principal European zones: (1) Austria; (2) the Italian frontier; (3) the German-Polish frontier; (4) the eastern frontier of Poland; (5) the four frontiers of Hungary; (6) the Balkan frontiers.

I. The first and today the most urgent is the problem of Austria, which has entered upon a new phase since the Nazi access to power in Germany. If purely ethnographic arguments are to predominate, then it is obvious that the case for the "Anschluss" is overwhelming. The population of Austria is predominantly German and, indeed, it may be added that its only non-German section, the Slovenes of Carinthia, declared themselves in favour of Austria by a perfectly genuine plebiscite. The objections to union are political and economic rather than ethnographic, and may be traced back to the days of Schmerling and Bismarck, of Schönerer and Lueger, when the catchwords of "Great German" and "Little German" had their religious and cultural background. The virulent anti-semitism of Hitler can, of course, be traced back to such Pan-German purists as Lagarde, but its Austrian affinities—as essentially the gospel of "the small man"—must not be overlooked.

II. Just inside the north Italian frontier there are two racial minorities—349,000 Yugoslavs (258,000 Slovenes and 92,000 Croats) in “Venezia Giulia”—i.e. the former Austrian provinces of Gorizia, Trieste, and Istria—and 199,000 Germans in South Tirol, or as it is now called, Venezia Tridentina. There is no little irony in the fact that these two zones are the only ones in Europe where a “clean cut” on racial lines is possible, and where, therefore, the problem could be entirely eliminated by frontier rectification, without creating some fresh minority. But Signor Mussolini, the principal advocate of revision elsewhere, has no intention of handing back minorities which should never have been assigned to Italy in the first instance, and which it is his present policy to assimilate by the most ruthless methods imaginable; and he would be the first to plead those “strategic” considerations of which more than enough has been heard in this age of air attack.

III. The German-Polish frontier resolves itself into four quite distinct problems:—

1. The so-called “Polish Corridor”—a mischievous misnomer, since the question at issue is that of Poland’s outlet to the sea, through territory which was hers for centuries till the criminal partition of the late 18th century. On this we need not dwell, for it is being treated in detail in Mr. Poliakov’s scholarly article, “The Valley of the Vistula.”

2. The question of the Free City of Danzig, whose status has been materially altered by the development of the new Polish port of Gdynia, and may therefore reasonably be held to require readjustment. For this the League of Nations provides suitable machinery, and if only goodwill on both sides could be premised, a workable compromise is by no means unattainable.

3. If, on the other hand, Germany should insist upon the substitution of a German “Corridor” connecting East Prussia with the main body of the Reich for a Polish “Corridor,” which is Poland’s sole access to the sea, it follows inevitably that a considerable portion of Posnania also would have to be reunited with Germany, and it is difficult to see how such a claim can ever be realised save by force—which might easily mean a continental war on a grand scale. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that in pushing such a claim, Germany would be acting in direct defiance alike of ethnography, history and economics, her only available argument being those feelings of sentiment and prestige that have grown up since Prussia possessed herself of this territory by one of the great crimes of modern history. For the districts in dispute are essentially Polish

in character—as is sufficiently attested by German pre-war statistics and by the figures of Reichstag elections; and the attempt to distinguish between “Polish” and “Kashubian” or “Mazurian” is simply puerile and will not deceive anyone who remembers similar artificial distinctions in the past between “Moravian” and “Czech,” between “Bosnian” and “Serb,” between “Moldavian” and “Roumanian,” between “Bunjevac” and “Croat.”

4. There remains the question of Upper Silesia, where both German and Polish nationality and complex economic interests are so closely interlocked, that despite the plebiscite that followed the war, the situation is still far from clear. It is a question that would lend itself to calm and impartial investigation, but to raise it in the present state of acute tension between Germany and Poland would hardly promote the peace of Europe.

IV. Poland is faced by no less grave problems on her eastern frontier, and these again fall into three groups:—

(a) The Lithuanian-Polish dispute centres round the possession of Wilna, the ancient capital of Lithuania, the population of which is overwhelmingly Polish by race, language and tradition, whereas the entire surrounding country which goes with it contains 80–85 per cent. of Lithuanians and White Russians, and in no case more than 10 per cent. of Poles. Since the seizure of Wilna by General Zeligowski in 1920 and its retention in open defiance of Geneva, there has been a complete deadlock in the dispute between Poland and Lithuania, with the well-nigh incredible result that the frontier between them has for years remained hermetically sealed, to the detriment not only of mutual relations, but of the pacification of the whole of the Baltic area. It has sometimes been urged that but for this regrettable feud it might have been possible to re-establish the ancient federal ties which subsisted between Lithuania and Poland under the great Jagiello dynasty, and that the consequent possession of an eastern outlet to the sea, down the Njemen to Memel, would have greatly eased the tension in the question of Danzig and Gdynia. As matters stand today, however, the idea of Memel as a possible substitute is not even open to discussion. It is, however, obvious that the reconciliation of the two countries is a very vital and even urgent Polish interest.

It should be added that the number of Lithuanians in Poland in 1921 were 68,000, while in 1923 there were 65,000 Poles in Lithuania.

(b) The White Russians in Poland, according to the census of 1921, amounted to 1,060,000, but this is a notorious under-statement, and the White Russians themselves, grossly exaggerating in their



turn, claim to be as numerous as 2,500,000. They enjoy no special rights under Poland, but this was, of course, also the case under Tsarist Russia. What has given the question a new importance is the steady growth of national consciousness in the White Russian districts under Soviet rule.

(c) Above all, there is the thorny Ukrainian question, the largest unsolved national question in Europe, affecting a population of over 35,000,000. Of these, 4,000,000 live in Poland, mainly in Eastern Galicia, where under the benevolent sway of Austria, the "Ruthenes" possessed a certain minimum of cultural and religious rights, in contrast to the absolute repression of Ukrainian and Uniat sentiments in Tsarist Russia. For a brief space in 1918-19 the Ukrainian National Rada ruled in Kiev and concluded a separate peace at Brest Litovsk, while a provisional Ukrainian Government was established in Eastern Galicia; but all too soon Bolshevist Russia overpowered the one and Poland the other. The Ukraine has, it is true, formed the second most important federal unit in the Union of Soviet Republics and has enjoyed greater linguistic freedom than under the old regime. Eastern Galicia, on the other hand, was in March, 1923, recognised by the Council of Ambassadors as forming part of Poland, but on the distinct condition that it should receive autonomy. Ten years have since passed without this pledge being fulfilled, and the Ukrainians have lost most of the advantages which they enjoyed in Austria. Only the knowledge that conditions are still more unfavourable in the Soviet Ukraine has held in check the national discontent in Eastern Galicia. But the triangular contest between Pole, Ukrainian and Great Russian is only postponed, not in any way solved.

It should be added that the real explanation of Poland's action lies in the fact that scattered throughout Eastern Galicia is a powerful Polish minority of not less than 1,000,000, and that between 70 and 80 per cent. of the population of the capital city of Lwow (Lemberg) is Polish.

V. Hungary contests the frontier with each of her four neighbours—Austria, Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Jugoslavia; and any examination of the details at once reveals the fact that in each of the last three cases the problem falls into several quite distinct sections.

A. Austria.—The so-called "Burgenland" is overwhelmingly German and ought to include the Magyarised town of Oedenburg (Sopron), where Hungary was allowed to effect a *fait accompli* in 1920 in very much the same way as Poland at Wilna, and which consequently forms a sharp and quite unnatural salient projecting

into Austria. In other words, any rectification of frontier would have to be in favour of Austria rather than Hungary.

*B. Czechoslovakia.*—Racial considerations apart, the frontier between Slovakia and Hungary was determined by Slovakia's need for access to the Danube and by the difficulties of communication from west to east of the province. (1) From the very outset Bratislava asserted itself as capital, and today there are more Germans than Magyars in it, and far more Czechs and Slovaks than Germans and Magyars combined. East of it, however, lies the rich district of Csalloköz (Žitný Ostrov), stretching as far as Komárno, which is overwhelmingly Magyar in race, but whose economic interests are bound up with the northern bank of the Danube. (2) From the mouth of the Ipel the frontier runs north-eastwards towards Košice—the natural centre for the whole of Eastern Slovakia; and owing to the mountainous nature of the terrain, it could not be very materially altered without virtually cutting all communication from west to east. It must be borne in mind that (speaking very roughly) the Slovak masses inhabit the hill country and the Magyars the plains. (3) There remains the semi-autonomous province of "Ruthenia" (Podkarpatská Rus), which still awaits the full grant of self-government promised under the treaties, but which, from being the most backward and neglected corner of pre-war Hungary, has made remarkable cultural and linguistic progress in these 14 years—being the only section of the whole Ukrainian race which enjoys free cultural development. Here it was found essential not to separate the foothills and valleys, in which the Ruthenes mainly live, from the connecting valley of the upper Tisza, mainly inhabited by Magyars, and at the same time to retain the only railway line running from west to east (and, incidentally, the only railway connection between Czechoslovakia and Roumania).

In short, while it might be possible, by ignoring economics, to restore some 200–300,000 Magyars of Slovakia and Ruthenia without sacrificing more than 30–40,000 Slovaks, something like two-thirds of the total Magyar minority would almost inevitably remain behind.

*C. Roumania.*—Here the problem falls into four distinct sections:—

(a) The valley of the Szamos as far as Satu Mare (Szatmár Németi, i.e. "*German Szatmár*") is claimed by Hungary. It is, however, one of those districts which have only been Magyarised in quite modern times and in a most artificial manner; and the best proof of this is the reappearance since the war of a German minority

of 30-40,000, which had been deprived of schools, culture and leaders and under the influence of propaganda through the Church had entered the final stage of assimilation.

(b) Half-way along the Roumano-Magyar frontier the town of Oradea Mare (Nagyvarad), which is predominantly Magyar with a large admixture of Jews, was assigned to Roumania, on the ground that though a more strictly linguistic frontier might be drawn ten or fifteen miles farther east, it would cut across the Transylvanian foothills and deprive Roumania of her road and railway connections from north to south.

(c) Arad, a predominantly Magyar and Jewish town, and the district immediately to the west of it, were assigned to Roumania, on the ground that it would have formed an unnatural salient and would itself have suffered economically.

(d) It is probable that by rectification it would be possible to restore 200-250,000 Magyars to Hungary without sacrificing more than 40-50,000 Roumanians. But that would in no way solve the main problem, for, unfortunately, the great bulk of the Magyars in Roumania live not along the frontier, but in isolated islets and enclaves, varying greatly in size. About 100,000 are centred in the town and county of Cluj (Kolozsvár), the chief town of Transylvania. Worst of all, the Székelys, who inhabit the four counties in the south-eastern bend of the Carpathians and number about 600,000, living for the most part in solid racial blocks of 90-95 per cent., occupy what is today the exact geographical centre of "Greater Roumania"—the kernel in the fruit. The only possible way of reuniting these two main Magyar groups with their kinsmen in Hungary is to reannex at least three-quarters, if not the whole, of Transylvania, with 2-3,000,000 Roumanians.

D. Yugoslavia.—Even here, though less than half a million Magyars are affected, the problem falls into three sections:—

(a) In the Banat—the most complicated racial mosaic in all Europe (not excepting Macedonia)—the only real rectification possible would be in favour of Roumania as against Yugoslavia—the latter's frontier having been altered at Paris at the last moment in defiance of the views of many of the experts, in such a way as to block the economic outlet of Timișoara (Temesvár) to the Danube.

(b) In the Bačka it would be easy to draw the frontier considerably farther to the south and thereby to diminish the number of Magyars in Yugoslavia by about 200,000, were it not for the presence of a large Yugoslav element—amounting to close on 100,000—in the city of Subotica (Szabadka) near the present frontier.

(c) Croatia-Slavonia does not properly fall within this survey; for there could be no question of its ever returning voluntarily to union with Hungary. The only alternative to its remaining as an integral part of Yugoslavia—the proper solution, though gravely endangered by the present iniquitous dictatorship—would be that it should form an independent State in conjunction with Slovenia and Dalmatia—a highly problematical and unsatisfactory solution, which would only please Fascist Italy.

VI. When we turn to the Balkans, there is a formidable catalogue of contested frontiers—between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Roumania, Yugoslavia and Albania, Albania and Greece, Greece and Bulgaria, Bulgaria and Roumania, Bulgaria and Turkey. The fact that the oldest and most acute quarrel of all, that between Greece and Turkey, has been virtually eliminated, might at first sight seem to offer a happy precedent. But in reality what has made Turco-Greek reconciliation possible—apart from the personalities of two such different men as Kemal and Venizelos—is the fact that their respective minorities were wiped out by a process of wholesale exchange, following upon war, extermination and terror. The case for cataclysmic solutions can no doubt be argued, on the analogy that fire and sword settled the Albigenian heresy in the 13th century, and with it the prospects of a separate Provençal State and culture. But it cannot seriously be put forward as a solution of Balkan disputes by anyone who accepts Genevan, or even Christian, principles.

It will be seen from this brief survey of the field that Slav Europe is directly and vitally concerned in all the main problems of revision—on the German-Polish frontier, on the whole eastern frontier of Poland, on the north Italian frontier, on two of Hungary's four frontiers, on most of the Balkan frontiers. This is the inevitable legacy of centuries of subjection, now to Turk, now to German, now to Magyar, now to Russian.

It must be at once obvious that to raise any one of these problems save by direct negotiations between the parties concerned, must almost inevitably raise all the others. For almost all the States affected are simultaneously top dogs in one direction and under dogs in another, and it is inconceivable that anyone of them will voluntarily surrender non-national territory to one neighbour without at least recovering its own national territory held by other neighbours. To take but a single delicate instance, is it to be supposed that Yugoslavia will ever comply with the Italian suggestion that she should cede territory to Bulgaria or Hungary, unless Italy either

surrenders her own Yugoslav population or at least restores to them the most elementary political rights? But if it be true that all these frontier questions are more or less interlocked, is it not even more true that they cannot be safely discussed, much less solved, in the heated atmosphere recently engendered in Europe, and that the attempt to raise them on a large scale at the present juncture, would probably turn Geneva into a bear garden?

If it could be demonstrated that rectification would wipe out these racial conflicts, then anyone opposing it would be guilty of a crime against Europe. But on the contrary it has been demonstrated that even under the most favourable circumstances (that is, making the very large and dubious assumption that peaceful agreement could be reached regarding certain territorial changes) the major portion of almost all these problems would still remain unsolved. Hence passions would have been aroused, infinite uncertainty created, and dislocation introduced into many lives, yet without any real guarantee that the agitation which prompted the original demand would now finally die down and permanently cordial relations be established.

Something of this was implicit in the speech delivered by Dr. Beneš on 25 April<sup>1</sup>, when he freely admitted that Article XIX of the Covenant made it possible to raise the question of revision before the international forum, but argued that territorial changes presupposed direct negotiation and free agreement between the parties concerned, "in an atmosphere of calm and collaboration," in which there could be no talk of either capitulation or terrorism or blackmail. It is obvious that the only real alternative to this would be either war, in defiance of the Covenant, or dictation exercised by strong Powers against weak ones.

A further essential factor is too often overlooked. How do the advocates of revision envisage the actual process of transfer of territory? The States concerned fall into two categories—those where all political opposition has been suppressed and where a dictatorial and strongly nationalist regime prevails, and those where constitutional forms still survive. Can it be seriously maintained that national dictators are more predisposed to territorial concessions than the more liberal regimes which they have superseded and which they now denounce as traitors? And again, can it seriously be expected that governments which are still responsible to parliamentary and representative bodies, could ever obtain their sanction for drastic

<sup>1</sup> *La Question du Directoire Européen et la Revision des Frontières* (Sources et Documents Tchécoslovaques, no. 21), p. 73.

territorial changes, or even for rectification except on a basis of free mutual concession, leading to some new form of political and economic co-operation?

The fundamental difficulty which underlies the whole question of Revision is the fact that on most of the frontiers no clear-cut ethnographic line of division is attainable, and that no matter how they may be drawn or re-drawn, very considerable minorities must in all cases remain on the wrong side of every one of them. It is quite true that here and there the admitted imperfections of the existing situation could be mitigated, but in no case except that of Tyrol and Venezia Giulia, could perfect ethnographic frontiers be established. To take only a few practical examples. The only way of eliminating a German minority in Poland would be to create a much larger Polish minority in Germany: the only substitute for a "Polish corridor" to the sea would be a "German corridor" to East Prussia. The only way of reuniting the Magyars of Transylvania with their kinsmen in Hungary would be to hand back with them between two and three million Roumanians. The only possible way of uniting all Ukrainians under a single rule would involve the transfer of a million Poles with them. And so on almost *ad infinitum*.

It was the clear perception of this root difficulty which led the much-abused experts of Paris to fall back upon the expedient of Minority Treaties, guaranteeing the language, religion, and culture of those racial fragments which it seemed unavoidable to leave under foreign rule. Unhappily these guarantees were not impartially applied to all states, great and small, and in the end certain states were able to plead as an excuse for their own evasions and non-fulfilment the fact that others which were not bound by treaty treated their own minorities even more severely, and were therefore not entitled to sit in judgment. Worst of all, for reasons which cannot be dealt with in this general sketch, some of the most important provisions of certain of these minority treaties have remained on paper; the irresponsible flood of ill-founded grievances with which Geneva was assailed in the first years discredited the method of petition; and certain interested Powers have succeeded only too well in blocking all proposals for improved procedure and publicity in minority questions before the League.

It follows from all this, not by any means that an *impasse* has been reached in the vexed Question of Nationalities, but rather that frontier revision, as generally advocated, does not provide the means of escape, and, indeed, that "the difference between ethnographic and political frontiers is inherent in the geographical distribution of

the various races of Europe and cannot be rectified." The real remedy must be sought in other directions. The motive force of "revisionism" comes from two main sources—on the one hand, political agitation and hopes of *revanche* (and this only time can cure, as the older generation dies off), and on the other hand, the absolutely legitimate fear for the fate of co-nationals on the wrong side of a frontier. This will continue until it can be proved to be groundless—in other words, until a policy of "assimilation" has by common consent been abandoned or rendered impossible. In the 16th century the attempt of temporal rulers to enforce upon their subjects the principle of *cujus regio, ejus religio*, led to constant wars of religion and drenched Europe in blood, till at last religion has almost everywhere become a private affair of the individual and not of the state. In somewhat the same way the attempt to assimilate *racial* minorities, by the denial of schools, culture and linguistic facilities—an attempt which is often (though not always) veiled behind liberal profession and pursued far more widely than is generally realised—must inevitably keep large sections of Europe in a state of unrest—not merely the minorities concerned, who have been variously estimated at between 25 and 35 millions, but also of course large sections of their kinsmen in neighbouring states, who make up the greater part of Europe. What is needed is something more than the effective enforcement of existing Minority Treaties (though this would be an essential first step forward), but their extension to the maximum, not to the minimum, possible in each particular case, and the public recognition that a man's "nationality" is not identical with his "citizenship," but is something compounded of race, language, tradition and innermost feeling—something physiological and sacred, which should be as inviolate as his religion. If this view could once win general acceptance and be translated into practice, the frontiers would speedily lose much of their political significance, revision would fall into the background, cultural intercourse across the frontiers could be extended, and the path would be laid for that removal, or at least reduction, of economic barriers which must be the final goal.

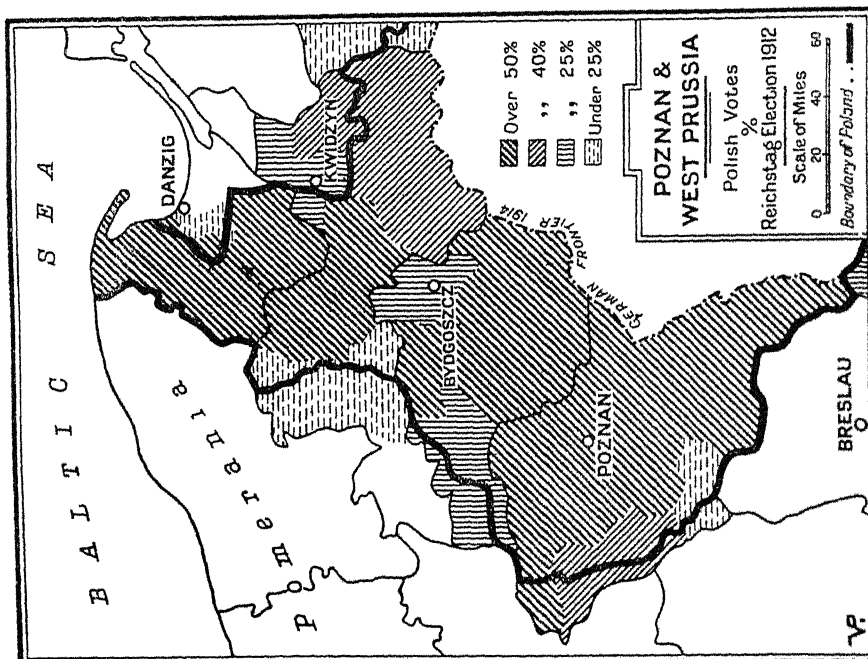
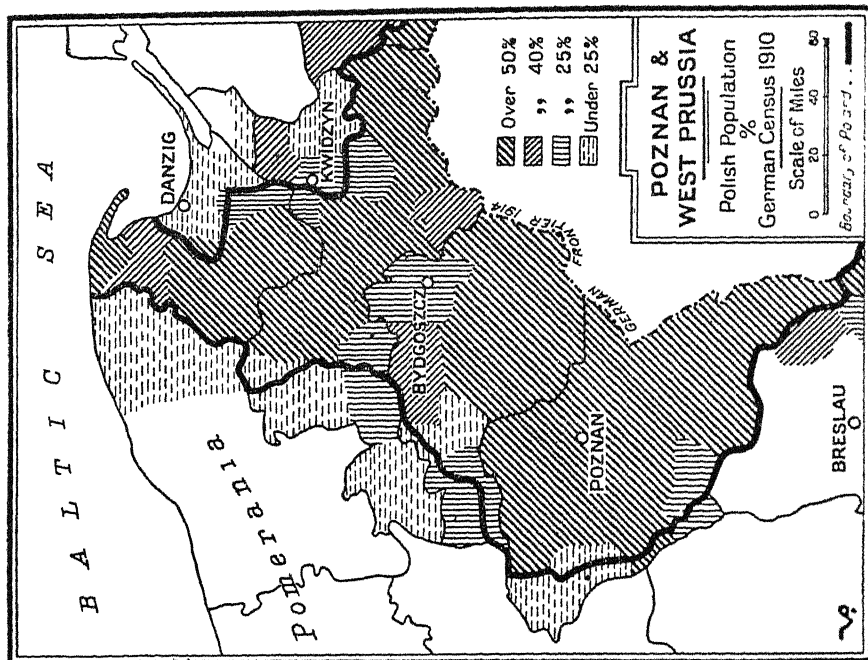
There is a certain current of opinion today which assures us that our economic difficulties can only be solved by the careful elimination of politics. This is like the problem of removing a pound of flesh without drawing blood. It overlooks the notorious fact that the main obstacles to ending the world crisis come not from financial experts, but from politicians with every conceivable kind of *arrière pensée*. The best proof that political prejudices and

aspirations still run counter to economic appeasement is to be seen in the Danubian countries, where the settlement of 1919-20 was dominated by nationalism and took too little account of economic factors, and where hopes and fears of revision still dam back the natural trend of events towards economic co-operation—not reunion, but a reasoned and well-balanced co-operation—between five equals, without the sacrifice of individual independence, and with all due regard to the economic interests of Germany and Italy.

But behind and above this question, important as it is, lurks the fundamental problem which confronts our civilisation today. Are the relations of the nations to rest upon international negotiation and accord, upon law and sanctions (as in the internal economy of individual states), or as in the past, upon Brute Force and the methods of "Blood and Iron"? Can the old conceptions of neutrality be upheld in a world transformed by air communications and by new interpretations of contraband, or must we not rather reckon with the increasing difficulty of localising any save the pettiest and most distant conflicts? In such a situation the old dilemma of Intervention or Non-intervention which exercised Canning and Palmerston presents itself in a new form, and the attempt of various European Governments to reduce public opinion to a single pattern, to exterminate all freedom of thought and all opposition parties, and even to identify the State itself with the single Party—this attempt cannot remain a matter of indifference to Britain, with her long tradition of freedom and of government by discussion and persuasion. So long as the authoritarian theory of the State was proclaimed in Russia and Italy only (or in such backwaters of political thought as Yugoslavia or Albania), it was possible for the short-sighted, the cautious or the doctrinaire to remain neutral and even to talk glibly of an "interesting experiment" in the theory of government (forgetting that it was really a grim experiment with the lives and hopes of countless millions born and unborn). But now that a similar theory is being proclaimed in the very heart and centre of the continent, in Germany, with its ancient traditions of academic freedom, federal diversity and municipal self-government, an attitude of detached neutrality is rapidly becoming impossible and it may once more become the duty of the western nations to stand together for the ideas of spiritual and political freedom. In this great conflict of ideas the Slavonic nations are certainly called upon to play a most momentous part.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.





## THE VALLEY OF THE VISTULA

THE monk Nestor, the father of Russian chronology, wrote in the opening of the 12th century of our era an account of the origins of the present Slav peoples in Europe.<sup>1</sup> In his famous chronicle, among other things, he says that some of the Slavs, who lived on the Danube, had been pushed back by their enemies into the hills on the upper Morava, where they became known as the Moravians, next to whom were the Czechs. Later, these same Slavs (from their habitat in the Carpathians) spread down the Wisla (Vistula) to the sea of the Varangians in the north (the Baltic), and southwards they descended the Dnieper to the Pontus (the Black Sea).

Having thus established the common origin of the Russians and the Poles, Nestor proceeds to say that from the headwaters of the Dnieper the Slavs crossed to the Dvina river, and then, along a network of waterways, they made their way first to the Ilmen lake, and then to Nevo (lake Ladoga). Here they were near to the upper reaches of the Volga (destined to become the national river of Russia). Thus Nestor demonstrates the intimate link which exists between Slav migrations and the river systems of Central and Eastern Europe. This connection can be found, too, in the case of the move in pre-Roman days down the Laba (Elbe), when they filled what we now know as Germany to the sea, extending westwards, especially in the Mohan (Main) area, nearly to the Rhine.<sup>2</sup>

The Slavs, who had settled the valley of the Vistula, says Nestor, called themselves *Lechi* (the ancient name for the Poles). Then, according to the chronicler, some of them took the name of *Poljane* (men of the fields), others, again, became known as *Pomorjane* (men of the seaboard, now called Kashubs), or as *Mazovčane* (the present Mazurs of Poland and East Prussia). As Nestor mentions other *Poljane* on the Dnieper far away, we see that the source of these tribal designations was not in a racial difference, but in circumstances of environment. The *Pomorjane* Nestor puts together with the *Mazovčane*, as merely a Polish sub-tribe. This has a direct bearing upon the topical problem of the so-called Corridor. Later, when we

<sup>1</sup> *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1846.

<sup>2</sup> Bogusławski, *Dzieje Słowiańszczyzny Północno-Zachodniej*, I-IV, Poznań, 1887-1900; Niederle, *Slovanské Starožitnosti*, Praha, 1902; etc. etc.

discuss the geographical peculiarities of the Vistula in its lower course, we shall understand better why Polish sovereignty over the Pomorze (the land by the sea) in ancient times was the natural outcome of physical conditions, which kept the Lechite Slavs of the Vistula estuary apart from their relatives, the Slavs of the western coast.

The old Polish chroniclers are explicit. So Długosz<sup>3</sup> quotes witnesses by the score to prove that the "ducatus et terra Pomeranie cum omnibus territoriis et districtibus . . . sunt site infra regnum predictum Polonie." Archdeacon Matthias of Płock in 1330 declares,<sup>4</sup> "quod una et eadem lingua est in Pomerania et Polonia, qui omnes homines communiter habitantes in ea locuntur polonum-cum." And Mieczysław of Kameszko<sup>5</sup> states that in that part of the world "omnes habitantes erant Poloni." Another contemporary makes out that "in dicta terra Pomeranie sunt et fuerunt semper Poloni."<sup>6</sup>

A valuable witness to the Slav character of the Pomorze, and to its being a part of Poland, is Ibrahim-ibn-Jakub, the Spanish Jew, who in the end of the 10th century was at the court in Magdeburg of Emperor Otto I.<sup>7</sup> That Danzig—*Gyddanyc* in those days, later *Gdańsk*—originally was a Slav settlement is not disputed by serious German writers.<sup>8</sup> After more than 800 years, Nestor's evidence of the interchangeability of the names *Pomorjane* (Kashubs) and *Lechi* (Poles) is borne out by an official German statement in 1906. For in that year the Prussian *Regierungspräsident* in Danzig recommended for census purposes that the use of the word "Kashub" should be discontinued, because "it means the same thing as Polish."<sup>9</sup> This practical suggestion complied with the principle set out in 1800 by Kant in his "Nachschrift" to Mielcke's dictionary.<sup>10</sup> Bogedain, the reformer of popular education in Prussian Silesia in the forties of the 19th century, held similar views on the relative

<sup>3</sup> Działyński, *Lites ac Res gestæ inter Polonos ordinemque Cruciferorum*, vol. I, part i, Poznań, 1856.

<sup>4</sup> *Lites*, p. 92.

<sup>5</sup> *Lites*, p. 350.

<sup>6</sup> See Sobieski, *Der Kampf um die Ostsee*, Leipzig, 1933.

<sup>7</sup> Ibrahim's Travels are in Kunik and Rosen, *Izvestia Akademii Nauk*, vol. XXXII, St. Petersburg, 1878; *Izvestia Al-Bekry i drugikh avtorov o Rusi i Slavyanakh*.

<sup>8</sup> Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, vol. I, Danzig, 1913.

<sup>9</sup> *Preussische Statistik*, vol. 206, part i, p. 27.

<sup>10</sup> Mielcke, *Litauisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Königsberg, 1800.

positions of Polish, as the literary language, and of various local dialects.<sup>11</sup>

Now let us look back a thousand years to the second half of the 10th century. This was a momentous epoch in the history of Central Europe. The German *Drang nach Osten* had started again. Set in motion a century and a half earlier by the alliance of Charlemagne, the Frankish Emperor, with the Church of Rome, when the pagan Slavs were subdued as far east as the Middle Elbe, it had hung fire under the successors of the great empire-builder, partly because of internal trouble, but chiefly because it was held in check by the Czech bulwark and the powerful Obotrite federation between the Lower Elbe and the Baltic Sea. Hamburg, Magdeburg, and Halle stood for a time as advanced posts of the Western civilisation. Beyond them was the land of the Slavs.<sup>12</sup> But the emperors of the Saxon line took advantage of the fact that on the Middle Elbe the Slavs were not organised into a strong unit. Military expeditions poured into this gap. Meissen (Miszno) was secured on the Upper Elbe in 928, and the situation became so favourable that Otto I (936-977) carried the imperial residence forward from Merseburg to Magdeburg (the ancient Slav *Dziewin*). The city became the starting point of warlike operations across the river.<sup>13</sup> German territory formed a bulge, jutting out into Slav country. In 949 a bishopric existed already in Brandenburg (*Brambor*). The Slavs on the Havel were decimated, and a move was made against the Lusatians on the Spree, where now stands Berlin. Here, however, the *Drang nach Osten* came up against a new factor: the pressure westwards of Poland.<sup>14</sup>

By the middle of the 10th century the *Poljane*, who lived to the south of lake Goplo, near the Vistula, had formed a State of some consequence. Ziemowit, the founder of the Piast dynasty, laid a solid foundation on which his successors built, gradually extending their power to the whole of the Vistula basin. By the time of Mieszko (960-992), Poland emerged as the principal Slav principality in Eastern Europe. In the east it extended beyond the Bug river, and in the west included what is now Polonia Major and the whole of Silesia. Beyond the Oder the Lusatians were certainly in Mieszko's

<sup>11</sup> Laubert, *Die preussische Polenpolitik von 1772-1914*, Berlin, 1920.

<sup>12</sup> Augur, *A Bulwark of Democracy*, London, 1931.

<sup>13</sup> Thietmarus Merseburgensis, *Chronica in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, Hannover, 1868; also Widukind, *Res Gestæ Saxonicae*, *Mon. Germ.* IV.

<sup>14</sup> Augur, *op. cit.*, and Eagles, *Black and White*, London, 1929, ch. ii.

sphere of influence.<sup>15</sup> As if to support his policy of expansion to the west, Mieszko transferred his capital to Poznań on the Warta, an affluent of the Odra (Oder). Practically this move coincided with the advance of the imperial residence to Magdeburg. A clash between the two Powers was inevitable. It came in 963. Mieszko was defeated, losing the land of the Lusatians. But in 966 he took a step which more than rewarded him for the territorial loss. He accepted the Christian faith as the official religion of his State. The Gospel came to Poland from Rome through the national Church of Moravia-Bohemia, the Church of the Slav apostles Methodius and Cyril.<sup>16</sup> In the eyes of the Holy See this made him practically the equal of the Saxon Emperor. This all the more, because Mieszko agreed to pay the annual tribute of St. Peter's Penny, which the Germans had always refused to remit. Incidentally, the payment of this tribute to Rome is the means of establishing the ancient limits of the Polish State, including the Pomorze, as well as the numbers of the population in olden times in the various provinces.<sup>17</sup>

Mieszko, "King of the North,"<sup>18</sup> took advantage of the situation to establish himself on a footing of equality with his German neighbours. He now had not only the moral, but also the cultural support of the Church, and he allied himself with the powerful Bohemian princes. With the Emperor in Magdeburg, Mieszko outwardly maintained peaceful relations. This did not prevent him from supporting the successful rising of the Transelbian Slavs, who in 983 swept the western invaders back from the Upper Elbe to the Saale, and cleared the right bank of the river down to Hamburg. The Germans were back on the old line of Charlemagne's conquest.<sup>19</sup> This helped to consolidate the Polish influence in the valley of the Odra among the tribes, whose chief city was the legendary populous Volin, "The City of the Twelve Gates" of Ibrahim-ibn-Jakub.

Mieszko was the first Polish ruler to possess a standing army and

<sup>15</sup> Worbs, *Archiv für die Geschichte Schlesiens und der Lausitz*, part i, Glogau, 1804: "Lausitzer lebten noch bis 959 von den Deutschen unabhängig und in Verbindung mit Polen."

<sup>16</sup> The bibliography on this point is in Bogusławski, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 78-82, f. 11.

<sup>17</sup> Ladenberger, *Zaludnienie Polski na początku panowania Kazimierza Wielkiego*, Lwów, 1930.

<sup>18</sup> Ibrahim-ibn-Jakub, *op. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> Thietmar, *op. cit.*, and Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum seu Annales*, Frankfurt, 1581.

a regularly filled treasury. We do not know exactly the limits of his territorial possessions, especially in the East. Yet it is certain that the valley of the Vistula from the Carpathians to the sea had become the internal citadel of the national State in its formation. That the estuary of the river at so early a date by an easy natural process became an intrinsic part of Poland we can easily understand, if we look at the map. We see there that, after leaving the central Polish *plateau*, the Vistula is flanked by natural barriers. To the east is the belt of lake and forest which in ancient times separated the *Lechi* from the *Prusy*, of what now is the maritime part of East Prussia. The last war, in spite of centuries of tree-cutting and marsh-draining, showed that the line of Mazurian lakes today still represents a formidable obstacle. Centuries ago it was impassable. Between it and the sea, accompanying the right bank of the Vistula, was an area of low country. Before the dykes were built it was permanently flooded, so that the higher ground on the left bank, where the old Gdańsk was built, had no good communications by land with the people to the east of it. The barrier in the west was, if possible, even more formidable. The Notec (Netze), an affluent of the Oder, had its source in lake Gopło (not far from the Vistula). It flowed slowly westwards, at right angles to the course of the principal river, forming a belt of marshes which in the olden days could be safely crossed only in very few places. Beyond it, on the watershed between the Notec and the sea, was a dense forest, of which vestiges still remain. Further still, in what we now call the Kashub country, was a medley of lakes, woods and marshes, which today we admire for its picturesque features. A thousand years ago it was a "nemus horrendum et vastum."<sup>20</sup>

Polish chronicles are full of news about military expeditions into the Pomorze. But it all refers to the seaboard more to the west (Pomerania). Characteristically no mention can be found of operations on the Lower Vistula (Pomerellen); the land evidently did not waver in its established allegiance. When Mieszko introduced Christianity, the baptism of the inhabitants of Gdańsk appears to have occurred in the way of an administrative measure.<sup>21</sup> Gdańsk, with the rest of the Pomorze on the Vistula, belonged to the bishopric of Kujawa in Poland.<sup>22</sup> On this point we refer to the bull

<sup>20</sup> Herbord, *Vita Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis* in Bielowski, *Monumenta Poloniæ Historica*, vol. II, Lwow, 1872.

<sup>21</sup> David, *La Pologne et l'évangélisation de la Poméranie*, Paris, 1928; also Sobieski, *op. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> Fabre, *Liber Censuum*, Paris, 1905.

of Pope Eugenius III, given in Rheims in 1148.<sup>23</sup> Its particular interest is in the confirmation of the fact that the ruler of Poland in respect of the Pomorze, and of "Kdancz" especially, was "ejusdem terræ dux" and could dispose of taxation and shipping dues there as he saw fit. (The original bull is in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow.) The connection of Danzig with the bishopric of Kujawa outlasted the Partitions of the 18th century and was terminated only in 1818. But the Pomorze in the west (Pomerania), so far as it belonged to Poland, was organised into a special bishopric with its seat in *Kolobrzeg* (Kolberg).<sup>24</sup>

Boleslaw the Brave, Mieszko's famous son (912-1025), established Poland as a Great Power in Europe. It was symbolic of the new order that Emperor Otto III came to visit him in the year 1000, coming as the Pope's representative to perform an act of adoration before the shrine of St. Vojtěch of Prague (St. Adalbert), who had been murdered by the heathens in East Prussia. In the name of the Pope, Otto proclaimed the creation of a national Church in Poland. At the same time, by placing a crown on the brow of Boleslaw, the Emperor acknowledged him as a king in his own right, free from vassalage.<sup>25</sup> Otto died soon after this, and his successor, Henry II, was made to feel the full force of the Polish *Drang nach Westen*. Moravia had thrown in its lot with Poland, and at one moment it looked as if Boleslaw would be able to maintain himself in Bohemia, which he had annexed. Polish garrisons occupied towns on the Bavarian border. But an influential party among the Czechs deserted to the Emperor, who recaptured Prague by a swift raid. But Boleslaw kept Moravia and, after a war which had lasted sixteen years, he defeated Henry in the land of the Lusatians. The peace, unfavourable to Germany, was signed in 1018 there in the town of Budyšin (Bautzen). Thietmar said that it was "non ut decuit sed sicut fieri potuit."

Mieszko, and Boleslaw after him, had built well. Poland stood four-square in Europe, with the spine of its national body in the valley of the Vistula so well protected by outlying territories that no enemy seemed able to injure it. From the tribes which inhabited

<sup>23</sup> Perlbach, *Pomerellisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. I, part ii, Danzig, 1881.

<sup>24</sup> Thietmar, *op. cit.*, "Reinbernus Salsæ Cholbergiensis ecclesiæ episcopus"; also in Saxo, *Annales Magdeburgienses* in *Mon. Germ.*, vol. XVI.

<sup>25</sup> Thietmar, *op. cit.*, Gallus *Chronicon*, in *Monumenta Polonica*. This is the most detailed description of Otto's visit to Poland. See also Bartoszewicz, *Historya Pierwotna Polski*, Krakow, 1878.

the great domain of the Piast dynasty the Polish nation was being hammered out. A national culture had been created.<sup>26</sup> Christianity, no doubt, played a decisive part in this work of State-building. At the same time, in the long run, as can be seen from the history of early German colonisation in Poland, it contributed to weaken the national resistance,<sup>27</sup> and it certainly prevented Poland from consolidating its position as paramount Power on the Baltic. To understand this, it is necessary to represent the situation as it had shaped itself after the Treaty of Budyšin. The *Drang nach Osten* of the Germans had been arrested. Mieszko and Boleslaw had built so well that, although their successors could not hold Moravia, and again lost the Lusatian country (1035), Poland for a long time was not really exposed to a menace from the west. The Germans had not been able to win through to the Baltic coast, and the Obotrite federation stood unshaken between the Lower Elbe and the sea. So the kings of Poland could proceed with their aggressive policy against the *Pomorjane* of the western coast. Boleslaw's great-grandson, also a Boleslaw, called the Wry-mouthed (1102-1138), was a warrior whose fame went through Christendom. He led his Poles upon one bold expedition after another into Western Pomerania. Finally, the most powerful prince in those parts, the Slav duke of Szczecin (Stettin) was obliged to acknowledge him as his suzerain. At the time of Boleslaw's death the whole of Western Pomerania and even the island of Rügen were under his authority. But the Polish king came there not to assert the idea of Slav unity, but as a representative of the Faith, which the tribes of the seaboard abhorred, because of the sufferings inflicted by German crusaders. The *Pomorjane* clung to their heathen practices with a patriotic intensity which the Poles, who did not fear the Germans, could not understand. So Boleslaw did not hesitate to call German missionaries in to his assistance. The chief among them was Otto, Bishop of Bamberg, a friend of the Emperor Lothar. Thus the force of Poland was used to protect a mission which was used to establish German political influence. However that may be, it is a fact that in 1135 Boleslaw took the oath of fealty to the Holy Roman Empire for the land he held in Western Pomerania.<sup>28</sup> But the

<sup>26</sup> An interesting light on this point is to be found in Dyhrenfurth, *Ein schlesisches Dorf und Rittergut*, in Schmoller and Sering, *Staats-und-sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, vol. 25, Leipzig, 1906.

<sup>27</sup> Augur, *A Bulwark of Democracy*, cit.

<sup>28</sup> Wehrman, *Geschichte von Pommern*, Gotha, 1904, the events are well set out in Sobieski, *op. cit.*



king's real crime against Poland was the testament by which he broke up his realm into principalities for his sons.<sup>29</sup>

Boleslaw the Wry-mouthed was the last king to have his capital in Poznań—that is, near to Central Europe and to the Baltic. It is significant that in his will he vested the overlordship of Poland in the one of his sons, or their descendants, who would rule in Cracow. This, we take it, was a recognition of the fact that the centre of national gravity had moved up the valley of the Vistula, and was now back at the foot of the Carpathians. The explanation of the change is in the growth of the Polish pressure towards the broad plains in the south-east. Still Boleslaw, proud of his Pomeranian conquest, and dimly conscious perhaps of the importance for Poland of an access to the sea, placed this whole part of his dominions, as a Crown land, under the direct authority of the senior prince, reigning in Cracow. As, after the death of this king, the territories he had conquered on the western coast were swiftly lost again, the Polish Pomorze on the Vistula, remaining under the immediate government of Cracow, acquired an enhanced importance.

In this way it came about that in the second half of the 12th century the strong Polish front from the Baltic to the Czech border had ceased to exist. Instead of one there were three states fronting Germany: Pomorze, Polonia Major (Wielkopolska) and Silesia (Śląsk). Of these, Polonia Major in its turn soon fell into two principalities, not always united, and Silesia from the first pursued a separate policy. The Pomorze, because of the weakness and civil strife in Cracow, quickly saw its governors become hereditary princelings, as if in their own right.<sup>30</sup>

This weakness came over Poland at the worst moment possible. The *Drang nach Osten* of the Germans had broken out afresh, and the Danes, from piratical attacks, had passed to a planned system of conquest on the Baltic seaboard. The maritime power of the Western Slavs was destroyed by Danish fleets. Arkona, the port of refuge of the sea-roving *Rany*, was taken by storm in 1167.<sup>31</sup> The last independent prince of the Obotrites, hemmed in between Danes and Germans, in the same year was forced to become a vassal of the Empire.<sup>32</sup> The Poles in 1180 were unable to prevent the Danes

<sup>29</sup> Smolka, *Testament Bolesława* in *Rozprawy Akademji Umiejętności*, vol. XIII.

<sup>30</sup> K. Tymieniecki, *History of Polish Pomerania*, Poznań, 1929.

<sup>31</sup> Saxo Grammaticus, *Danorum Historiæ, Libri XVI*, Basel, 1534.

<sup>32</sup> This was the origin of the Mecklenburg dynasty, displaced only in 1918. Pentz, *Geschichte Mecklenburgs*, Wismar, 1872.

from capturing Stettin. Meanwhile the Germans were pushing eastwards. In 1157 Albrecht the Bear finally possessed himself of Brandenburg, coveted since the 10th century. The March of Brandenburg came into existence, the seed of the Prussian kingdom. In 1209 it extended to Barlin (Berlin).<sup>33</sup> In 1231 the Markgraves of Brandenburg became the overlords of the dukes of Stettin, freed from the dependence on Denmark by the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa.<sup>34</sup> Five years later the territory of Starogorod (Stargard) in Western Pomerania was annexed outright, and for the first time the menace arose of a German movement up the Netze, right across Polish territory, to the valley of the Vistula.<sup>35</sup> But the worst blow to the Poles in this period was the germanisation of the Piast princes in Lower and Middle Silesia.<sup>36</sup> It was directly responsible for the appearance on the Lower Vistula of the knights of the Teutonic Order of the Cross.

Konrad, the princeling of Polish Mazowia, is usually mentioned by historians as responsible for bringing the Order in 1225 to Chelmno (Kulm). Even Polish writers hold this second-rate chieftain responsible for opening the door to these bitter enemies. We say that the responsibility should be placed where it belongs, that is upon the great duke Henry the Bearded, of Silesia, the devoted husband of the German princess, St. Hedwig. This powerful prince, master of the major part of Silesia, in his pious zeal for the Church, filled his country with German monks and clerics. We have explained elsewhere<sup>37</sup> the reasons of a purely economic nature which facilitated the settlement in Poland of monkish communities from Germany, which in their turn brought in the German cultivator of the land. Traders and artisans were imported from Germany too. After the glorious period of the Piast kings Polish princes and magnates had no fear of the German, who now approached them hat in hand, begging to be allowed to increase their revenues by a better cultivation of the land, by the practice of useful crafts, or by commercial transactions.<sup>38</sup> The germanised Piasts of Silesia, and their courtiers, were the first to introduce

<sup>33</sup> Klöden, *Ueber die Entstehung von Berlin*, Berlin, 1839.

<sup>34</sup> Hasselback, *Codex Pomeranæ Diplomaticus*, Greifswald, 1843.

<sup>35</sup> Raumer, *Regesta Historiæ Brandenburgensis*, Berlin, 1836; Pulkawa, *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, vol. XVII, Göttingen, 1877.

<sup>36</sup> Grunhagen, *Geschichte Schlesiens*, Gotha, 1884.

<sup>37</sup> Augur, *A Bulwark of Democracy*.

<sup>38</sup> Schulte, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Kolonisation in Schlesien*, Breslau, 1898.

settlers from the west on a large scale into their country. Henry the Bearded, whose mother was the daughter of an Emperor, and whose wife was the aunt of St. Elisabeth of Thuringia,<sup>39</sup> laid the foundation upon which the German power grew up in that part of Silesia which is to the west of the Oder. He was the most powerful prince of his day in Poland. Polonia Major was dominated by him, and he claimed suzerain rights over Mazowia. In his zeal for the Cross the Silesian duke took part in the crusade against the heathen *Prusy*. In the Silesian contingent were the knights of the Order of the Cross, whom Henry befriended. A Silesian garrison held the castle of Chelmno until all was ready for occupation by the Order, whom, at Henry's bidding, Konrad of Mazowia had been obliged to invite. Thus the Poles let in the enemy, who in less than ninety years became strong enough to cut them off from the sea.<sup>40</sup>

Polish writers, no less than the German ones, have made it their business to represent the Order as an organisation of immense power. The Germans have done so to exalt the achievement of their nationals, and the Poles—to explain the loss of the entrance from the sea to the valley of the Vistula, which happened in 1308. No doubt the Order, in the first century of its existence on the shore of the Baltic, was brimming over with the spirit of enterprise and vigour. This is seen from the swiftness of the conquest of the *Prusy* and other tribes on the Lithuanian border. But the task of the knights in what is now East Prussia was made easier by the fact that Polish influences had been at work there in the cultural sense already for generations. Polish missionaries and colonists had penetrated into the country, when the Order was yet unknown. Polish kings and princes led military expeditions into the land to break up the resistance of various chieftains. But the Order knew how to advertise its merits, even to the extent of making more difficult the conversion of the natives to Christianity, if this suited its book.<sup>41</sup>

In the period we have in mind the Order, in its relations with Poland, relied upon the cunning of its diplomacy and not upon the swords of its knights. From the first its chiefs were resolved to be

<sup>39</sup> St. Hedwig was of the house of the counts of Andechs, dukes of Meran. Her sister Agnes married Philip II of France. Another sister, Gertrude, was the wife of Andrew I of Hungary. Two of her brothers became bishops.

<sup>40</sup> Recke, *Danzig und der deutsche Ritterorden*, Bremen, 1928; Werminghoff, *Der deutsche Orden und die Stände in Preussen*, Lübeck, 1912; Tyc, *Pomorze polskie a krzyżacy* in *Roczniki historyczne*, III, 1927.

<sup>41</sup> Caspar, *Vom Wesen des Deutschordenstaates*, Königsberg, 1928.

independent, but they carefully hid their design and for many years maintained friendly relations with many Polish princes and magnates. If the Order soon was able to take root in the rich Pomorze itself, this was the result not of force, but of an invitation by the Poles themselves. Within the limits of this article it is difficult to give details of a situation so involved as that of the Pomorze at the time. (This is well described in Sobieski, *op. cit.*) We remind our readers, however, of the fact that the settlement of the Order in a strategic position at Chelmino, on the eastern rim of the valley of the Vistula, coincided with the rise of a dynasty of independent rulers in the Polish Pomorze. The last vestiges of a central authority in Poland disappeared with the assassination in 1227 of Leszek, the White, Duke of Krakow. The royal "prefects" of Gdańsk (Danzig), enriched by the collection of port dues and other taxes, now became princes in their own right. Świętopełk, son of the rich Mestwin, bore himself as the equal of any Piast. But the Pomorze, if it had become independent, remained intensely Polish too. This in the sense that, like the rest of the country in this period, it had no peace from internal strife. The prince had continual trouble with his relatives and magnates in various parts of the country. The malcontents were glad to accept assistance, wherever it came from. The knights played off one side against the other, and had no scruples in changing sides, if profitable. Thus they profited. They obtained a piece of land in one place, and a manor in another. Without people noticing it particularly, the Order created a strong position for itself in the Pomorze. The tragic side of the situation was that, in spite of the political decay, the province had entered into a period of economic prosperity. This was the time of the expansion of the Hansa. The Germans, having at last broken down the Slav barrier on the western coast, which had so long kept them away from the sea, now carried their trading to the farthest corners of the Baltic. Lübeck in 1226 was made a free imperial city, and its factories were in many places. In 1187 there was one as far east as Novgorod. In Gdańsk we hear of an autonomous German settlement in 1157. There were German traders and artisans in many towns of the interior, too. The Polish rulers, with characteristic liberality, welcomed the foreigners, whose coming meant an increased volume of trade and more money in their coffers. This German invasion of the domain of trade relations should not surprise us. Was there not even in London the Hanseatic "Steelyard," whose merchants controlled the foreign trade of England well into the 16th century?

Meanwhile the situation in Poland was beginning to look more settled, and in 1294, when the local dynasty became extinct, the Pomorze reverted to Przemyśl, duke of Polonia Major. It is significant that this reunion was considered in Poland as warranting the restoration of the royal title, which had been in abeyance since the days of Boleslaw the Wry-mouthed. Przemyśl was crowned king of Poland in 1295 in Gniezno. But this did not suit the book of the Brandenburgers, who all this time had been extending their possessions in Western Pomerania, working up to the Polish Pomorze, which they coveted for its riches and the control it brought over the trade of the whole valley of the Vistula. Przemyśl's wife was the sister of the Markgrave of Brandenburg. With her connivance, less than a year after his coronation, Przemyśl was seized by disaffected nobles and carried off as prisoner to Brandenburg. On the road he was murdered by his captors.

His successor, Ladislas Lokietek, duke of Kujawa, was an energetic prince, determined to maintain his authority over the Pomorze, where the population greeted him with enthusiasm. Lokietek ruled over Pomorze and Polonia Major and Minor, that is, over the principal part of the valley of the Vistula, and the unity of Poland seemed on the way to be re-born. But already in 1300 he was driven out of his dominions by King Václav (Wenceslas) II of Bohemia, who had himself crowned king of Poland in the ancient metropolitan church at Gniezno. In the Pomorze, as in the rest of his Polish dominions, this king showed favour to the German element; he allowed the Order to maintain a garrison for a couple of years in the castle of Gdańsk itself, so that the knights became accustomed to the idea of being masters there. Wenceslas III, his son and successor, continued to support the German element in Poland. He was on good terms, too, with the Markgrave of Brandenburg, to whom, for his assistance, he promised half of the Pomorze. Wenceslas was elected king of Hungary in 1301, so that for a moment it looked as if the Bohemian kingdom would extend from the Baltic to the Adriatic. But the king was assassinated in 1306, and with him the Bohemian domination in Poland came to an end.

Lokietek returned to the Pomorze; but his attention was diverted by a rising against him of the German burghers in the principal towns of Poland. While he was dealing effectively with this menace, treacherous nobles invited the Markgrave to take possession of Gdańsk. The garrison left there by Lokietek would have succumbed, if the Order had not sent troops to its assistance. The

Brandenburger was forced to retire; but then the knights refused to surrender the castles in Gdańsk and other towns which they had occupied. Unmasking their plan at last, the knights, on a dark night in November 1308, arranged a blood-bath for the Polish soldiers and citizens. The massacres were carried out with a calculated ferocity simultaneously in several localities. The Order was master of the Pomorze, which King Lokietek was too weak to take back from it.<sup>42</sup>

The opening of the 14th century marks the return of Poland to unity. The loss of the Lower Vistula to their now avowed enemy had shocked the Poles. They could not forget it, though at first they were not strong enough to take revenge. This made easy the task of King Ladislas Lokietek to collect the land into one State again after more than a century and a half of disruption. His son, Casimir the Great, consolidated this work. The master-stroke came when his heiress, Queen Jadwiga, was married in 1386 to Jagiello, Grand Duke of Lithuania. The Order of the Cross and its Teutonic brethren in Riga and Reval were directly responsible for this immense accretion of strength acquired by Poland. For the knights had also cut off Lithuania from the sea, and they were invading the interior of the Grand Duchy itself. To save his country, like Mieszko of Poland in the 9th century, Jagiello embraced the Christian faith. This was the condition of his wedding Jadwiga and being crowned king of Poland in Cracow. Thus was founded the dynasty of the Jagiellons, which brought to Poland its "Golden Age." In 1410 the united forces of Poland and Lithuania, with the support of Russian contingents, crushed the power of the Order on the field of Grünwald (Tannenberg), not so very far from the spot where it had found its first footing on Polish soil. The agony was a long-drawn-out one, because the resources of the Order were still considerable, and also because the attention of the Jagiellons was attracted towards the rich promise of the lands in the south-east, beyond which was the warm Black Sea. But by 1464 all was over. Not only was the Pomorze free, including the territories of Malbork (Marienburg), Elbląg (Elbing), etc., on the right bank of the river, but the Order in its East Prussian citadel became the vassal of the king of Poland. At the conference in Toruń (Thorn), at which the final peace was concluded in the presence of the Papal legate,

<sup>42</sup> Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. I, Rome, 1860; *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, vol. III, Leipzig, 1866; Kujot, *Czternasty listopada, 1308 . . . in Roczn. Tow. Nauk.*, XV, 1908, Toruń.

the Polish plenipotentiaries thus formulated the motives of their demand for the Pomorze and other territories : <sup>43</sup>

(1) These territories, long before the Order came into existence, were inhabited and ruled by Poles, who gave names in the Polish language to the mountains, rivers, towns and villages.

(2) Polish sovereigns have colonised these territories, which have always been under Polish rule.

(3) The geographical and relative position of these territories proves that necessarily, and at all times, they were a part of the Polish kingdom.

(4) The nobles, burghers and subjects of all classes in the said territories, unable to stomach the tyrannical and usurping rule of the Order, demand a reversion to the ancient right, according to the laws of God and man.

This is the earliest statement we can discover of the ethnographical and geographical arguments, coupled with the right of self-determination, which constitute the modern theory of the League of Nations as to the right of nations to dispose of their own fate. But this is not the only occasion on which in those distant times we find the Poles voicing views consistent with the modern democratic doctrine. At the Council of Constance, the same which condemned the reformer Hus to be burned at the stake, we find, in 1415, Włodkiewicz, a learned professor from Cracow, defending the case of the heathen Lithuanians against the Christian knights. "Fides ex necessitate esse non debet," he exclaimed : only a free will may decide on a point of conscience. Pagans and Christians alike have the right of defending themselves. War is lawful only for defence. Christians, therefore, can come to the assistance of Pagans. The Order of the Cross has become a source of iniquity, it is depraved and heretical. It is interesting to find in 1928 no less a person than the Herr Rektor of the university in Königsberg, whom nobody can accuse of being friendly to the Poles, repeating these accusations against the Order : "The least we can say is that these incursions into Lithuania were a caricature of the old Crusades. . . . The Order would have gone out as a farce, if the disaster of Tannenberg (Grünwald) and the events that followed had not culminated in an ennobling tragedy."<sup>44</sup>

The circumstance to remember, when we judge this period of transition from 1410 to 1466 in the history of the Pomorze, is that the Polish triumph was in a large measure due to the support of

<sup>43</sup> Długosz, *Dzieje Polski*, Kraków, 1870.

<sup>44</sup> Kaspar's rectorial address on 6 May, 1928, quoted by Sobieski, *op. cit.*

the whole population of the province. The German settlers in the towns and on the land stood shoulder to shoulder with the native population in fighting to the death against the domination of the Order.<sup>45</sup> This came about, not only as a result of the tyranny of the Order, but also because the need for unity with the economic interests of Poland was painfully felt. Jagiello, to escape from the stranglehold of the Order upon Polish commerce, had taken steps, and not without a measure of success, to establish an overland route to Stettin. So Danzig on the coast, and Toruń (Thorn), higher up on the Vistula, which saw their warehouses empty and their ships idle, backed the Polish side with determination, though both cities at the time were strongholds of the German *Burgerthum*. Danzig fleets harassed the communications of the Order by sea, and money from the rich city flowed into the war-chest of the Poles. Toruń was the centre of the popular resistance to the Order in the Pomorze and in East Prussia. The merchants were determined to establish their prosperity on a permanent basis, and this was possible only in one way: by a return to economic unity in the valley of the Vistula from the mountains to the sea.<sup>46</sup> It should be remembered, too, that the "Golden Age" had begun for Poland not only in the political sense, but even more so for its cultural position in Central and Eastern Europe. To give an example, Cracow University in this period possessed a strong influence over the decisions of the magistrates of Toruń, where Copernicus, the city's famous son, was in touch with his Alma Mater near the Carpathians. The Polish advance into the Pomorze received strong support also from the Lithuanians, whose hatred for the Order was intense. They looked upon East Prussia as their patrimony, for a large number of their people still lived there. Königsberg they claimed for their Grand Duke.<sup>47</sup> But the Poles, once complete victory had been won, gave proof of the customary Slav tolerance towards a fallen enemy. They permitted the Order to retain its position in the eastern part of the province. It would have been better for them if the original plan of expelling the knights altogether had been followed out. Then relations between Warsaw and Berlin would have taken a different course.

However that may be, the fact remains that from that time the

<sup>45</sup> Werminghoff, *op. cit.*; Voigt, *Eidechsenengesellschaft in Preussen*, Königsberg, 1882.

<sup>46</sup> Prowc, *Westpreussen in seiner geschichtlichen Stellung zu Deutschland und Polen*, Thorn, 1868.

<sup>47</sup> Prochaska, *Codex epistolaris, Vitoldi magni ducis Lithuaniae*, 1376-1430, Krakow, 1882.



valley of the Vistula, from the mountains to the sea, constituted an indivisible national unit. Royal Prussia (Prusy Królewskie), which consisted of the Pomorze with Warmia and other districts on the right bank of the river, remained for three centuries in the undisputed possession of Poland. It had not a separate history. Its Polish character was pronounced because, by a process of assimilation, and not through any deliberate polonisation, the German burghers and colonists were absorbed in the dominant native population. The exception was Danzig, where the German element maintained itself. Still, even there, the attachment to Poland, though tempered by an unquenched spirit of independence, was sincere. For Danzig's prosperity depended upon the fact that the city handled with profit to itself the whole of the Polish sea-borne trade. A characteristic example of the fidelity of the Danzigers to Poland was the spirited defence by them of the lost cause of King Stanislas Łęczyński in 1734. When many of his own Poles had deserted him, and he came to them as a fugitive, the Danzigers defended their sovereign with energy, and were in despair when he commanded them to surrender to the Saxon and Russian armies.<sup>48</sup>

Incidentally, let us say that this was the occasion when for the first time Russia intervened in European politics with a clear understanding of the necessity of preserving the free access of Poland to the sea. For in 1734, taking advantage of the civil war in Poland, Prussia had already tried to obtain that direct territorial link (*Via Regia*) with its possessions in East Prussia which it was left to Frederic the Great to achieve at the first Partition of Poland in 1772. The Saxon, August II, elected king in opposition to the lawful sovereign Stanislas, had promised the *Via Regia* across the Pomorze to Prussia for support received. But Peter the Great, anxious to keep Poland in Europe, forbade the transaction. For he knew, as well as Frederic of Prussia knew later, that he who commands on the Lower Vistula can strangle Poland.

It was unfortunate that the absorbing interest of the Poles, during the centuries which followed, in the development of their country in the north-east towards the Gulf of Riga, in the east at the expense of Moscow, and especially in the south-east, where the Dnieper called to them irresistibly—it was unfortunate, we say, that this interest prevented them from building up, as they should have done in this long period of 300 years, their sea-power in the

<sup>48</sup> Henderson, *A narrative of the French expedition to Dantzic in 1734*, Edinburgh, 1831; Múchler, *Flucht Stanislaus, Königs von Polen in Klio*, Berlin, 1825.

Baltic. It is true that they would have had to contend there with the might of Sweden, then at its zenith, which asserted itself not only on the sea, but even far inland in Europe. Still, the only king who can be said to have taken an intelligent interest in this problem of sea-power was Ladislas IV Wasa. His effort was defeated in the troubles which came after him, and by the decline of the central authority through the anarchic extension of the nobles' privileges. In these circumstances we agree that it was difficult to pursue a really constructive naval policy.

At last, at the end of the 18th century, came the catastrophe of the Partitions. This story, as well as that of the rise of the Prussian kingdom, does not belong here. In its relationship to the case of the Pomorze it has been analysed elsewhere.<sup>49</sup> Innumerable books and pamphlets have been produced, dealing with this sombre epoch, to explain how the greatest crime in the history of modern Europe (to quote the late Lord Phillimore) came to be committed. But the initial cause of the Partitions without doubt was the negligence of the Poles themselves, who dared to live disarmed among aggressive neighbours armed to the teeth.<sup>50</sup>

The first Partition in 1772 gave to Prussia the coveted territorial link with East Prussia, but it did not give it the whole of the Pomorze. Mindful of the policies of Peter the Great, who had opposed the "Via Regia," and of the Empress Elizabeth after him, who had tried to annex East Prussia to her own dominions, Catherine II refused to sanction a sweeping annexation, which would immediately have made Frederic the Great master of the whole Vistula valley. Danzig and Toruń, the key cities of the province, remained, therefore, under Polish sovereignty. But for twenty years, until the fateful second Partition in 1792, the Prussian Corridor nevertheless exercised its stranglehold upon the economic life of Poland. This constituted a problem in which other nations, and especially Great Britain, were interested. On several occasions the British Government attempted to free Polish trade from the incubus. The feeling in Danzig against Prussia was exceedingly bitter.<sup>51</sup> As in 1308, the loss of free access to the sea shocked the national feeling in Poland out of its lethargy. But the renaissance developed too slowly; it was overtaken by the turmoil engendered by the French Revolution. Frederic William, the nephew of the

<sup>49</sup> Augur, *Eagles, Black and White*.

<sup>50</sup> Compare Askenazy's classic: *Przymierze polsko-pruskie*, 3rd ed., Warszawa, 1918.

<sup>51</sup> Schopenhauer, *Jugendleben und Wanderbilder*, Danzig, 1884.

great Frederic, reaped what his predecessor had sown. Prussian troops were able to occupy Danzig to the disgust of the burghers. A respite was won when Napoleon in 1806 crushed the power of Prussia, and then drove the Russians out of Germany. After the peace of Tilsit (1807) the central part of Poland was revived as an independent Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and Danzig became a Free City under the protection of a Franco-Polish garrison. The population of the Pomorze, like that of other Polish provinces, had welcomed the French army upon its approach. Polish boatmen at Tsczew had ferried its advance guard over the Vistula.<sup>52</sup> After Napoleon's defeat it refused to give recruits for the Prussian army.<sup>53</sup> Danzig struggled to avoid returning under Prussian sovereignty. Its delegate at the Vienna Congress (1815) did his utmost to avert a decision in this sense.<sup>54</sup>

After 1815 active Polish resistance in the Pomorze and the movement for independence in Danzig were no longer apparent. Frederic the Great had started the work of germanisation.<sup>55</sup> Interrupted by the Napoleonic wars, it was now renewed in earnest. With the moral and material means at its disposal it could not but achieve a measure of success. Danzig, for example, in spite of the damage caused to its trade by the preference given to Königsberg and Stettin, was transformed into a stronghold of the Prussian militarist spirit. But the Pomorze, or West Prussia, as henceforward it was known officially, put up an effective resistance. Bismarck, when he started his violent campaign against the Poles in 1886, confessed that they were as strong as ever, if not more so.<sup>56</sup> Twenty years later Chancellor Bülow, introducing his anti-Polish measure, was obliged to make a similar confession.<sup>57</sup> In spite of the immense financial effort and colonisation on a large scale, coupled with the expropriation of land, the German Government, instead of breaking the Polish spirit, only managed to give to it a fresh impetus.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Wojtkowski, *Zabor pruski do kongresu wiedeńskiego* in *Roczniki historyczne*, III, 1927; Schottmüller, *Der Polenaufstand, 1806-1807*, Posen, 1907.

<sup>53</sup> *Zur Geschichte des Jahres 1813*, in the *Militärwochenblatt*, special suppl. for 1846. Also suppl. to same for 1858.

<sup>54</sup> Askenazy, *Danzig and Poland*, London, 1921.

<sup>55</sup> Philipson, *Geschichte des preussischen Staatswesens vom Tode Friedrichs des Grossen bis zu den Freiheitskriegen*, Leipzig, 1880; Bär, *Westpreussen unter Friedrich dem Grossen*, Leipzig, 1909.

<sup>56</sup> Dove, *Fürst Bismarck als Redner*, Stuttgart.

<sup>57</sup> Bülow, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Berlin, 1930.

<sup>58</sup> Angur, *A Bulwark of Democracy*, London, 1931; Bernhard, *Das polnische*

It is worth noting that at the outbreak of the World War the German Government surprised its Polish population by issuing mobilisation orders in their native language, which for years had been strictly prohibited.<sup>59</sup> It is useless to speculate what would have happened to the Poles if the Germans had been victorious. While the conflict lasted they received sympathetic treatment. Even their right to a free access to the sea was cordially admitted. The "kingdom of Poland," revived for military purposes in Warsaw, was promised that "the White Eagle, in the newly won purity of his pinions, would fly to the coast."<sup>60</sup> We know also that Ludendorff had a plan ready for the forcible removal of hundreds of thousands of Poles from their native land and their replacement after the peace by an equal number of German demobilised soldiers.<sup>61</sup> But fate shaped the course of history differently. As a result of the defeat of the Hohenzollern regime, restored Poland obtained its ancient province of the Pomorze, and with it the national unity of the valley of the Vistula was reconstituted.

Before we go on to discuss the present situation in the Pomorze, let us briefly survey the events and facts we have mentioned. The Pomorze has, from prehistoric times, been inhabited by Slavs. First mentioned definitely about 960, it remained for 348 years with Poland, that is, until the year 1308, when the Order of the Cross seized and held it for 102 years, until 1410. Then, after a period of transition, which lasted 56 years, the whole province (with Danzig) returned to Poland for 306 years (1466-1772). The first Partition ushered in a transitional period of 43 years up to 1815, when the resistance of Danzig to Prussia was finally overcome, and for 105 years the province was ruled from Berlin until its liberation in 1920. This means that over a period of 960 years the Pomorze was under Polish sovereignty for 645 years, and under a foreign domination for 207 years, that is, for less time than Calais was under English rule; and, in addition, these 207 years did not run consecutively, but fell into two periods of 102 and 105 years respectively, separated by a Polish period of 318 years, plus the periods of transition. The

*Gemeinwesen im preussischen Staat*, Leipzig, 1907; this to be compared with Bernhard, *Die Polenfrage*, Leipzig, 1920; Buzek, *Historia Polityki Narodowościowej Rządu pruskiego*, Lwow, 1909; Laubert, *Die preussische Polenpolitik 1772-1914*, Berlin, 1920; Smogorzewski, *La Poméranie Polonaise*, Paris, 1932.

<sup>59</sup> The facsimile of such an order is in Augur, *A Bulwark of Democracy*.

<sup>60</sup> Delbrück, *Deutsche Polenlieder*, Berlin, 1917.

<sup>61</sup> Ludendorff, *Kriegserinnerungen*, Berlin, 1919; Bernhard, *Der Hugenberkonzern*, Berlin, 1928.

first period of this nature was entirely favourable to Poland, and, if we admit that the second was favourable to Prussia, we may consider that they mutually cancel each other out. Thus it will be seen that the legitimate ownership lasted more than three times as long as the foreign occupation. The first occupation, that by the Teutonic knights, was condemned by the Holy See, which in those days functioned in a manner not dissimilar to that of the League of Nations today. The Prussian occupation has been described by the late Lord Phillimore as the greatest crime in modern history.<sup>62</sup>

Today the valley of the Vistula, from the mountains to the sea, according to the Russian chroniclers the cradle of the Polish race, is again united. But the Germans demand a rectification of the award which gave back to Poland its ancient province, the Pomorze. They call it the Polish Corridor, and say that, because it separates the Reich from East Prussia, it must go. Otherwise, they say, there can be no peace in Europe.

We have shown the solid foundation of ethnographic and historical right upon which the Polish sovereignty over the Lower Vistula stood and stands. But let us examine the situation in the Pomorze again in the light of the facts of today. The juridical side of the problem is easily stated. It is based upon the fact that before the Armistice Germany accepted voluntarily the Fourteen Points of President Wilson as the basis for peace negotiations. The thirteenth of these Points ran as follows: "An independent Polish state should be created, which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant." The American and European experts of the Peace Conference, after an exhaustive study of German official documents and maps, were unanimous in their conclusion that the Pomorze—the so-called Corridor—had always had an indisputably Polish population. This territory, therefore, was awarded to the Polish Republic as giving access to the sea in the sense of President Wilson's Thirteenth Point.

To understand the vital importance to Poland of this access, it is interesting to compare the respective situations of the Polish and the German republics in their relationship to the sea. This can be expressed by the following figures:

<sup>62</sup> Speech at the International Law Congress in Warsaw on 9 August, 1928.

	Poland.	Germany.
Coast (miles) ... ..	88	1092
Population (millions) ... ..	32·8	64·1
Inhabitants (per mile of coast, in thousands) ...	372	59
Area (square miles, in thousands) ... ..	150	182
Square miles (per mile of coast) ... ..	1704	166
Coast percentage of total frontier ... ..	2·5	22·6

From the figures, given above, we see that Germany's coastline is 1,140 per cent. longer than the Polish, although her population is only 90 per cent. greater, and her area only 21 per cent. larger. Germany possesses the great ports of Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, Stettin and Königsberg, not to speak of a large number of smaller ones. Poland has only the one port—Gdynia-Danzig—and even there she possesses sovereign rights only over the Gdynia part of it.<sup>63</sup> The Pomorze, with its docks in Gdynia-Danzig, is the only outlet of Poland to the open sea. It is therefore particularly precious to Poland, and this all the more because it is an ancient Polish land inhabited by Poles.

Before we speak of the character of the population of the Pomorze, we think it useful to say a word about the dimensions of the so-called Corridor. The map of Europe, presented to us usually drawn on an extremely small scale, creates in us the optical illusion that the territory in dispute is small. This is not so, for the Pomorze has an area of 4,552 square miles. This means that it is nearly the size of Wales. If laid upon the map of England, it reaches from London to Manchester, and westwards nearly to Bristol. The Pomorze is about three-quarters the size of Belgium, and it is larger than Alsace-Lorraine. Its southern boundary runs for more than three hundred miles with the administrative boundaries of the central Polish provinces of Warsaw and Poznań. So we see that really the so-called Corridor is not a passage, but a large province.

Now let us come to the question of the population. Our starting point is the German census of 1910, taken at a time when nobody in Germany could have imagined that the Hohenzollern regime would fall, or that the Polish Republic could be revived. The results of this census are summarised in an excellent official

<sup>63</sup> Augur, *The Polish Corridor : The Facts*, London, 1933.

publication of the *Königliches Statistisches Landesamt*. This is the *Gemeindelexikon* (Berlin, 1912), which gives the figures for each parish and each small administrative unit separately. Taking the German census of 1910 and the two Polish ones of 1921 and 1931 respectively, we arrive at the following results :

Year.		Total population.	Poles	%	Germans.	%
1931	..	1,086,144	976,499	89.9	109,645	10.1
1921	...	935,643	757,801	81.3	177,842	18.7
1910	...	990,145	552,733	56.0	437,412	44.0

The figures given above do not include the city of Danzig and its territory. The total for 1910 includes the garrisons in the various towns. The Polish figures do not include troops in barracks. For 1910 with the Germans we have included 15,702 "bilinguals," although they should rather be treated as Poles. With the latter we have counted 113,719 Kashubs, that is the population of the districts next to the sea. The Kashubs are Slavs. This is not disputed by a single German writer of note. Both their language and their whole history show that they are a Polish sub-tribe. Nestor, as we have seen, says that the *Pomorjane* on the Lower Vistula were of *Lech* stock. The Kashubs themselves claim Polish descent. If their language, as it is spoken (not as it is written), differs from literary Polish, it does not do so more than other dialects.<sup>64</sup> Politically the Kashubs, during the whole Prussian occupation, followed closely the Polish orientation. In the elections to the Reichstag and the Landtag they voted solidly for deputies of the Polish *Koło*. Professor Bernhard, who by Germans and Poles alike is accepted as an authority on the Polish question in Germany, is emphatic in his statement that Kashubs and Poles are identical.<sup>65</sup> The book in which he made this statement was published a month before the outbreak of the war. When peace negotiations began, it was considered so damaging to the German case that all copies were carefully collected by the authorities and its sale was forbidden.

A question may be asked about the contrast in the figures of the German census of 1910 and those of the Polish of 1921. The drop in the number of the German population needs to be explained. Apart from the fact that a number of Poles must have registered

<sup>64</sup> Lorentz, *Geschichte der Kaschuben*, Berlin, 1926; Ceynowa, *Zarés do gramatikij kašëbsko-slovjnskje mowé*, Poznań, 1879; an extensive bibliography on the subject is given by Pniewski in *Rocznik Gdański*, vol. I, Danzig, 1927.

<sup>65</sup> Foreword to Weber, *Die Polen in Oberschlesien*, Berlin, 1914.

before the war as Germans, because otherwise in the prevailing circumstances they would have been deprived of their posts or occupations, the fall can be explained in the following way. Apart from the older colonists, the German element in the Pomorze was an alien one, dependent upon a specific regime. When the latter came to a sudden end, this alien element left the province, together with the German garrison. It is estimated that in this way about 200,000 emigrated. In the ten following years another 113,000 left the Pomorze, but of these, 60,000 at least were optants under the terms of the Peace Treaty, that is, they had chosen to remain citizens of the Reich, with the obligation of leaving Poland within a given time-limit. The official German policy in the first years after the peace was to encourage this emigration, in the idea that it would make it impossible for the Poles to carry on alone. The number of Germans removed by the Polish administration during the same period was 1,618. The League of Nations is authorised by treaty to supervise the treatment of national minorities in Poland. The Germans have taken advantage of this to lay a large number of complaints at Geneva. Among these, however, there were none relating to undue pressure by the Polish authorities during the taking of the census. The official German *Sejm*biuro, which represents the interests of the minority, reckoned the number of its nationals in the Pomorze in 1927 at 110,000.<sup>66</sup> The Deutsches Auslandsinstitut in Stuttgart estimated this figure at 109,776.<sup>67</sup> This is extraordinarily near to the figure of the census for 1931. In the year 1928 the number of German votes polled in the election for the Sejm (the Polish Parliament) was 64,781. Under pressure from their leaders the Germans poll their strength to the last adult. All this, and other evidence (for example, Stoliński, *Les Allemands en Pologne*, Warszawa, 1927, where births and deaths are analysed according to parish registers), persuades us that the figures we give for the population of the Pomorze are correct. The German element in the province would have gone down even lower were it not for the sums which foreign agencies continue to disburse for the support of German colonists, especially along the strategic line of the Notec river. However that may be, the Pomorze, with a population consisting today of 90 per cent. Poles, is an integral part of the State, from which it cannot be separated without destroying the natural unity of the Vistula valley and without going against the principles of the League Covenant. In fact, in its narrower part, near the

<sup>66</sup> Heidelberg, *Deutsche Blätter in Polen*, Bydgoszcz, May 1927.

<sup>67</sup> *Der Auslandsdeutsche*, vol. X, 11.



sea, the Pomorze shows a percentage of 95 per cent. Poles, it not more.<sup>68</sup>

A question often raised in neutral countries is that of a possible "adjustment" of the existing frontier between the Pomorze and Germany. Though the Germans themselves do not attach importance to this suggestion, it is useful to point out that, as Lord Howard of Penrith, one of the British experts at the Peace Conference, has publicly stated, this frontier was drawn so that in each individual case the benefit of doubt should go to the German side. The result of this method was that the frontier in many places recedes from the old line of 1772. But in no case does it go beyond it. The only point about which some doubt may arise is that part of the frontier which along the Vistula divides the Pomorze from East Prussia. The line is here laid on the right bank of the river for some distance, so that it looks as if some localities in East Prussia have been deliberately deprived of a natural right. In fact, to foreign visitors, the situation is thus presented on the German side. The explanation is simple. The Vistula waterway, as soon as the financial situation permits, will be organised to serve, as it has for centuries, for the transport of goods to and from the interior of Poland. In this traffic the localities in East Prussia lying on the part of the Lower Vistula we have in mind have never had, and cannot have, any part. Their interest in the river is of a domestic nature. But from the point of view of hydraulic engineering, as applied to the regulation of a strong and changeable river, it is necessary to be able to dispose freely of both banks for the unhindered erection of groynes and of other protective and directional contrivances at an economic cost. In the case of the Vistula this was always recognised. After the Congress of Vienna in 1815 the Prussian Government, having obtained the return to it of the Polish territory taken away by Napoleon, immediately proceeded to separate from it the left bank of the Vistula, "wegen des Strombaues" (on account of the control of the stream), which had to be concentrated under one management.<sup>69</sup>

A question also raised is that of the alleged difficulties for the

<sup>68</sup> Augur, *Eagles, Black and White*.

<sup>69</sup> "Patent" of King Frederic William of Prussia, given in Vienna on 15 May, 1815, *Patent wegen der Besitznahme des an Preussen zurückfallenden Theiles des Herzogthums Warschau*; the interesting sentence is: "Von diesen Landschaften kehrt . . . zu unserer Provinz Westpreussen zurück, zu welcher auch, wegen des Strombaues, das linke Weichschlufer, jedoch bloss mit den unmittelbar an den Strom grenzenden oder in dessen Niederungen befindlichen Ortschaften, gelegt wird." The "Patent" is in our possession.

transit of goods and passengers between East Prussia and the Reich across the territory of the Polish Pomorze. But the German-Polish Convention of 1921, which has worked quite smoothly, gives definite transit rights to Germany, even for the transport of troops and munitions. Indeed, the arrangement has worked so satisfactorily that, already in 1923 it was officially stated by the Directorate of Prussian Railways in Königsberg that "With regard to transit East Prussia has ceased to be an enclave. The railway has built the bridge across the intervening Polish territory."<sup>70</sup> President Hindenburg, whose estate is in East Prussia, travels constantly forwards and backwards across the so-called Polish Corridor. In 1932 this has happened fourteen times. An interesting fact is that, according to the official statistics, two-thirds of the traffic between East Prussia and the Reich passes along and over Polish railway lines, situated outside the Pomorze.

Now, to conclude, a word about the problem of Danzig. We approach it by the only logical way possible: from the point of view that the valley of the Vistula represents a national and economic unit. The sea-borne trade of Poland goes through the Pomorze. Coming and going, the ships of all nations use the installations at Gdynia, and at Danzig near by. These two places, with a river harbour (still to be built) on the Vistula, constitute the great port of Poland.<sup>71</sup> Danzig was the old port. The revival experienced by the city, after its return to economic community with Poland, can be seen from the following figures:

## GDYŃIA-DANZIG.

Years.	Total turnover of tons (in thousands).	Gdynia.	Danzig.
1932 ... ..	10,363	4,896	5,467
1930 ... ..	13,181	5,080	8,101
1928 ... ..	11,338	3,275	8,063
1913 ... ..	2,112	—	2,112

<sup>70</sup> Holtz, *Ostpreussens Wirtschaft und Verkehr vor und nach dem Kriege* (herausgegeben von der Reichsbahn-Direktion), Königsberg, 1923.

<sup>71</sup> Augur, *The Polish Corridor*, London, 1933.

Gdynia, no doubt, was built by Poland with such rapidity to counteract the anti-Polish policies of the Danzig Senate. In 1920 the Danzigers, for example, rendered well-nigh impossible the unloading of the munitions which had arrived for the Polish army, engaged in its struggle against the Bolsheviks<sup>72</sup>. Dominated from outside, the policy of Danzig has been to indulge in constant quarrels with the Polish Government, which was obliged to retaliate. But we are certain that political friction, however acute it may appear at the moment, cannot alter the fact that both Gdynia and Danzig exclusively serve the same economic interests, from which they cannot be divorced. The interests of the German population of Danzig were safeguarded under the Treaty of Versailles. Danzig is a Free City under the League of Nations. Our personal view is that nothing can prevent Gdynia with Danzig from fulfilling their destiny of together forming a unit—the Port of Poland, the outlet for the whole valley of the Vistula, which was one in the past and is one today.

V. POLYAKOV.

<sup>72</sup> D'Abernon, *The Eighteenth Decisive Battle of the World*, London, 1931.

# PRISON LIFE IN USSR

(1930-31)

*"Even in such extremities the Russian Government is scrupulously considerate."*—BERNARD SHAW in Nash's Magazine, February 1932.

[The author of this most interesting article, Professor Vladimir Vyacheslavovich Chernavin, is a distinguished scientist in the field of ichthyology, who was arrested with no more reason than innumerable other Russian Professors. He was able to escape from the concentration camp of Solovyet'sk with his wife and child who had come to visit him there, and, after a long and painful march through the forests and marshes of the North, succeeded in reaching Finland — Ed.]

THE conditions of prison life in the USSR which I am describing here, relate to 1930 and 1931 and to the special prisons of the OGPU for those under investigation, namely, the Shpalernaya and Kresty,<sup>1</sup> in which I was confined as under examination from 23 October, 1930, to 27 April, 1931. These prisons in the USSR are called "houses of preliminary imprisonment" or, in short, "DPZ." In Leningrad there are two other prisons of the OGPU for those under investigation, the Nizhegorodskaya and the Inner Prison in the OGPU building on the Gorokhovaya. The prison on the Nizhegorodskaya is a little different from those in which I was myself, and I shall not speak of it. Nor shall I speak here of that on the Gorokhovaya.

The conditions of prison life which I observed in 1930 and 1931 may be taken as typical from 1929 up till now. In 1932, when I was in the concentration camp at Solovetsk, many new prisoners arrived there from these prisons and, according to their accounts, the general picture of prison life had remained the same. One may suppose that these conditions exist at the present time, as, to judge by the Soviet press, trials for counter-revolution and for wrecking are not stopping.

The conditions in the Leningrad prisons are typical for other prisons of the large towns in the USSR, although in each town and in each prison there are special peculiarities. What I was told about this by prisoners who came to the concentration camp at Solovetsk from other parts of the USSR, in general coincided with what I had passed through myself in the Leningrad prisons.

A special prison is the Moscow "Inner Prison of the OGPU." It contains cells in which individual prisoners are kept in excep-

<sup>1</sup> Both these prisons are in Leningrad. The Shpalernaya is in a corner of the Neva in the neighbourhood of the old Imperial Duma. The Kresty, a famous prison in old days, is on the northern bank of the Neva.—Ed.

tionally favourable conditions—cleanliness, light, polished wooden floors, excellent food, wine, etc.—while in the specially bad cells there is complete darkness, very low or very high temperature, food which is hardly enough to keep one from dying of starvation, and so on. In these cells are kept prisoners to whom special attention is being given and who are set apart for special objects.

There are also "special" cells in the prison on the Shpalernaya; but the conditions of prison life which form the subject of this article are general for the whole mass of politicals under examination, mostly accused of "counter-revolution," chiefly under Article 58 of the Criminal Code, which is extremely widely interpreted in the USSR.

*Why are there so many political prisoners in the USSR?* Their number has become really enormous since 1929-30 and is due to the general conditions of life in the country.

The Five Year Plan in the USSR began to be drawn up in 1925 but, as the tendencies prevailing in actual life were quite different from what had been designed in the Plan, each year there was issued an order to draft the Plan anew and to count the given year as the first of the Five Year Plan. So things went on till the autumn of 1928, when was announced the Five Year Plan of 1928-33, which has made such a stir. As a matter of fact, it was the fourth of the Plans which had been announced, but as it took the significance in the main rather of a political motto than of an economic plan, it was distinguished from the foregoing plans by extremely extended tasks, which prescribed an unheard-of growth of all industry and agriculture. Quite special hopes were placed in it, and it was advertised widely beyond the frontiers of the USSR. With the announcement of this Five Year Plan, the Government finally renounced the NEP and again passed into the experiment of constructing pure Communism, which was well known in Russia by the experiments of Lenin and Trotsky in 1918-21. In the course of these five years, it was intended to bring about not only a complete reconstruction of industry, but a founding of socialist agriculture and in general a transformation of the whole social picture of the USSR. The Five Year Plan was to lay the foundation of socialism and to make a beginning for a classless community.

However grandiose the growth of industry as defined by the Plan, it soon ceased to satisfy the Government, and the Plan in individual branches began to be arbitrarily increased by directions

from the centre which led to very great difficulties on the spot and made it entirely incapable of execution. Thus in the department in which I was working—ocean fisheries—in 1928 there were 23 trawlers. The Five Year Plan, as confirmed, reckoned on increasing the number to 70 with a catch of 175,000 tons (8,800,000 English cwt.) a year. In 1929 the task was increased by the Government to 500 trawlers and the figure for the catch in the Barents Straits was raised to 1,500,000 tons, that is, 86,200,000 English cwt. After representations, insistent and very dangerous for those who had the courage to make them, as to the complete impossibility of carrying out such a plan, it was decreased to 300 trawlers and a catch of 50,800,000 cwt. This task was as incapable of execution as the first. As a matter of fact, towards the end of the Five Year Plan the number of trawlers had been increased only to 53 with a catch of less than 100,000 tons, or 5,080,000 English cwts. It was the same in other branches of industry. The enormous expenditure of means, materials and labour power which were spent unproductively on extending plans which even without that were inexecutable, soon led the country to a sharp goods famine, striking poverty and an extreme insufficiency of food. One of the peculiarities of the Soviet Government is that it never confesses itself responsible for the failures which befall the country in consequence of its own experiments, but seeks for culprits among its own subjects to whom, under its regulations of service, it falls to carry out these experiments. The more complete the failure, the larger the number of culprits accused. The more special the institution in which the failure of the Plan has been shown up, the greater the number of scientific specialists, professors and other trained workers who are shown up as "wreckers," although these very persons beforehand had with all their strength pointed out the impossibility of executing the plan prescribed by the Government.

The Five Year Plan was drawn up on a gigantic scale, and its failure proved most alarming and was signalled by an enormous number of trials which have not ceased to the present time. These trials, in the overwhelming majority of cases, were conducted outside the law courts, in the recesses of the Ogpu, without any kind of announcement in the papers. The best known of those which in part passed through the law courts were the following: the Shakhhta trial, the trial of the Prompartia (Industrial Party), that of the Mensheviks, and finally that of the British engineers. Apart from that, there were trials which were announced in the papers

but which were carried through outside the courts, the case of Palchinsky (where all the accused were shot); the case of Kondratyev and Groman (of which the results are unknown); the trial of "the 48" (48 very distinguished specialists were killed in one day, which was announced in the papers, and many were killed later without any announcement); and, in 1933, the trial of Narkomzem (the Ministry of Agriculture), where 35 persons were shot. Most of these trials over all the USSR passed without any kind of report in the press: among these were the cases of "wreckers" of all kinds in the rubber, electric, textile, timber building, chemical, glass and other industries, at the Putilov factory, in the Co-operative movement, and at the military-technical academy.

These trials embraced thousands of persons exclusively among the *intelligentsia*, for the most part the higher technical and more highly specialised section of it. Some of them were shot; the rest were sent to concentration camps (forced labour) or to exile. Apparently, this corresponded to the political tasks of the moment, the liquidation of classes in the USSR, as the Soviet Government regards the *intelligentsia* as a special class. It may be thought that the same object explains the mass arrests among the *intelligentsia* not engaged in industry. For this section of the *intelligentsia* the Ogpu has also carried out trials. The best known in Leningrad were the following: the Academy of Sciences, the teachers of natural science, the Russian Technical Society, the Society of Regional Study, the religious-philosophic group, and many others. Of the Moscow trials, which were still more numerous, I do not know.

Apart from that, there were everywhere arrests among the clergy and church servants, among the former military and former traders and persons who were reckoned as belonging to the "free" professions, such as doctors, lawyers, writers, even translators, and so on.

These persons were accused of taking part in counter-revolutionary organisations; many of them were shot, the rest were sent to forced labour or exile.

It is difficult to say for certain what precisely were the objects aimed at by the Communists in destroying the *intelligentsia*, which was not at all counter-revolutionary; but apparently these objects were twofold: (i) the destruction of a "class," just as they proceeded with the destruction of all the best workers among the peasants

in the country, and (ii) the finding of "culprits," victims who were to answer for the failures of the experiment of the Five Year Plan.

Thus the *intelligentsia* forms the chief contingent of the Leningrad and Moscow prisons. The second persecuted class is the peasantry, but it is only by chance that they reach the central prisons. The great mass of them pass through the numerous provincial prisons, or are shot on the spot, or are sent into exile without preliminary procedure of investigation or even without the sentence being announced to them. Such persons are simply loaded on trucks and sent to the concentration camps. With a mass of such peasants who formed the chief contingent (of many thousands) in the concentration camps scattered from Karelia to the Sea of Okhotsk, I came to be closely acquainted at the time when I was in a concentration camp.

Of the number of imprisoned *intelligentsia* one may judge by the fact that from 1930 all the prisons in the chief towns of the USSR have been uninterruptedly crammed with a mass of persons under investigation by the Ogpu. The crowding of these prisons is enormous. In the Moscow prison of the Butyrki there were at one and the same time twelve to fifteen thousand prisoners. In the Leningrad prison on the Shpalernaya there were more than 3,000. In Kresty, in the block of the Ogpu, there were four to five thousand. The contents of the prison change two or three times a year. Hardly anyone is set free from prison. That is the rarest exception, in any case less than 1 per cent. As some indication may also serve the number of those who were seized in different trials. In the trial of Prompartia, eight accused appeared before the court, but the Soviet papers announced that the number of those arrested in this case was more than 2,000 specialists; they were judged without trial. In the Process of the 48, 48 were killed according to the published list, many others were shot, and the number of those exiled was enormous. In the case of the Academy, at the time when I was in prison there were no less than 150 prisoners on the Shpalernaya, and many others in Kresty and on the Nizhegorodskaya. In the case of the teachers of the Military-Technical Academy, of the total of 44 professors and lecturers, 42 were in prison.

I do not know, in Moscow or Leningrad, a single family of the *intelligentsia* where no one has been arrested or exiled; I know some families where all the members were imprisoned, sometimes including children who were only 15 or 16 years old, and grandfathers and grandmothers older than 70.

The reason why these persons should be imprisoned is, I



think, clear, if only a citizen of a free and civilised country can picture the conditions of life in a country which is losing the last traces of culture and is governed by a dictatorship resting on such an institution as the Ogpu. None of them is personally guilty. Superiority in education and culture, even if accompanied by the most heroic service to the country, is in itself an unforgiveable sin.

### *Prison.*

The chief significance in the imprisonment of those under investigation by the Ogpu is not the stopping of attempts to conceal the traces of one's crime or to avoid examination, but the compulsion of confessions by those under investigations. On this depends the whole prison régime. The conditions of each prisoner under investigation are fixed not by the prison administration, but by the investigator who is conducting his case.

In the prisons which I have named there are three categories of prison régime. Prisoners in the third category are imprisoned in common; they have 20 minutes' recreation in the prison courtyard; they are sometimes allowed to receive newspapers and books from the prison library. The second category is a cell for two, with 10 minutes' recreation, reading, and permission to receive things from outside. The first category is a separate cell, no recreation, no reading, nothing from outside. The settlement of the category depends exclusively on the investigator. He can, as he pleases, combine the prohibitions of recreation, reading, or reception from outside. The investigator can also send a prisoner for days on end to the dark cell, which is lit by a faint lamp in the ceiling, or to cell No. 16, where are kept about 40 prisoners consisting only of professional thieves and hooligans. This cell is kept in the Ogpu prison exclusively for acting on those who consistently refuse to confess. Lastly, the investigator can send a prisoner to a cell for two persons in company with a syphilitic, a madman, a melancholic, one who is chronically addicted to trying to commit suicide, or what is called a *podsadka*, that is, a provocator or spy.

### *The General Cells.*

These cells, with a floor space of about 70 square metres, are reckoned to hold 20 persons; or they are half as large, and reckoned to hold 10. When I was in prison, the bigger ones usually held 100 to 200 persons, and the smaller 60 to 70.

standing waiting, as it is the only one for 100 or more persons. The uninterrupted noise of the water and the disgusting smell poison existence still more.

The second scourge, besides the bugs, is the lice, which there is no getting away from, as many had no change of clothing. Neither bed linen nor body linen are served out in prison, and those who may not receive from outside or who have no kinsfolk remain for months, and sometimes for years, in their worn-out rags. Anyone who has been arrested in the summer often has no overcoat to cover him or put under his head. I know one Austrian workman, Stein, who lived in Common-room No. 22 for three years, receiving nothing from outside and unable to change his linen. He was at last sent home in November, 1930, and I should be very glad if I could restore contact with him through this article. The steam bath, too,<sup>2</sup> cannot save one from lice. Thirty minutes are allowed for the bath, but the checkings before and afterwards, the undressing and dressing, take about 15 minutes. In the steam bath, to which thirty go at a time, there is no room, no tubs, no taps for getting water, so that only the strong or clever can get a wash. The old and sick can only just sprinkle themselves with water. A bath of this kind is allowed twice a month. There is only one tap with cold water to wash at in the chamber itself, in front of which people are always standing waiting. No soap is given out in prison. One might almost think that the bugs and lice are deliberately kept up by the Ogpu authorities. When in the winter of 1930-31 spotted typhus broke out in the Shpalernaya prison and infection threatened to pass to the officials of Ogpu and to the town, the authorities prescribed two baths running where time was given to wash; government linen was supplied and the chambers were disinfected. The lice vanished and the epidemic was stopped. In a short time the linen was taken back and the lice established themselves again in the chamber. It is a common threat of the investigator: "I'll drive you to the bug room. You will feed the lice for years if you do not confess. Get back to your lousy room!" Of course, it is not in the interests of Ogpu to deprive its investigators of such means of examination: dirty, ragged and covered with lice, a man begins to despise himself, and it is doubtless easier to break his will.

#### *The separate cells.*

An enormous number of the prisoners are not in the common rooms but in the so-called separate cells for one, with a floor space

<sup>2</sup> In a separate room.—ED.

on an average of 1.75 by 3.5 metres (6 steps long), in which 4 or 5 persons are placed, and sometimes as many as 10. The prisoners are then completely deprived of recreation.

Such cells compose the whole of the enormous prison of Kresty; on the Shpalernaya there are several hundreds. In Kresty, besides that, there is no water supply in the cells and no lavatories; a *parasha* or bucket with no lid on it is put in the room, which may only be taken out in the morning and evening.<sup>3</sup> The bucket does not hold enough for three men in the room, and the prisoners are compelled to satisfy their natural needs by system, or deliberately to diminish what they eat and drink. Washing at the tap which is to be found in the common lavatory is allowed once a day, and each is allowed one minute for washing.

Confinement in these cells does not fall to all, and generally at the beginning of the investigation, but those on whom it falls are often kept long, sometimes more than a year. To put a man in one of these cells is also a method of pressure which the investigators do not conceal.

However oppressive the common room may be, still there is always moral support to be found there, and the possibility of learning from those who are more experienced. In each such chamber there are always persons who have had long experience of the examinations and are glad to instruct novices in the principles of prison wisdom. "Do not believe the investigator ever or in anything. Remember that if he threatens to shoot you, that means that he has not material against you or any other way of acting on you." In the common room one can learn the experience of a mass of others and get an idea as to what one is to expect. One can see that often precisely those who have been put in the dilemma of "confessing" or of being shot and have honourably sustained this ordeal have remained alive, and persons who have signed anything and implicated many others perish without the last consolation of dying as honourable men and not as traitors. Lastly, in the common room one can learn about the various "technical" methods of examination, the showing of "forged confessions" and "evidence" of men implicated in the same case, by which the man under examination is, in a way, implicated, the showing of forged compromising documents and so on. For those imprisoned in the common room the methods of the OGPU are no secret; so it is much

<sup>3</sup> Kresty was an old prison under the Tsars for political prisoners, and the *parasha* is mentioned in their records. The monstrous overcrowding, however, is a special feature of the present regime.—ED.

harder to frighten them, deceive them or catch them out on a word. The moral condition of the man in the single cell is often distressing, as in his most anxious moments he has no one to support him. The constant thought of near and violent death which the investigator maintains in him often leads either to a state of acute despair or apathy, when a man himself seeks death. There have been more than a few instances when, after long confinement in a single cell, the prisoner has deliberately compromised himself in order to be shot.

*Diseases and medical service.*

Those under examination often fall ill. The commonest ailments are scurvy and boils on the body. I saw how a well-known publisher in Leningrad, an old man, lost eight of his front teeth and the others were so shaky that he could not eat bread. And there were many such. From the dirt and the parasites there often came various forms of eczema and eruptions. Through not being able to walk, by long sitting, some got piles. Nervous ailments are frequent, especially among those confined in the single cells. After six months imprisonment in such a cell prisoners often have hallucinations. Some go out of their minds; the most common form is furious mania. At night one often hears heart-breaking cries. The prisoners in the other cells cannot stand it and begin to knock and call out to the warder: "What are all those cries? Are they torturing someone?" The inspector, if he is a good fellow, quiets them: "No, that is not inside. That is not with the investigator. It is simply a prisoner gone out of his mind. They will take him away soon."

In the common rooms there is a great liability to acute chills, because the air is so stifling that it is impossible to shut the window. I preferred to sleep under the window, but often in winter the snow fell through it on to me. Apart from that, there are in the prisons many suffering from chronic diseases, some with cancer, or abscesses, or tuberculosis, etc. These ailments make progress before one's eyes. Death in the prison is also not rare. Among those whom I knew there died in 1931 in Kresty Dr. S. O. Vyatoshinsky. Professor Pavlov-Sylvansky was let out a few days before his death. He had tuberculosis. The same with a young priest of Tsarskoe Selo whose name I do not remember. Twice I saw corpses carried out of the chambers into the prison corridor. Suicide was also a common event, although they take every measure against it. In the single cells such people usually hang

themselves, but there are other methods of suicide. In Kresty in March, 1931, a former officer inflicted several serious wounds on his chest with a knife which he had somehow made himself. In the same prison one man threw himself from the gallery of the fourth storey. Professor Kovraisky, the astronomer, tried to commit suicide by wounding himself with glass in the neck.

But if measures are taken to prevent suicide, it is not in the interests of the investigators to prevent illness. There is no doubt that scurvy and boils are provoked by a special diet. The Government menu consists of 400 grammes of black bread, soup which is brewed from bones (the meat of which is served separately at the prison buffet for investigators), and porridge with a minute quantity of margarine. This food is steamed in pans under high pressure. Prisoners may not receive from outside vegetables, fruit (including lemons) or milk-foods. Such food is of course without vitamins and provokes scurvy with even the strongest and healthiest person. The absence of fats and of sugar provokes boils.

Persons thus weakened, failing and apathetic, crushed in spirit, more easily yield to threats and may sign any kind of confession which is prepared by the investigator. It is not for nothing that one of the favourite threats of investigators is this: "You won't sign? We are in no hurry. I will send you to your cell and call for you again in six months. By that time there will only be a shadow left of you, and then you will sign anything I want." And this is not an empty threat. Cases were not rare of a man not being summoned for interrogation for four or six months or even a year. To give an instance, my wife, who was arrested in order to exert pressure on me, was not called up for investigation for more than four months.

Corresponding with the significance which may be attached to intentional weakening of the organism, medical service in prison has merely a formal character. Felshers<sup>4</sup> go round the chambers and give only two medicines for all illnesses: a yellowish unguent with which they treat all boils, eczema, and so on, and a white powder for all internal ailments. These felshers are not bad fellows, but with the mass of prisoners, the lack of drugs and their weak medical knowledge, they cannot do anything. Some of them tell the patients openly: "You have got scurvy. You need air, milk, fresh vegetables, fruits. All that is not allowed in prison. To apply to us for help is quite useless."

<sup>4</sup> A felsher is a partially trained medical assistant, something like the non-commissioned assistant of an army medical officer.—ED.

During my stay on the Shpalernaya (three months of common room) the doctor came only once to the chamber. A sick man had a high temperature and at times lost consciousness. We insisted with difficulty on the doctor being called. He came in furious, and angrily scolded the felsher: "Another time don't bring me here for trifles. You are not to forget that I only come here to the dead and the paralytics. Take this man to hospital." We learned from the prison warders that the chief duty of the prison doctor is to certify death in documents recording the shootings. Perhaps that was what he was alluding to.

In the prisons of OGPU there is one other specific illness: inflation of the whole body, especially the legs, from standing while under interrogation. In the autumn of 1930 from Common-room 22 was summoned to interrogation a well-known Leningrad silver engraver, P., a man of 40. They brought him back from the interrogation after seven days; he had been standing for six and a half days without eating, drinking or sleeping. His condition was recognised as threatening to life even by the prison doctor. The artisan B., who had had a leg amputated above the knee and replaced by a false leg, had stood for four and a half days. The chemical engineer C. stood for four days on end, and the poor old man gave in and signed a false "confession." The ship's carpenter T. had to stand for three days on end. These are only cases taken from the chamber where I was confined, and besides them I knew of many others who had gone through the ordeal of "standing," including standing on a chair where it was impossible to lean against the wall. There is no doubt that such standing, after which a man had sometimes to lie in hospital for months, left its traces for the rest of his life.

The only accessible means of protest against such prison treatment is a hunger-strike. It is never practised except in the single cells, as the declaration of a collective hunger-strike is regarded as "mob action," that is mutiny, and is punished with shooting. The individual hunger-striker is left to starve for nine days and then taken to a single cell, and forcible feeding is employed; he is tied up in case of resistance.

Once I happened to see the end of such a hunger-strike. The young writer B., arrested because in a play which he submitted to the censor and which was not yet printed, there was found a suspected allusion directed against the Soviet Government, declared a hunger-strike. He was a man of Soviet views and supposed that the investigator who was interrogating him with the use of the

usual methods of OGPU was acting illegally. He wrote a protest to the Prokuror (government counsel) demanding a normal examination and public trial. There was no answer. He started hunger-striking. He was no longer summoned to examination, and on the tenth day of his strike was pronounced a sentence of 10 years of concentration camp, and he was sent off the same day.

*Connections with outside.*

As to connections with outside, persons under investigation can be allowed to write, to receive things from outside and to see their friends. The permission depends on the investigator. These privileges, it would seem, should relieve the existence of the prisoner, but they are often a moral ordeal and a useful instrument for obtaining "confessions."

Letters in such cases are allowed twice a month, but they hardly ever reach their destination. To show the investigator, through whose hands all correspondence must pass, what persons dear and near to the prisoner are still at liberty is to give him a dangerous weapon. He uses the information drawn from the correspondence and starts threatening to arrest the kinsfolk. Letters from outside hardly ever reach the prisoner but are affixed to the dossier.

The reception of things from outside, that is, the sending of linen and strictly defined and limited products, has enormous importance, as otherwise the prisoner is doomed to scurvy or boils. The list of things which may be supplied, being written out by hand, shows that the kinsman is alive and free. This is the only link with him; but the circumstance that the permission or prohibition of receiving such things depends only on the investigator gives him the means of making wide use of this for pressure on the prisoner.

Seeing relations while under examination is rarely allowed, sometimes by way of special favour in the cabinet of the investigator and in his presence. But this favour costs dear. Weak people, for the momentary pleasure of seeing one who is dear to them perhaps for the last time in life, sign what it had not been possible to extract from them by threats of death and direct pressure.

Sometimes such meetings are arranged unexpectedly for the prisoner. I know of such a case. The prisoner B. was pressed by the investigator with particular brutality for a confession; they announced a death sentence to him, they put him in the condemned cell, where he was kept for two days, they took him out to be shot

in the cellar under the prison, and straight from that to be questioned. None of this worked. He was put alone with a furious maniac who hit him about and tried to strangle him, and then, half mangled, in torn clothes, with blood stains on his face and neck, he was taken to the cabinet of the investigator where, as if unexpectedly, his wife was waiting; she also had not expected to see him and had been summoned from home to be examined. Seeing the terrible agitation of both, the investigator turned to B. with a pathetic appeal: "Spare your wife! save yourself! Do what I have been asking you to do all this time, sign a sincere repentance and confession. I propose this to you for the last time. Otherwise you will be shot." B. had the courage even after this not to give a false confession. As a result, he was sent to a concentration camp for five years. Probably, if he had signed what he was asked for, he would have been shot.

The great majority are allowed to see their friends after sentence has been pronounced before they are sent off to forced labour; those condemned to death are not allowed to see their friends. I got leave once on the eve of being sent to Solovetsk. I could only see my 12-year-old son; my wife was in prison. She was not allowed to see her son once during the five and more months of her imprisonment.

Our meeting took place in the usual room, fenced off with two wire gratings. In the middle was a passage, a yard broad, where stood the warders watching the meeting. On both sides of this passage, up against the gratings, were on one side those who had come to see their relations and on the other the prisoners. At this meeting there were at the same time not less than 100 prisoners, for next day 500 were being sent to the camp. For one who has not been present at the scene of such prison meetings it is difficult to picture them. Against both gratings, in unimaginable crowding, people pressed with their faces and bodies, clutching nervously at the gratings with their fingers, with faces strained with anxiety and pain. They are seeing their near ones for the last time. Those who come from outside have difficulty in recognising their fathers, sons or husbands: it is hard to see in these pale, sunken, hairy faces those who had been taken from home vigorous, young and healthy. The prisoners see the poor clothing, drawn faces and general condition of distress to which have come those who had been left to the will of fate. In one minute is revealed to these people all the horror of the sufferings they have endured, their fear for the future, the vision of its hopelessness.



I had lived half a year in prison in an extreme tension of will; my thoughts were dry and hard; I had never allowed myself to weaken my will by any memories. To weep in prison seemed to me not exactly unworthy, but simply something that must not be done. But when I saw the little child face of my son, from whose eyes, one after another, dropped big tears which he did not notice or feel as they trickled over his anxious and burning cheeks, when I saw his tender child-like mouth strained with suffering, I felt to my surprise that my voice was breaking out in spite of me, and that my hairy face was wet with tears. But in those minutes my attention was given to something else: I had to hear the last joyless words from home, to say my own last words, and that was almost physically impossible. A hundred persons on one side and more than a hundred on the other who know that in ten minutes they will part, perhaps for ever, all wanting to call out their last words. In the crush and noise and agitation all were calling out; the hoarse voices of men, high agitated voices of women breaking with stifling sobs, loud children's voices—all seem to join into one inexpressible cry of deathly anguish, of a last good-bye.

#### *Conclusion.*

I end my short and by no means full sketch of the conditions of prison life in USSR with the words of one of the most popular Russian scholars, with whom I was at the same time in prison. This was a man of great and calm endurance, who had been able to keep his capacity for objective and clear judgment in spite of all that he had to go through in more than a year of prison. In his student days he had taken part in the revolutionary movement and belonged to the Bolshevik Social-Democratic Party; he had been imprisoned in various places and had been in exile. Later he had given up revolutionary work and devoted himself entirely to learning.

He summed up the difference between investigation and imprisonment before the Revolution and under the Bolsheviks as follows: "I was an opponent of the Tsarist régime and fought all my life against it, but I have to recognise that then we were imprisoned for offences which we had committed against the existing laws. All the efforts of the investigating authorities were directed, not to discover them, but to prove these offences. In the great majority of cases they did not succeed in doing this fully, and in consequence the sentence was also less than would have been demanded by the law for all that we had done. We were punished only for what

they had succeeded in discovering and proving. It was a fight between us and the examining officials: the investigator tried to prove our offence with the help of documents and facts discovered. We did everything we could to hamper the investigation and to conceal all that was possible. We were enemies of the order of state, and this we did not conceal.

"Now it is quite different. Those under investigation have committed no crime, and very many of them are not only not enemies of the Communist system but sincerely sympathise with it and are doing everything they can to help its realisation. The investigator does not try to find proofs of offences which have not been committed, as he very well knows. In the most favourable instance, which happens rarely, he demands from the prisoner that he should prove that he has *not* committed the offence. But in most cases he demands that the prisoner should declare himself guilty of a most grave offence against the State, which has never been committed. As it is extremely difficult to get this out of a healthy, normal man, the investigator is given unlimited power over the prisoner, and the whole prison régime is directed to bringing him into such a state in which he will sign whatever is wished and will confess anything that is wished, as to all human strength there is a limit."

V. CHERNAVIN.

## RUSSIAN RELIGION ON THE DEFENSIVE

[*The author of this article is a Russian priest till lately in charge of parish work in Russia For the most obvious reasons no clue can be given as to his identity.*—ED.]

THE Bolshevik task of "construction and reconstruction on Socialist principles" embraces every side of the earthly life of those who inhabit the territory of the USSR; and as the success of such construction depends not only on external causes but also on the moral condition of those who can take part in it, naturally it compels the atheist Soviet Government to claim a monopoly of all the inner life of its citizens, and above all of their spiritual and religious life.

Parallel to its revolutionary military council and its army to fight the military strength of capitalism and bourgeoisie, it has created an atheistic, revolutionary military council—the Union of the Godless, with its army of active and passive members both at the centre of each republic and in the form of Godless regional and local detachments and village cells, to combat the spiritual forces of this same capitalism and its bourgeoisie. Thus laying at the foundation of its teaching atheism or godlessness, Bolshevism engaged in a struggle with all religious teachings and principles and all the abundant and varied methods and means which they had at their disposal.

In virtue of such a conception of the foundations of life, the godless life-builder has openly and boldly put forth his new and unprecedented mottoes: "Religion is a deception . . . religion is opium for the toiling people . . . religion obscures the class consciousness of the toiler . . . it is a weapon of reaction . . . the most refined and most well-intentioned defence or justification of the idea of God is a justification of reaction . . . all religions and churches, all religious organisations are armies of the bourgeoisie reaction, serving as a defence of exploitation and deluding the working classes . . . it is a kind of spiritual brandy in which the slaves of capital drown their human image and their demands for anything like a worthy human life."

Hence it will be clearly understood that religion, in the eyes of the Godless, is one of the forces of the capitalist system most hostile to communism, a certain mystic view of life which occupies the place that should be filled by the Bolshevik view, which cannot blend with it and is by its very nature opposed to it.

Having understood that all religions in principle contain one and the same thing, the idea of God, and differ only in the forms which it takes, Soviet Godlessness wages war on all forms of religion. And as the Orthodox confession, by virtue of the historical conditions of Russian life, and also the social, political and economic, has taken the foremost place among other religions in Russia, and was regarded as the State religion, and as the whole political and economic structure of life in Russia has Orthodox Christianity as its basis, Bolshevism, when destroying the old foundations of life and creating new ones, was naturally bound before all things to concentrate its attention on the Orthodox Church.

And the innocent blood of the believers of that Church began to pour in torrents over the land of Orthodoxy from the first days of the revolution. The Ship of Christ, once so magnificent and incomparably beautiful, reeled in its course; the Russian Church was streaming with blood in the terrible and monstrous sea of Soviet realities.

Face to face with the temptation of materialism, often there is not sufficient strength to be found, not only in thousands of ordinary believers, but even among many of those who have been called to the work of Christ—bishops (though these have not gone further than schisms in church doctrine favoured by the Soviet government), priests, deacons and monks; and this last woe of the Church of God is worse than the first. The One Church of Christ, the one flock of Christ, has split into the Patriarchalists, the Renovators, the Autocephalists, the Autonomists, the Self-consecrated, with nicknames unworthy of the name of Christ, such as the Tikhonites, the Renovationists, etc.

The first attacks of the Godless, which were, so far, poorly organised, were frontal. Here the heavy ammunition of direct attack was supplied by the decrees of 1918 and 1920. By a fire screen they divided the Church from the State and the school from the Church. The decree separating the Church from the State and the school from the Church by no means met with a hostile reception by the clergy and the mass of believers. Rather the attitude was even one of indifference, if we except those few who welcomed it in the hope that life would go on normally and freely without interference from any side. And literally all the laity and the majority of the clergy did not particularly grumble at the confiscation of the land belonging to churches and monasteries. But the deprival of all legal rights, whether of the Church servants and their children or of the religious community as a whole, was

felt to be painful and particularly wounding both by the laity and the clergy. This privation is felt every hour in the conditions of daily life. Its effects were terrible. The children of the clergy began to be expelled from higher and even middle schools. The only schools which the decree left open to them were the primary. When all those who had thus been "purged" out of school tried to find work, even of the humblest kind, they were refused the right of entering trade unions, where they were not accepted for the same reason. From 1921, throughout the whole territory of USSR there were none of those religious schools and institutions where this army of young folk could have obtained instruction or employment; they had all been closed. Also, when they reached the military age, such persons were not accepted in the army.

Here must be noticed one surprising feature. The leaders of education hardly ever took the initiative in the "purging" of the schools in their district. This was exclusively the work of the young folk—schoolfellows or those who knew the victims at home. If a son (or daughter) of a "pope"<sup>1</sup> disappeared somewhere in the provinces, all the young folk of the communist "actif" literally made a sport of finding him, and when they found him, they reported at once, in the most official way, to the school, institution or enterprise where he was studying or working, even, perhaps, as the simplest workman, "with a demand to purge him out," as a person of "pope" origin. They did not even leave in peace persons of advanced age who were of "pope" birth. Often they found them towards the very end of their lives. They searched for them among the military, among the party men, employees of every kind, doctors, engineers, teachers, etc. And it was bad even for anyone whose father, though long since dead, had been a "pope" or whose wife was proved to be of "pope" birth.

All this produced a certain "adaptability." Such victims went hundreds and thousands of versts away from home, southerners to the north, northerners to the south, Siberians to European Russia, and from Europe to Siberia, the Caucasus or at least some other republic than one's own. There they declared their origin, and most of them got fairly successfully through their course, and on its completion, got employment and are still at work now.

Wives often get "divorced" in the Z.A.G.S., the institution for registering civil status, and also go out to work and teach children and, of course, it can be confidently stated that in almost

<sup>1</sup> "Pope," a disparaging term of earlier times for the clergy, is now in regular use.—ED.

all such cases, the moral tie between such couples is sacredly observed. With a few exceptions, their children also do not break the moral connection.

Sometimes children deny their priestly parentage. This is done with the observance of legal demands in a definite form. The disavowal must be public and must be printed in the daily press of the district (rayon) in which they live. There the child declares that he is "foreign to all religious prejudices," that he disavows God because he does not acknowledge him and that, therefore, he renounces his priestly father who deceives the people with tales about God, and often calls on fellow children of "popes" to follow his example. At the same time, he makes a promise to give all his knowledge and strength to the construction of his own proletarian republic. One who has made such a renunciation is restored to his rights of citizenship and even must be accepted in the Red Army if subject to being called up in the ordinary way.

Since 1929-30, it has become very noticeable that this question has begun to lose its acuteness. The hard conditions of life, even for members of the Komsomol "actif," came to be too much for them. The eloquent promises of the Soviet Government are not being realised, faith in a better future is dying out, some of the Young Communists secretly admit that they have been deceived, their spirits are drooping, they are looking after their own interests; they have no time to worry about the "bourgeois" son or daughter, they have ceased to see any sense in attacks on "non-proletarian origin." Finally, since 1931, the law has itself abolished this difference, and has opened all doors wide also for the children of the bourgeoisie, including those of the priests if they are loyal and show no hostility to the Soviet.

But the actual servants of the Church are all still deprived of rights as before; they still do not have the right even to receive bread from the state bakery, and private bakeries do not exist. By all this the human dignity of believers is offended.

This, however, is a blow at the body; the victim is a sick man, but it is only a bodily sickness. The moral pain, the offence to the religious feeling, was first of all introduced by the decree confiscating the church vessels (April, 1921). Both town and country resisted this with equal strength, both old and young protested with every fibre of their being. A kind of special terror took hold of all. This was a peculiar fear, unlike that which seizes a man when he sees danger to his own personal property. It was even not the same as when one feels there is danger to one's life. Some

sighed prayerfully, others cursed the authors of this confiscation, others offered physical resistance. Disarmed, they attacked the armed, knowing that this was punished by the *vyshka* or "look-out tower," which means shooting; and they were shot, generally together with their priest, who fully shared the feeling of his affronted flock, or was not able to "calm" the crowd.

There were interesting scenes. Someone stands out in the crowd and makes a loud protest. This man is well known to the whole parish as a confirmed sceptic of the time of the Tsars or as some local cynic. He shouts the choicest abuse and curses at the "robbers." His argument is: "I myself believe neither in God nor in the devil. For me this (all that concerns the Church) is not worth a damn, but these people here find a use for it. If you do not believe, then do not believe, and leave the church to go to the devil. Look! There you see an old man crying. And, there! Look at that old woman sobbing her heart out. It means they need it. If you say you are Bolsheviks and for the people, then leave the people in peace. Don't take from it what you don't even need yourselves."

That was the hungry time. People were dying of famine. It was April, the spring-time, when there was the maximum of deaths. Everything possible had already been eaten. There were two months to wait for the next bread; but to the church where "*they* had come" (i.e. the government men) everyone always dashed as soon as he heard of it, old men and children and often mothers with babies at their breasts. Some of the crowd had swollen faces. Here is one who seems to be trying hard to look at something. No, he sees it already, but his temples are already closed with the swelling of famine. Soon he sits down quietly by some wall, or else he lies at home or in the street, or perhaps he will go to the cemetery to lie down and not get up again; there you would see the "authorities" digging graves all day. Such people were determined; even a mother and children, I saw it myself, lay down in the same trench. And one man, and soon there are others supporting him, suddenly cries out: "At least don't take down the bells. We are dying already. Then let the pope bury us like human beings." The head government man always answered: "We are taking your chalices and valuable crosses just to bring you bread." "We don't want bread for icons. We had better die."

There was also a note to the decree: "Articles of precious metal necessary for the worship of God can be bought back within

two weeks by broken metal of the same value." And when the priest announced this, all the silver that anyone had was literally piled up. They brought ear-rings, engagement rings, silver covers from clocks, body crosses, crosses of St. George and all kinds of medals, spoons, silver frames from their own home icons, etc., and very many churches collected so much that they were able to buy back their chalices and patens, and the altar crosses, and the covers of the altar gospels. But many small village churches could not find enough, and after the confiscation some conducted the services on glass jam-dishes and with earthenware cups until they could get chalices and patens of cottage manufacture made like the old ones, but out of brass or white metal.

After that came the time of debates. There was not a town or village in which there was not a debate in 1921-22. At these debates, travelling, anti-religious agitators always several of them together, first of all invited the priests to appear, or the rabbis where there were such. Here the agitators furiously defended the motto on their flag, "the merciless war with God and his visible Church by means of scientific proof and the logic of common sense." The priest did not then find it possible to avoid religious debates, and in most cases accepted this challenge from the Godless; but his championship, with these conditions and consequences, proved very disastrous for him personally and often tragically fatal. If he was well armed with knowledge, if he was firm and courageous, if he understood how to fight for his cause, his future lot was that of a martyr. The Orthodox priest stood exposed alone, and against him were the Godless and, also sometimes in the south, dissenters.

But the anti-religious campaign of 1921-22 did not break religion, but strengthened belief in it. All the believers gladly engaged in the dispute. Knowing this, the Godless always arranged the debates in as spacious meeting-places as possible (in theatres, circuses, or where there were none, in schools, etc.). And it was wonderful to see how the mass was never on the side of the Godless, though they were supported by the Party men and the Young Communists, who as part of their discipline were invited and were bound to support the agitators. Even in those cases where the priest could not rely on any "scientific" argument, the crowd was always on the side of belief. How excellently the common folk understood that science will not prove that there is no God. And how often, not to say always, the common folk brought the debates to nothing, and not by scientific proofs, but by arguments of childlike simplicity.



Each time there were most charming scenes. The orator speaks for an hour or two, then he debates with the priest, and then a workman or peasant is brought in. The crowd has been on the spot since early morning; it has had no food for hours, but it does not wish to eat; it is absorbed in the course of the debate and is waiting to see how it will end. It is dangerous to go out to eat. While one is away one's place will be taken, and it will be impossible to push one's way back. The most interesting part is now, when the arguments are coming "from the machine and the plough."<sup>2</sup>

"You say," says a simple fellow to the agitator "that our bishops used to bless the people and look at them through the windows of their carriages, and that it was behind these carriages that they made their way to be bishops—and now you see they haven't got any carriages or fine rooms, they haven't got any food tickets. Let alone any right to buy himself an overcoat, they won't give him any bread in the workmen's co-operative because he is a dog of a priest, and for his calling he has to go to the "dopr" (prison) or to your Solovki.<sup>3</sup> And if you ask him—why, he won't refuse to let you shoot him . . . You say that the bishops made people keep the fasts, and glutted themselves with every kind of fish and caviar and other expensive fasting food more than the poor workman and peasant could with meat. And you say he wouldn't understand that the workman and the peasant would also like to eat fish, only it was too dear and would not have gone round his family. And now look at this same bishop! If some priest doesn't bring him bread or something from the village or if some townsman doesn't give him anything, he has got to die of hunger. And yet they don't give up the work of God. And they work even for you, sons of swine. Why, our priest told us that last January month (1921) 'they' came for him and he was not at home. Where was he? He was walking round the town churches, and collecting money from the people because there was a tax of 1,700 roubles, and he hadn't got anything. Where is he even to buy bread, without a food book? And can he get it from a speculator for three or four roubles a kilo? Or will he get three or four roubles for bread at all today! No. He couldn't get three or four roubles today if he tried."

"You say, comrade, our priest used to preach that everyone should visit the Church of God every feast day and that he himself from early morning up to service time, gave his workers so much

<sup>2</sup> A favourite Communist phrase.—Ed.

<sup>3</sup> The concentration camp at Solovetsk.—Ed.

to do, that he himself would serve his mass and take his dinner and his nap, but the labourer could never get away from the stable because there were lots of cattle and too few workers. That's true. So it was, and someone had to look after the cattle, if there were any. But now, when with you communists misfortune has fallen on him, he too is living in straits without grumbling and he himself plaits the tails of his horses and cleans out the stables. And now you see how every day he goes about the parish, asking for food for his family and then for the taxes. And all the same he goes on with the work of God."

The crowd applaud. "Bravo Uncle Peter." "Quiet!" shout the Young Communists. "A comrade is answering your Uncle Peter." The agitator calls from the platform: "But now the most honest and educated of the popes have owned that there is no God, that they have deliberately deceived the people, and now they have come over to us. Your popes, from your district! There is Father Hilarion S. and Father Peter B. and Father George L. and Father Victor S. and others."

"Well go on," Grandfather Vukol calls out, "Are there many such in Russia. Very few. They have done badly, but perhaps one of them may have done it out of fear, or another perhaps was made to by his children and wife, or perhaps he is really just a shameless coward. After all, you know, he's human. Why, you, comrade, who are so bold and not afraid of God, if they put a rifle to your forehead or even took away your book (food-book), you know you might yourself begin preaching God or even kiss a priest's hand for a bit of bread, if you had to. Admit that you would, comrade Egorov." (Laughter and general approval). "You say, comrade:—'I don't recognise your God, and I curse at holy things. I blaspheme, as your priests say of us. I have even blown my nose on the altar-cloth. And I have stirred up the relics in Belgorod in mockery. And your God sits in heaven and does nothing. Is it that he is afraid of us Bolsheviks? No, it is not that. He simply isn't there,' " "No" says some one in the crowd "When you are punished, you don't want to own up; you won't see. You are spiritually blind. And our popes don't say that you will all get punished in earthly life. Wait till the last judgment comes; then you will dance. Why, comrade B. said on this platform last year, 'Without God we will make such a machine that you will have rain whenever you want it, just by pressing a button.' And some months afterwards, when the famine caught him in the village of N, there didn't prove to be any button there, and he pegged out

like a dog. You are cheats, you Godless. Come along, Orthodox people." And the debate was finished.

At another place comrade D. announced that "without words, with the help of chemistry, and of course without any divine power he would work some miracles such as Jesus Christ had worked," and herewith he solemnly promised to start with the first miracle in the Gospel and to turn water into wine (the marriage of Cana of Galilee). D. solemnly put two beaker-shaped glasses on the table holding 500 grams each. Both vessels were half full of some colourless liquid; according to him, it was pure water. Then he mockingly raised his eyes as if he were praying, and began to pour from one vessel into the other. As he poured, the colourless liquid changed to the colour of wine. He showed it to the bystanders, and said: "Your Christ could only change water into wine; I can change wine back into water." He took a third vessel, which till now had stood apart from the others, with some colourless liquid which he also called water, and poured into it half of the beaker which had "turned into wine." As he poured, the liquid became colourless. The effect would have been remarkable if only, to D's misfortune, a simple countryman had not been on the spot. "Comrade D." says he, "now you drink from that glass, and tell us whether your wine is good!" D. shrugged his shoulders and owned that of course you could not drink it because it was a dangerous chemical substance. "Ah, but you see," said the peasant, "our Christ, he drank the wine that he made, and gave it round to others too."

Later D. was proving that he could set fire to the offering to Baal "much better than the real God" without matches. And on the table he set a light to two rolls of paper, in one of which was glycerine and in the other manganese of potassium.

Usually this kind of miracle-worker is told he is a scoundrel and arouses no interest. That is the attitude of workers and peasants to these debates.

Perfectly different is the behaviour of the mass of the *Intelligentsia*; not all, but certainly the majority have preferred the "mess of pottage." From 1923-24, when the debates were abandoned and the work of spreading godlessness was everywhere left to the local intelligentsia, especially to teachers and afterwards to all of it in general, it set itself to serve the Soviet government in the most conscientious way. In the school, for children, and outside the school, for their parents, for the foremen and workmen in factories,

the godless work is conducted in the most systematic way. You are surprised as you look at it. It is now the thirteenth and fourteenth year of revolution, and if you look in the factories and schools of all grades and hospitals, in all places except in the state offices, literally everywhere you find the old intelligentsia. Some of them are at their old pre-revolution posts. And for the first years one could see that they were abashed, but now there is no gnawing of conscience. But they have no authority with the masses.

"Comrade teacher, you used to teach me divinity and defended the priest; you used to make us go to church; and now you say that there is no God, that all that is the invention of the popes; you used to punish us for bad behaviour in the church during the service. And now you preach that we are not to pray to God, or listen to the popes, and not to go to church. What are we to take for the truth according to you? When were you lying, then or now?"

There is one answer that all such teachers give: "Then in the Tsar's time they made us talk that way, and now we are telling you how it really is."

All the *intelligentsia* serving in the Soviet system have broken off any kind of connections with the servants of religion, so that no one may accuse them of "relations with counter-revolution." Only just a very few, kinsmen or friends, if they meet the priest alone somewhere, say good day to him; or he will quietly warn the priest not to look round, and say to him, quite low from behind: "How do you do? Don't be annoyed! You know yourself, we dare not have anything to do with you." And anything which can convict him of being religious, he will hide. Any books of religion that he had, he has destroyed; his icons he has given to the church or to some workman or peasant. Or if he has more courage, he has hidden them in a cupboard. Of those few they say: "He believes at home, but not on duty."

One can say the same of many of the Young Communists. They are all of them, at the best, children of the "small middle peasants": children of the *bourgeoisie* and of the kulaks are not accepted. Many quietly observe the fasts. At Christmas, or on some other big feast day, one will stand for a while in the church; or at Easter, he feels somehow bound to hear a part of the service. In time of serious illness at home, of course, they put more faith in God. In the dangerous moments of life they invite the "pope." The priest comes and sees: this is one, who not so long ago in

the square or in some club or institution, blasphemed God and abused the "pope"—for the priest, you see, knows all the life of his parishioners from others. "You, it seems, are a Young Communist (or a Red Army man)." "Yes," says the sick man. "Did you ask me to come yourself, or was it your parents or wife who wanted me to pray for you?" "Myself, Father." "And yet you do not acknowledge God?" The priest asks this in order that afterwards he may not have to answer before the law for doing violence to the man's conscience. "Oh, dear Father, the Communists teach us nonsense, and now I am afraid. I want to have the communion." And then he confesses and communicates.

Perhaps the man will die, and they bury him with music and speeches; and in a day or two his grandmother, mother, father, wife or brothers ask the priest to come quietly to the cemetery and chant the prayers over him. For the matter of that, there are plenty of such "Nicodemuses" among the Soviet employees, except for the members of all central committees and the highest responsible officials.

In the evening, or even in the middle of the night, there is a knock at the priest's door. "Who is there?" "Open, please, Father." A woman or two come in, and sometimes an old man. "Please christen this baby; his father, you see, is a Party man, and is afraid to have him baptised. We waited till he was off on duty. He went this morning; so we, the mother of the baby, and his own mother, too, have come in haste to you." And the priest baptises the child. In the same noiseless way, under the shadow of the evening twilight, sometimes the Party men get married.

Generally, one might say about all the young folk that for the most part they are believers or doubters; of "absolute" atheists there are very few among them. This is especially noticeable in the last few years. The interest in books of religious and moral content is surprisingly great. Both in the Red Army and in the Komsomol many argue thus: "We have heard the godless teaching. Its instructions, its principles, are known to us; but what do the books of religion say? Don't they, too, have some kind of principles for their belief? For whole thousands of years people, many of them learned and clever, have lived and believed, and today in other countries nearly all are believers—the papers and all other literature give evidence of this." And, more than anything, they want the forbidden fruit: "Bibles and Gospels," they say. But of Bibles and Gospels there are comparatively few left in the

USSR. Most of the books of religious content have perished in the fire of revolution. The little old volumes of the "Old and New Testament" are not to be seen. You will hardly find them with some priest or old man.

How many young folk come to the priests, sometimes secretly, sometimes openly, and ask him if he will only lend them for a time a Gospel or Bible to read. You might in any town or village give it as no less a number than there are Young Communists in the town or village.

On Christmas Eve of 1928, in the south of Russia, in many places they specially carried out a "Komsomol Christmas." It was decided to do this under the motto of combating the reverence for icons. The teachers gave out the order that every pupil was to bring one icon to be burnt. The same "order" was given at the meeting of the Komsomol. They expected something grand, but all that followed was a pitiful picture. Here and there, they heaped up small bonfires and Party men brought their icons, but to some of them the wives, or fathers, or mothers, would not surrender them; there were Young Communists who were able to seize them by force from their parents, but of the schoolboys only quite a few, because their parents resisted them. There were scenes such as this:—

"Why are you taking away the icon?" asks the mother or father of the Young Communist. "We have got to take one icon each to the Komsomol to be burnt." "Well, then, you take your own icon, if you have got one; but this one we got, your parents." Or a young fellow of nine or ten comes from school: "Mamma, give me the icon." "What for?" asks the mother. "The schoolmaster (or schoolmistress) has ordered us to bring them tomorrow to burn. We have each to bring one." And from the corner the father shouts out in horror: "I will give it you so hot that you won't know your own teacher. Burn your teacher, the son of a swine."

The spiritual and moral picture of the young folk, in spite of its lack of any obligatory religious standards, presents in the mass something whole and definite. The young folk have fallen away from the church, both in numbers and in quality, yet the whole thing is not at all so alarming as some Russians abroad imagine. With few exceptions, the Red Army men leave the church during their time of military service. When they have been demobilised, then at home the "average peasants" practically all remain true to the church. The so-called "children of kulaks," who, anyhow

risk nothing, and have nothing to lose, never forget the church. Red Army men from the "poor peasants," who, in view of their "proletarian origin" have every chance of "a happy future," the hope of a career and all the rights to the best possible lot in Soviet Russia, have, some of them, left the church; the rest proudly and boldly, and sometimes even demonstratively, go to church. And the godless "actif" is not numerous. Those who have left have, for the most part, neither become really godless nor altogether lost their faith.

In the first time of the Revolution, one was horrified for the future of the children. Understanding freedom as licence, the young folk threw off all restraint as far as morals were concerned. They renounced all the laws of God and man. They did not acknowledge the authority of their parents or the Church. For the "new-born" Komsomol, everything to do with the Church, everything holy was the subject not only of constant mockery, but even of the grossest hooliganism. Disgusting names, the lowest swearing, and sometimes even spitting at the representatives of the Church was a common phenomenon during 1923-24. And if one met a drunken Young Communist, something bad might happen.

From 1924-25, the Young Communist had already become so firmly established in his strict discipline that it could no longer be taken from him. He avoids anything that might defile him. He does not let himself go into drunkenness or dissoluteness or any kind of hooliganism. And each of them is very much penetrated with a sense of his personal responsibility not only to the organisation, but to the whole of the community and to the law which regulates all its life. He always remembers that his privileged position is incomparably better than that of the young folk who are not in the organisation, but that before the law, in case he commits even the smallest crime, he has to answer for it more seriously; to him, the law will be stricter than to the non-party young folk. The same also applies to the Young Communist girls. Such a one will register herself (get married) three times, or even in spite of the law, more than that, but she cannot sink into profligacy and still less into prostitution, which is already in general as rare as possible in the USSR.

What has been said of the Young Communist, man or girl, is to be said of their younger brother or sister, the pioneer. The discipline is as strict as that of the Komsomol. The motto constantly and persistently instilled in them, that "the pioneer must

be an example to all " has produced the most definite results. The pioneer can be distinguished, whether at home or at school or in the street, from children who do not belong. He is as different from " the rest " as before the revolution a pupil of any privileged school or institution differed from the " free " pupil. He has been trained and educated in godlessness. Himself, he not only will not go to church, but as he passes the house of God, he will not even notice it. Perhaps, if he chances on the priest, he will meet him and follow him with a peculiar look. In his sensible, clever eyes there will be either astonishment or curiosity. But if his parents are believers and take him to church, he may do everything that he is told by his father, his mother, or the priest, though according to his rules, he would not dare to do so, and if his superiors heard of such behaviour, he would bear the punishment assigned as part of his " pioneer discipline." Lord ! what a good child of our Mother the Church might be made of him !

The attitude of the adult workman or peasant towards religion in the last few years has in the mass become something different from what it was before the revolution. Before all, one must say of it that it is quite intelligent. All that the church had acquired by accident or accretion has passed away. This purge took place of itself in the first years of the revolution. From the start of the Bolshevik upheaval, and up to 1924-25, one felt a terrible decline of religion. Some abandoned it, losing faith in the truth of anything religious, and naïvely trusted the " beautiful " godless mottoes. There is another part, the greater, who had always been indifferent, and when they felt that the " legal restraint " had gone, that their abandonment of religion would not be followed by any punishment, and even that rather it would be to their advantage, they openly declared their desertion. After about 1925, one could see that all such were flowing back. The reign of injustice, the elemental sufferings of 1921-22, the unsatisfactoriness of the " religion of communism," the impotence of those who had made so many promises to create a peaceful earthly paradise, provoked disillusion and a yearning for the old life among very many of those who had fallen away. They understood that what is good and true and steadfast and unchanging and eternal is only in the Church of Christ ; there were instances, even, of the conversion of dissenters. And, indeed, here they found everything unbroken, as it had been before.

During the hour of worship, they would forget themselves and feel they were back in the familiar, kindly, old native surroundings.



They had been to the theatre or the cinema, or had listened to the broadcast, or had heard of the wonders of science in various cultural, educational clubs or from the reports of travelling educationalists or from their own trained agitators, and they felt clearly that nothing can fill that gap which always remains—only the faith, only God. In the solemn and best moments of religious life, on the great feast days of Christmas and Easter such a man would try to spend his time in the theatres and clubs where the godless temptor would offer his own "Christmas" and "Easter," but when he heard the familiar sound of the bell, of the Christmas service or the Easter mass, he could not resist it, and would run out.

And, only in friendly talk, he would some day say with feeling : "Yes, comrade, it means something. There is a God. I will tell you what happened to me and my other comrades. They told us at the land commune and afterwards at the trade union, that this week, on Saturday evening, a report would be read in the theatre on the 'Myth of the Resurrection of Christ,' They told us it would be a very fine scientific exposure of the deceit of the popes, of the resurrection of the Christ-God. Then, after the report, there would be a performance by our dramatic society. The report would begin at 10 o'clock in the evening and the performance at 12. I started out to it, and my wife asks me : 'Where are you going?' 'Why, at the trade union meeting, they told us we should all be in the theatre.' 'Let your theatre burn down, and all of them go down with it. Am I to go to church alone with the children?' 'By that time, I will be at home' I answered. I went, and there I saw all our trade unionists in the theatre. While the report was going on, I heard the bells calling to the Easter service. I looked and there was Sergius G. gone out and his brother Ivan after him. Then Peter P. and then a number of the others went out. Basil A., the blacksmith, called out that soon the report would finish, and then there would be an interval. A few minutes later, the report ended. Suddenly a peal of bells is heard from our church. 'Let's go to service,' whispers Dmitry S., the co-operator, 'or pope P. might let them out early today.' And that evening, Basil O. told me that there was no one left in the theatre, only the performers." They smashed the godless Easter.

It is rare that a whole family is in the "actif," if one does not count daily joint participation of fathers and children in the work of the state-plan and in the factories. Though they are members

of the Party, godless are by no means to be found in every family. But wherever there are several believing members of the family, they always observe all church customs. And for the last few years, there is no longer such rough treatment of some by others in the family. The believer at home always tries to observe all the customs of the Orthodox. He goes to confession and to communion. He visits the church if his public duties do not hinder this—as in the eyes of the law they come before religion. He fasts. He welcomes the priest in his home when the latter, carrying out his pastoral duties in the parish, at the appointed time visits the homes of believers with the cross or with prayer. The marriages, the funerals, the christenings go on. They carry out all the rules of the church at home, even if their quarters are shared by godless. They contribute to the upkeep of the church or the priest, even when they share their rooms with unbelievers.

In many places the priest, in order to keep up the religious feeling, tries to make the church feast-days as solemn as possible. They gather together for church services. In many districts there has been introduced for such a day a corporative service. But the Church choirs have not all been saved. The causes of this very sad change are to be found in the conditions of soviet life. The lack of deacons and parish clerks is due to the same cause: at least, in South Russia, for in the north one finds more clerks. With every desire and constant regret, the religious communities have to do without them for sheer lack of means. There are more clerks and choirs to be found in the villages, but in the towns not half are left. In the provinces the duties of clerk and choir are performed by amateurs, mostly by *lishentsy* (the disenfranchised). Church servants of this kind are not registered in the administrative office as “servants of the cult.”

In the towns, too, amateurs take part in the singing, and it is the exception for a properly organised choir to be still kept up. In most cases, priests themselves are the clerks and singers. In the towns, nearly all churches have double, treble or even larger staffs. This is very simply explained. There is no big town where churches have not been closed, and so the priests “set free” generally join the remaining churches. The number of such members of the clergy in one church is often fairly large—four, five, seven or more; it may be as many as twenty. Each performs the parish duties for his own parishioners, but the common services are conducted by each in turn. One serves, the others sing, sometimes jointly.

Everywhere, the services are performed strictly according to rule. Now a man comes into church only to pray, and not to show anyone that he is Orthodox. Now he is not given credit with anyone, but rather loses by it. And he prays till the very end of the service. Also, the priest has no reason to hurry. At home he has only his family and poverty and thoughts of tomorrow, but in the church, at the time of the service, he has his "family," that is, his flock, and nothing to trouble him. He has even wealth and satisfaction, for he has come here for the riches of the soul, and here he has enough, because he is here with the "Giver of all good things" even for the whole world. Often monks from the monasteries that have been closed offer their services as clerks and singers. There are thousands of them scattered about. Monks are, indeed, scattered all over the country. Monks and deacons take the place of those who have died or perished or been imprisoned; others, no longer in cassocks, are to be found in the mass of the laity living where they can.

The love for everything that touches the church shows itself especially in care for the preservation of the church building; and the beauty of the services of God is something special, such as before the revolution people who called themselves believers never knew. Then one felt that people did anything for the church as if they were made to by someone; and even if they were willing givers, it was always out of their superfluity. Now everyone tries to do the utmost that he can; you see he is bringing the last of what he has. Every month, or even oftener, one has to calculate, how much every member has to pay for the church tax or for the maintenance of the priest; and there are very few who do not take this seriously.

The believers are constantly occupied in collecting for the maintenance of the church and the priest. There is not a month, not a week, not a day, when the parish commune, if not all together, at least through its executive, does not take thought for the church and its maintenance, and with it for the priest of the parish as such. The church building is always in danger. For instance, the law obliges the parish to maintain it in good order, and the local authorities can always take advantage of this. You must be so good as to keep your church up to a 100 per cent. standard. Repair it, when you have no money, or when, even if you have, you cannot get the materials; for the Gostorg (State stores) will not supply them for the needs of a church, and the prices of the profiteers are impossible. Else the church and its property will be

taken by the administrative section. In fear of this the parish always keeps up the church in perfect order. When the administrative section has announced that the lease of the church has got to be renewed, the whole parish is on the alert. Of course, though quietly, the priest directs the whole matter. He almost always knows all the latest regulations, instructions, and interpretations of the Soviet Government on this subject. For collecting the money, and for controlling its expenditure, trustees for the conclusion of the lease are chosen from the members. And all are keenly interested in the result—whether the lease will be concluded or not. Not wishing to leave unsatisfied the regulations made by the law for the conduct of marriages, christenings and funerals, all observe its demands. All the processions are kept up just as they were in the old times. On each such occasion, all join in working for permission. They send in their petitions, or even, if necessary, travel to Moscow with them.

The care that they take of their clergy is often very touching. Knowing that the priest's welfare, and with his the bishop's, depends firstly and mainly on them, the people of the parish have always helped in every way. As far as they can, they provide the clergy with quarters, fuel and food. They guard their good name, and defend them wherever it is needed. Now, when it is so hard for the priest to find goods of any kind, beginning with bread, the parishioners share their food and clothing with the clergy. That is the way things are done now, both in the towns and villages.

Knowing that the priest is as safe as the grave in keeping the secret of their thoughts and feelings, people are not afraid of him unless he is of some Soviet kind, a "Renovator" or some other sort. The Party men very rarely make any kind of concessions, and only when they have known the Father as a good priest before the revolution; still less do they give any immediate help; the Government employees sometimes secretly relax the law a little for the priest; but the workers and peasants are always fearless. These last always either share what they get for their ration cards, or at least will sell to him. And in the evenings, through an old mother or a believing wife, they will send him bread or a bit of meat; fishermen will send fish; the Co-operator will send sugar or something else. Out of all this each priest collects something for the bishop. This is mostly in money. To a priest who takes the place of one who has been imprisoned, they also contribute for the prisoner; and if he has left behind a family, they give direct to it. Imprisoned rural deans get help from the clergy of their

deanery; for an imprisoned bishop a collection is made by the priests of his diocese, and the Metropolitan Peter receives through the bishops. The organisation of help for exiled bishops has in many places been undertaken by a "church sisterhood" which is now attached to the churches, but the nuns do still more of this. From 1920, after the convents were shut, they spread through the towns and villages. They live by private work. In their free time they collect money and goods among the workmen and peasants, and hand it over either by post or in person to the prisons. Linen and other clothing is made on the proper pattern.

When I first crossed the threshold of the prison, I was overcome with horror. And what frightened me was not the conditions of prison life as such, but to think of how the prisoners would treat me. We can assume that there are many of the "former people" there—the intelligentsia in general, officers, aristocrats, our own clergy who are everywhere 75 per cent. of those charged with "counter revolution," and many former party men and other responsible workers, lawyers, militiamen, managers, heads of various enterprises and institutions, communist officers and red army privates. And there are also criminals—thieves, bandits and hooligans. Although they told me that "the rules of internal discipline in prison prevent any kind of violence or insults between prisoners," I thought to myself "that may be the rule, but how is it in practice?" When I had lived there a little while, I found that none of the prisoners ever insults the priest in prison. I was told the same thing by a priest who had been in numbers of other prisons. Often, even kindness was shown to us by men with notorious names in the world of thieves, horse-stealers, robbers and bandits. These last were sometimes very obliging to the priests, and always the priests returned their kindness. The coarsest swearing among the prisoners has received the rights of citizenship, but as none of the imprisoned priests ever swears, they feel it awkward to swear to him.

The relations between the representatives of various confessions have latterly been simply excellent. They have full respect for each other; there is no antagonism. In the very first days of the revolution dissenters were hostile, but in later years the Godless, as the common enemy of all believers, terrible, cunning and strong, has reconciled them all and moulded them all into one great powerful family. But to those of the clergy and laity who are not sincere, although they are believers, and help the Soviet Government in its fight against every kind of religion, the general attitude is mistrustful and cautious.

One thing which very much unites all, is their relations with the administrative section and the financial section. When they are defending their right to their house of prayer and to the property of their cult in the administrative section, or are dealing with questions of taxes, etc., in the financial section, the representatives of all forms of belief support each other like one family with their advice and connections. As examples of this peaceful fellowship of believers of various confessions, I will give a few instances.

In the town of X, the Catholic priest K was arrested. He served a term in prison. When the news went round that he was let out, some Orthodox priests at once visited him as a brother.

Or, again, the priest S.A. is going round to collect a church tax from his parishioners. He meets the dissenter B, a master workman. "Why, father, are you going round for the tax?" "Yes," said the priest. "Although you know I am a dissenter, a Stundist,<sup>5</sup> I beg you not to despise a contribution from me, too. I know it is hard for you." And he gave him two roubles.

And here is another pretty instance. In the large town of X, they are closing down the chief choral synagogue. The Jews belonging to it are ready to do anything if only they can keep their church. They invite the Orthodox priest, who is also fighting for his own church. They form a council consisting of the chairman of the synagogue council, an old learned rabbi D, the town rabbi V, the Jewish precentor, and the priest. They decided to send a delegation to the government. But the villains took the synagogue.

A healthy revision of all values has also taken place among the servants of the church; both bishops and clergy have become different and have taken to looking differently at their Christian duties. The spirit of devotion has arisen from its slumber. Bishops and clergy have renounced the world and have risen to the height of a bishop's calling and the devotion of a pastor's duty. The bishop has come out of his comfortable "chambers." He has forgotten his comfortable, nice-looking carriages. He has condemned his old pride, not in words but in actual life, and has come closer to the pastors and flocks entrusted to him. He has settled into the most modest quarters. Now there are no special days and hours of reception.

It is with absolute simplicity that a bishop in charge visits his diocese. I remember in September 1930 an archbishop of the Tikhon community came to a former provincial town X. At the river quay it was "not allowed" to arrange any "ceremonial

<sup>5</sup> A Russian Baptist.—Ed.

meeting," or to bring the public there, but at home in the church grounds you may do as you please. The two senior priests met him; of course they were only in cassocks, because the quay is a "public spot" and is no place for "demonstrations of the devils of darkness." From the quay they drove in a cab to the administrative section of the district for the newcomer to "register" according to law. The getting of permission and the registration took in all three days. From there they went to the central church of the Tikhon community, and there had long been waiting for them the Tikhon clergy and laity of the town. The nearest rural deans had come, and some priests from the parishes nearest to the town, who somehow had been able to learn the day when the archbishop would arrive. Some of them had never yet seen their archbishop, for he had only been two and a half years in this diocese. No one had known him earlier, for he was from one of the most distant towns on the Volga (in the north). Some, who had held some of the old church posts, knew that he was highly educated and had done great work as a teacher of divinity, but what sort of bishop he was, it was hard to find out, for before he was sent to this diocese he had been several years in exile.

Small seemed the old church ground, which had not been built for Soviet times. Before the revolution these grounds, like those of all other town churches, could never have expected that they would hold believers and many unbelievers from all the parishes of a large town. In fact, earlier this town had had its own bishop. I may mention that the see was an old one, but since 1922 its bishop was in exile. Those who came late had to crowd together on the pavement up against the churchyard wall.

And now he comes, the archbishop himself. He is short of stature with the look of an ascetic, and indeed he was rigorously ascetic; his head leans forward, and his eyes look down, as if he were carrying a burden and was afraid to stumble and fall with it. Some wept, and later probably those few Communists and Young Communists who had come out of curiosity were also praying, for the sight of him certainly moved the mass to prayer. On some faces one could see a certain astonishment. It was as if they were asking "Is that a man who is strong enough to carry so heavy a cross?" On their faces one could read: "Are you one who is not of this world?"

After the service every one said: "What spiritual riches one sees in him! There's a bishop with whom one would want to be praying without end, and who has no doubts on his soul." But

what was most wonderful of all was that in a group of Young Communists a young woman said: "What riches in that face!"

In those days the bishop visited all the five Tikhon churches of the town. In one he served vespers, in the others the liturgy, and all believers who were free from work followed in his steps. He was allowed to visit several villages. Everywhere people said the same of him. A simple peasant woman of the huge village of A. thus described the feelings of people after he had gone: "It was as if an angel had come and had flown away." Others said: "That was a feast day, and now we are left with the working days. It was as if we had been in heaven."

But there was also such a case as this. At the request of the parishioners and the priest, Bishop A. came to the village of I., in the same district, which he had not got permission to visit in time from the administrative section. And as soon as the bishop entered the church, representatives of the village commune demanded from the churchwarden that the bishop should at once leave the village. And the bishop, who had not arranged for any conveyance, walked out of the village on foot with his two deacons. But the people caught him up directly with horses, and took him to the village of A. where he had leave to visit. In that village they specially found some white flour for him and made a big loaf for the journey. He asked those who had brought it to cut it in half and gave the other half to the mother of the rural dean, who was in prison, asking her to send it to him. And a few days later the prisoner ate that loaf and felt that not only was the bodily hunger satisfied in him, but the spiritual. And towards all the bishops there is this same purely filial attitude of their flocks. I happened to be able to notice this during the last few years in several towns of two republics.

Deprived of all comforts, property, quarters, all that made their homes, the priests have all the same remained, and with a few exceptions, still remain true to their duty. Now you have to look for their quarters outside the towns, far from the centre, in cellars or servants' quarters. And in the villages, as one very simple peasant put it, "if you want to find the pope, look for him where only the beggar and gypsy could live earlier."

In the last few years since 1928-29, there are more and more cases of "divorces" of priests and their wives. This means that the husband remains at his duty, while his wife goes and lives at the expense of the children, or herself gets a post which her "divorce"



entitles her to occupy. Some priests have found ways of earning something by side work. It is hard for a priest to live by farming, for he will not be admitted to the kolhoz (collective farm), unless he renounces his calling. Some in good time, even as late as 1928-29, got some bees, and now these are a great help to them. Others live by fishing. Others by cottage industries—cobbling, working with a cart or barrow, nickel-plating, sewing blankets or mattresses with his family, or house painting. Some priests simply leave the service of the church without renouncing it, or live at the expense of their children, or find a post outside parish work. There are persons who get ordained. All the pre-revolution deacons and hierodeacons, and also some of the intelligentsia laity, judges, officers and police officers; for there are no theological schools existing now in USSR. Though there are very few such, some even live by begging. You can see them in a big town. There they are in their priests' clothes, sometimes with pectoral crosses. Quietly, without a word, with outstretched hands, they stand at some corner or in the market place.

And there are some who have renounced the church, though they are few. Some of these have given in to the godless teaching. Others have despaired of a better future. The life of these is in many cases a terrible tragedy. I have happened to converse intimately with six or seven former priests. Only two of them were calm. One even bragged of his apostasy. Really there was nothing else he could do. He had renounced about ten years ago, and ever since he has been sitting in the finance section selling stamps in the very town where he was a priest. Each day he can see his former parishioners out of his window. At first many of them used to ask him how he felt, and at first he felt awkward, but now he is used to it and replies: "It's all nonsense. What sort of God is there? There is no God." Another does his new work very conscientiously! He is in the administrative section in his own former parish, and precisely in the department for religion. He has the look of a convinced Godless. The rest, by their own confession, feel very strong gnawings of conscience. That can be seen, because when they meet their former colleagues or good parishioners they either noticeably avoid conversation, or else strongly insist that it has all been no use, that they have not gained anything by the change. And they always envy their colleagues who have remained in their priestly calling: "You have no rights; you are in distress; but you are happier than we are. You are in your own world, and always feel at home, but we cannot feel

that, either with you or with the Bolsheviks, and often they call at us : ' You're a pope '."

In general, all church life has been put on quite a different basis. The Orthodox parishes in Soviet Russia are now on quite a different footing. Whereas earlier the parish as such played a passive role, now it is its own only organiser. The bishop can do nothing to help. The consistory does not exist. The counsellor, the guide who is always accessible, is the rural dean. The civil authorities not only do not help in the organisation of the parish, but are ready to do anything which can hurt it at any convenient opportunity. Their interest is that the parishes should not be there. It is not the making of parishes they want, but the destruction of them. To form a new parish is now a difficult matter, although in some places in the first years of the revolution there were instances of the opening of new ones. Meanwhile the parish has now a mass of duties. Larger expenses than in the old times lie on the active registered members. But religious life, as we see, exists, and it is very strong. It is now a rock of strength, and many of the godless attacks have already broken upon it. The more violently the enemy storms against it, the stronger it becomes. To the superficial eye it has become weaker than it was, but to the eye which is armed with even the smallest knowledge of present-day life in Soviet Russia, it is only externally that it has diminished. But on the other hand it has consolidated itself by its inner strength, and may do so still more. Anyhow it will not be the weaker but the stronger for all this, to face the enemies of the church of Christ.

How often, how boldly the Godless sing their battle song :—

" Away, away with the monks,  
Away, away with the popes.  
We will climb to heaven  
And drive out all the Gods."

But monks and popes are still there, even if there are fewer of them; and the Godless have not yet climbed a single stair up towards God.

FATHER TROPHIMUS.

## THE PRESS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

THE fifth of May, being the anniversary of the foundation of *Pravda* (1912), is by way of being a fête day for the Soviet Press, reserved for historical reminiscences, for the examination of achieved results and future projects. "Autocriticism," which in the anti-religious Russia of today has taken the place of the confession of sins peculiar to all ancient religions, is more than usually in evidence, and the collection of statements and echoes thus gathered, if we know how to read between the lines, enables us to estimate the recent evolution of Soviet journalism.

With the aid of these documents therefore, and with the reservations which must accompany any contemplation of official Soviet statistics, let us supplement the information which was recently given in these pages.

On the territory of the Soviet Union there were, at the end of 1932, 6,680 printed newspapers appearing with a total circulation of 38 million. Of these, about 1,800 were regional kolhoz journals, and 3,050 were factory newspapers. The number of mural newspapers is estimated at 300,000, and that of the manifolded sovhoz journals at about 2,000.

In the execution of the Plan, it is the "lower Press" which has accomplished the greatest numerical progress, and above all the district Press. The region (*oblast*) around Moscow, for example, has now 145 "district newspapers" with a total circulation of 831,000 copies. Some of these papers are published in the smallest and most isolated localities (such as Ramechky, Smerdyn, Tolmuchy). In the Ukraine there are 829 newspapers, published in eight languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, White Russian, German, Yiddish, Bulgarian and Greek) with a total circulation of 5,700,000 copies. The increase by comparison with 1928 is 900 per cent. in the number of journals and 300 per cent. in total circulation.

There is thus an obvious disparity between increase of journals and increase of circulation. The figures for circulation, as laid down in the quinquennial Plan for the Press, have very rarely been achieved or surpassed. Thus, for example, the *Visti* of Kharkov reaches 155,000, whereas the figure fixed for 1932-33 was 200,000. The other important Ukrainian journals, the *Kommunist*, the *Kolkhosnoe Selo*, and the *Komsomolets Ukrainy*, have circulations of 320,000, 300,000, and 90,000, respectively.

A very evident increase is shown in the Press of the smaller nationalities. In Central Asia, where the number of newspapers of

all kinds did not exceed 25 in 1928, there are now six regional (*Kray*) journals, 11 papers published in collaboration with the transport lines, and 34 printed factory journals. Uzbekistan now possesses 10 central and 76 district journals; Tadzhikistan, 7 and 38; Turkmenistan, 7 and 22; the Kirghiz Republic and the Kaza Kalpak region, each 5 and 11. These 34 central journals together maintain a circulation of 250,000, while the 151 district newspapers also distribute in the aggregate a similar number of 250,000.

All of these "district newspapers" have been created since 1931.

The number of journals in Transcaucasia has risen from 60 in 1930 to 282 at the end of 1932, published in Russian, Georgian, German, Turkish, Armenian, Mingrelian, Osetic, etc.

In a special category, that of the Young Communists Press, we may observe an analogous increase in the number of local papers. Whereas in 1929 there were only three towns (Astrakhan, Stalingrad, Krasnodar) which possessed "district" journals specially devoted to the Komsomol, there are now more than 40. The total circulation of young folks' newspapers now reaches 750,000 copies (not including the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* or the youth supplement of the *Krestyanskaya Gazeta*, which have circulations of 450,000 and 150,000, respectively). The number of dailies has risen from eight in 1929 to 22 in 1933. Of the 61 Komsomol journals, 41 are published in the languages of national minorities.

We may close this statistical examination by mentioning that the factory Press now achieves a circulation of 3,500,000 copies, comprising 17 languages. Seventy of these factory newspapers are dailies.

The quantitative progress of the Soviet Press is thus incontestable. Qualitative progress, if progress there is, seems more problematical.

One of the most original and pleasing features of Soviet journalism during the period of reconstruction was its effort to enter into direct contact with the masses. The institution of worker and peasant correspondents, inaugurated under the authority of Lenin and encouraged by every institution of the Party, made the Press a living part of national activity, intimately concerned with all its manifestations, guiding and controlling them.

But meanwhile the bureaucracy has speedily stifled the spontaneity of the movement, which was endangered from the day that authority wished, under pretext of "educating the Zabselkory" and "purifying the nuclei," to exercise control over the activity of worker and peasant correspondents.

The following has been the prompt result of these attempts at regulation and surveillance. The number of letters received editorially has unceasingly diminished. *Trud*, in its number for 5 May, gives some very significant details relating to the workers' correspondence received by the syndical journals, whose contact with readers ought to be particularly direct.

The *Udarnik Metallurg* received in 1933 : 25 letters in January, 14 in February, 8 in March, 12 in April.

*Za Rudu i Mineral* (For Ore and Mineral) received an average of 30 letters, and *Ratap* 50 to 60 letters per month.

The editorial departments, and particularly those belonging to the category of the "nizovaya pechat," seem indifferent about the correspondence of their readers, neglecting to use the material furnished. There is a further element which tends to increase the lassitude of those who address themselves to the all-powerful Press : individual complaints, reflections appertaining to the minor problems of daily life, are considered by certain editors as being contrary to Communist morality. What they want is "precise indications relating to faults in industrial organisation or Soviet institutions, and the means of their remedy." But the simple workman who writes to his newspaper does not always feel capable of resolving the technical and administrative difficulties which confront the frenzied industrialisation of the country. Being unable to express his own little daily worries, he prefers to keep silence.

The Party has not failed to notice the danger of this fetish-like cult of the Plan. Different resolutions of the Central Committee have drawn the attention of editorial departments to the insufficiency of workers' correspondence, ordering that this feature be given a more important place, and ordaining that the activity of these correspondents be not discouraged by tactless interventions.

The problem of perfecting the Soviet Press is strictly bound up with that concerning the production of paper and machinery. The production of paper, although double the pre-war figure (220,000 tons in 1913, 500,000 in 1932), is still insufficient to fill the needs of the Press. It is hoped that a figure of a million tons will be reached by the end of the second Five Year Plan. But meanwhile certain newspapers and reviews are obliged, for lack of paper, to reduce the number of their pages and the frequency of publication.

With regard to printing machines, Russia has hitherto been entirely dependent on foreign sources. The Soviet Press therefore welcomes with very great enthusiasm the introduction in the printing works of the newspaper *Rabochy Kray* at Ivanov, of a rotary press

built by the "Yagoda" factory at Rybinsk. The construction of three other similar machines, printing 120,000 copies an hour of a large four-page newspaper, should be completed in a short time. According to the Soviet Press, the Rybinsk factory has also furnished 150 flat printing machines during the period between January 1932 and May 1933.

The first Soviet linotype has recently been made by the "Max Holz" factory at Leningrad, which, according to forecasts, should now produce 300 of them per annum.

Energetic pushing of the "bolshevisation of the country" has given birth to a new kind of Press, namely, the "field newspaper," distributed by flying brigades. It played an important part in the campaign for the spring sowing, and in that for the regularity of taxpaying.

As for the actual appearance of Soviet newspapers, it remains as little satisfying as heretofore. The stereotypes are all too often nothing but an unintelligible grey or black spot. Bad ink applied to very poor paper makes the reading of the text a toilsome task.

MARC JARYC.

# CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN TARIFFS

## III. THE TARIFF ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

### I. THE DANUBIAN SURPLUSES.

In a previous article it was argued that Czechoslovakia could obtain definite limited advantages from tariff concessions on industrial exports to East European countries, and that preferences should be sought in these markets on economic grounds, rather than in Germany. In return for these preferences she must offer preferential rates on agricultural products to these countries.

The advantages which she can offer in this way are also limited, much more limited than they would have been three years ago before the fall of agricultural prices drove the agrarian party to enforce higher tariff duties. At present the farmer in Czechoslovakia enjoys a high measure of protection, though the amount of the duty is low. Up to 1930 low import duties were maintained on agricultural imports; at the end of that year a sliding scale tariff was introduced, with the object of maintaining prices at the level prevailing in 1930,<sup>1</sup> which raised the rate from 10–20 per cent. to 40–50 per cent. of the price of wheat prevailing at the beginning of 1931. But the new rates did not succeed in keeping out foreign wheat: the total wheat imports were twice as high as in the previous year. By the middle of the summer Roumanian wheat was being imported at a price of 55 crowns per 100 kg., a price equal to the amount of the duty.

In the middle of 1931 regulation of imports by an import commission was instituted, which regulated the amount of crops to be imported each month by allotting licences to the millers in proportion to their purchases of home-grown wheat. In the summer of 1932 a new system was introduced: a monopoly was constituted, with the sole right of importation, which will import wheat when its price rises above 175 Czechoslovak crowns (22s. at gold parity) per 100 kg. and rye when the price is above 152 crowns per 100 kilograms. When the price falls below 150 crowns for wheat and 132 crowns for

<sup>1</sup> The increase was made by leaving the fixed rate at 30 crowns, and adding to it a rate varying with the extent to which the price level fell below the average price in the years 1925–29. The maximum amount to which the scale could rise, 25 crowns, came into force at once and the duty remained, throughout the year, at the level of 55 crowns. When the Syndicate tax is included, the effective duty now amounts to 75 crowns per 100 kg. The same rate continues in force under the new tariff.

rye, import will cease. A similar import commission was introduced later to control the import of pigs. Thus the actual amount of the tariff duty does not control the amount of wheat, rye and pigs imported. In this way it has been possible to keep the price of wheat well above the world market price.<sup>2</sup>

Is this measure of protection justified? By the powerful agrarian interests it is considered essential. They support it in order to maintain the price level of agricultural products and the farmer's income and purchasing power, rather than to promote the country's self-sufficiency in food supply. Self-sufficiency has not been an important motive for agrarian protection, as the country is already almost self-sufficient in all the most important crops. In justification of the protective measures it must be remembered that the lower price level in Eastern Europe is not due to lower costs of production; prices fell to extremely low levels in Roumania, Yugoslavia and Hungary, owing to the farmers' lack of capital, and exports were forced by State-financed syndicates. Whether unwise or not, the agrarian party is strong enough to maintain this measure of protection, and no reduction of duties will take place so long as the apparently unshakeable coalition government remains in power. At the Conference held at Stresa in September last year the representative of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Agriculture, in defining the attitude of the agrarian interests, stated that preferences could only be given to the Danube States if duties were not reduced. That is, a preferential system would mean either that the duties would be raised on imports from other sources or that the market should be reserved for wheat imports from the Danube countries exclusively. If imports were to be regulated by quotas, these amounts would have to be smaller than the quantities which have been imported in recent years. Czechoslovakia, if she gave preferential rates on imports, would at the same time demand preferential rates from Western Europe on her own exports of rye, barley and oats.

Policy now appears to be framing itself on these lines. In the new codification of the tariff made in June 1933 provision is made for preferential rates to the agricultural exporting countries. To promote the economic consolidation of the Little Entente more advantageous preferential rates will be given to Yugoslavia and Roumania than to Hungary, and more advantageous treatment as to the division of quotas. But there will be no attempt to reserve

<sup>2</sup> In October, 1932, the price of wheat in Prague was 157 crowns per 100 kg., while in Budapest it was only 63 crowns. The price of pig meat in Prague was 970 crowns per 100 kg., in Hungary, 520 crowns.



the import of agricultural products to the countries of the Little Entente only. Wheat, maize and livestock imports are all to be fixed as yearly amounts to be divided among the exporting countries of Eastern Europe.

These amounts cannot be very large as regards wheat. Czechoslovakia increased her wheat production after the war as compared with the pre-war period; and in the years 1928-30 production of wheat increased by 2-3 millions of quintals above the 1923-27 average, though imports remained the same, roughly  $\frac{1}{6}$  of her total wheat consumption (about 2-3 $\frac{1}{2}$  million quintals). (In 1931 the price fall and increase in import caused a temporary decline in production) During the six years, 1925-31 Czechoslovakia took about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of her total imports from the Danube States and about half of this amount from Hungary.

## WHEAT IMPORTS INTO CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

## MILLION QUINTALS.

—				Total Imports.	From Roumania, Yugoslavia and Hungary.	From Hungary only.
1925	..	..	..	1.67	0.86	0.68
1926	..	..	..	2.13	2.01	1.10
1927	..	..	..	3.33	2.2	1.56
1928	..	..	..	2.98	2.1	1.55
1929	..	..	..	1.66	1.4	1.10
1930	..	..	..	2.95	2.72	1.32
1931	..	..	..	4.14	3.12	—

The lapse of the commercial treaty with Hungary in 1930 cut off the export from Hungary completely during 1931 and 1932, and Yugoslavia and Roumania increased their exports. Assuming that in the future Czechoslovakia imports about 3-3 $\frac{1}{2}$  million quintals, and that this amount is supplied entirely from the Danube exporters, it would mean at the most an increase for them of 1-1 $\frac{1}{2}$  million quintals above what they now send.

This would not go far towards disposing of the Danube surpluses. The amount of the surpluses (in the Danube States, including Bulgaria) now amounts to about 12-20 million quintals and was estimated at the Stresa conference at 16 millions. Assuming that

Austria would also guarantee her wheat market to the Danube States, they could dispose of at most 6 million quintals in Central European markets, leaving about 10 millions for export elsewhere.

If, however, Czechoslovakia were to take the whole of her wheat import from the countries of the Little Entente, she could guarantee the market for about half the total wheat available for export from these countries; such a policy would of course bear very hard on Hungary and is not contemplated. Hungary in fact has a strong claim for preferential treatment since, before the division of the Monarchy, she relied almost entirely on the internal markets, while the other Danube States did not.<sup>3</sup>

A preference scheme for live stock—chiefly pigs—could, however, offer greater advantages. Under a preference scheme which would guarantee the market for Polish and Danubian pigs in Austria and Czechoslovakia the greater part of the surplus could be absorbed. Hungary, Roumania, and Jugoslavia supply about one-third each of Czechoslovakia's imports of heavy pigs.

#### PIGS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

##### *Export.*

1,000 head.

—	1923-1927.	1928.	1929.	1930	1931.
Hungary ..	94.0	102.2	272.5	245.7	105.3
Bulgaria ..	2.3	2.8	2.3	2.7	1.0
Jugoslavia ..	203.3	220.5	219.2	238.3	273.1
Poland .. ..	525.4	1,277.7	952.3	717.0	370.7
Total .. ..	825.0	1,603.2	1,456.3	1,203.7	750.1
Roumania : (1,000 quintals)	220.7	—	142.7	116.1	202.7
		<i>Import.</i>			
Austria .. ..	634.9	921.8	767.5	737.1	735.0
Czechoslovakia	394.7	853.3	796.7	537.4	187.4
Total .. ..	1,029.6	1,775.1	1,537.2	1,274.5	922.4

<sup>3</sup> For Roumania the erection of the tariff round the new states caused no trade dislocation; the Old Kingdom had been driven out of the Danube market, as long ago as the eighties, by the tariff war with the Monarchy, and

*[Continued on next page]*

These export figures, however, do not represent the countries' normal export capacity. The greater part of these surpluses come from areas of extensive cattle feeding. In Central Europe, i.e. Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Hungary west of the Danube, intensive feeding of live stock is the rule. East of the Danube extensive feeding begins. Thus Czechoslovakia and Austria lie between two great areas of extensive cultivation and feeding, to the south the Alföld and the Lower Danube basin, and to the east the Polish plain, from which come large quantities of cattle and pigs which compete with the intensively fed products.

The tariff changes made since 1930 bore very hardly on Hungary and Poland. Hungary suffered severely from the loss of her market for fat pigs owing to the division of the Monarchy. The export of pigs fell from an average of 500-600 thousand a year in the pre-war period (post-war territory) to 50-60 thousand a year in the post-war years, and only reached 245 thousand in 1930. By the increase in tariff duties the exports to Czechoslovakia, which takes about one half of the total, were reduced by one-tenth. Under a special agreement pending the conclusion of a commercial treaty, a quota of 29,000 pigs has been given to Hungary in exchange for a quota on timber.

It is the new competition from Poland which has affected the exports from the other Danubian countries, which export chiefly meat swine. In the last few years the Central European markets have been upset by the arrival of vast quantities of lean pigs from Poland. The alteration of the frontiers produced this surplus supply of pigs; within its present area, Poland finds itself with an excess of potatoes, formerly supplied to the distilleries of North Germany and Russia, and has disposed of it by feeding pigs on this surplus, which in consequence has almost doubled since 1921. At first the surplus pigs were sent to Germany and for a time export was greatly facilitated by currency inflation. In East Prussia, agriculturists suffered severely under this dumping export and the German government prohibited the import of pigs. The Polish surplus was thus diverted to Austria and Czechoslovakia. In both countries pig imports increased rapidly, in Czechoslovakia by 100 per cent. in three years. For the six years 1925-31 about

had then turned to the English and Belgian markets. Transylvania was not a large wheat exporter. Yugoslavia was more or less in the same position, since Serbia, like Roumania, had been cut off from the Danube markets. Of the districts transferred to her, Slovenia had never exported wheat, but the Voivodina, which includes the richest grain-producing areas of the old Hungary, suffered severely from the loss of its markets.

80 per cent. of Czechoslovakia's import of lean pigs came from Poland.

PIG IMPORTS INTO CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

—	1,000 head.			Under 120 kg.			
	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.	1931.
Total .. ..	334·6	322·7	520·3	718·3	645·5	400·5	9·2
From Poland ..	297·7	253·9	399·2	649·1	569·1	325·8	8·1

Over 120 kg. (fat pigs).

—	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.	1931.
Total .. ..	68·8	109·8	157·0	134·4	151·6	136·9	178·1
From Roumania ..	23·5	37·4	41·5	27·5	4·1	5·9	70·2
From Jugoslavia ..	20·4	30·8	57·0	50·6	32·3	21·7	69·0
From Hungary ..	19·5	38·4	53·9	50·0	107·4	103·1	14·3

The effect of the increase in the tariff duties at the end of 1930 can be clearly seen: the import of Polish pigs almost ceased, and present tariff policy is directed to excluding them altogether from the market.

Czechoslovakia could easily cover her total requirements for heavy pigs from the Little Entente countries, but it seems likely that this will not be attempted and that a quota for fat pigs will be allotted to Hungary as well. Even so Hungary can hope for no increase in her exports, only for stabilisation at the level of about 70-80 thousand a year.

Thus the tariff concessions at present contemplated are not of sufficient scope to bring great benefits to the Danube countries. None the less the concessions are important, as they recognise that Czechoslovakia's economic interests are really identified with these countries whose economic structure is similar to hers.

The advantages which Czechoslovakia can offer to the Danube States are not great: on the other hand their trade position is now so bad that any guarantee of bulk purchase by Czechoslovakia

is an advantage in return for which they should now be prepared to make concessions on industrial imports.

## 2. RELATIONS WITH THE AGRARIAN BLOC.

The beginning of the process of economic consolidation with Eastern Europe, marked by the creation of the Economic Council of the Little Entente and the negotiations now in progress for allotment of quotas to the Danubian exporters, is chiefly a consequence of recent political developments in Germany. But, political considerations apart, this course does hold out the greatest net advantages to industry and agriculture as a whole. It is true that there is no natural economic unity with Eastern Europe as there is sometimes asserted to be—it is, in fact, the strong assertion of agrarian interests in Czechoslovakia which makes concessions to the East European States so difficult—but there is an identity of economic interest based on similar economic structure.

Until recently the attitude of Czechoslovakia to the agrarian bloc has been ambiguous. At its inception in 1930 the agrarian States conceived the bloc as a means of taking combined economic action against the fall in agricultural prices: they intended to institute inter-State marketing organisations for their wheat and livestock surpluses, to promote schemes for agricultural credit, and to negotiate jointly for tariff preferences. But by 1932 these aspects of the original scheme had retreated into the background and the bloc had become a compromise between economic and political aims: the argument of the East European States, as stated at Stresa, was simply that unless they were given preferences they could not pay their debts. For Czechoslovakia, the problem of meeting her foreign obligations is not serious; and so long as the bloc is concerned chiefly with supporting state finances, the republic has no inducement to support it.

If, on the other hand, the agrarian bloc had attempted to obtain preferences as part of a scheme for reorganising economic life on an agricultural basis, the republic would benefit by membership. Its chief agricultural exports are sugar, barley and hops (old specialities of Bohemia with a high quality and special reputation), and rye (of which there has been an export surplus in recent years only). These products rely chiefly on the German market and have been seriously affected by recent rises in German import duties. Since 1931 the export of barley has declined by about half: the high

German duties on malt and hops have almost entirely cut off imports from Czechoslovakia. Preferences given by Germany and other West European countries would undoubtedly benefit farmers in certain districts of Bohemia, though not in the country as a whole. At Stresa Germany refused to consider giving Czechoslovakia preferential treatment and at present there is no hope of any concession.

Although preferences on agricultural exports are not absolutely essential in Czechoslovakia to the prosperity of agriculture, as they are to the other East European states, they are a sufficient inducement to join the agrarian bloc, if the concessions to the wheat and pig exporting countries can be made without relaxing the control of imports.

With the consolidation of the agrarian bloc Czechoslovakia's wider interests are closely connected. Unless these states are able to obtain some preferential treatment from Western Europe their economic life can never be put on a sound basis, and their purchasing power can never recover.<sup>4</sup>

If Czechoslovakia had from the first definitely ranged herself on the side of the agrarian bloc, its position would have been much strengthened and it could have presented a much stronger and clearer case for preferential treatment from Western Europe. The claim for special treatment has an adequate foundation from the European standpoint. In the first place, the surpluses are quite small in relation to the total European imports. The ten million quintals of wheat for export to Western Europe is a small proportion of the pre-war exports to these countries, and could not

<sup>4</sup> Some preference rates have already been obtained for livestock. Austria applied the preference principle in the treaties in 1931, made with Yugoslavia, Roumania and Hungary. The preferences to Hungary were given through a clearing institute, which refunds to Hungarian exporters the amount they would have paid as import duties in the form of cheap credits. From Yugoslavia, Austria agreed to take half a million head of cattle at a rate about half as high as the import duty, and Yugoslavia, in return, allowed Austria to continue to pay the old duties on a large number of manufactured exports, instead of paying the higher rate. With Roumania Austria signed a treaty agreeing to let the old duties remain in force for 50 per cent. of the last year's import of livestock and meat, and received in return preferences on manufactures. Czechoslovakia only admitted a small contingent of wheat at a preferential rate under a treaty made in 1931: an arrangement for livestock imports at lower rates was made in January this year. France also gave Yugoslavia preferential treatment on wheat exports; the German preferential arrangements with Roumania and Hungary did not come into force owing to objections raised at Geneva.

seriously affect the total amount of European imports from overseas.<sup>5</sup>

In the second place, the extension of the export market is the only way in which economic life in these countries can be put on a stable basis. To those who are unfamiliar with the character of economic life in these states it appears that the technical conditions of agricultural production are an objection to the extension of preferential treatment; a tariff preference is apparently simply a subsidy to uneconomic and obsolete technical methods of wheat growing. It is said that to grow 100 hectares of wheat requires the labour of 60 men in the Danube countries; in the wheat exporting countries overseas only 6-10 men; and from that it is concluded that the cost of wheat production in the Danubian countries is ten times as high—an untrue statement—since the level of costs depends on the relative price of labour and capital in the two areas. But in discussion of agricultural methods the existence of overpopulation must be kept in the foreground. If the peasants in Eastern Europe cannot find a market for their wheat, they cannot attempt to improve technical methods by mechanisation, better seeds, better fertilizers; the capital is not at their disposal; and so long as labour is plentiful they gain nothing by mechanisation. If they cannot sell their produce, they subsist on it, and their standard of living cannot rise. Left to the unrestrained working of economic forces, the population of these countries would emigrate on a large scale. But this natural remedy for divergence in standards of living is closed to them by the restricted opportunities for emigration. They are the victims of the

<sup>5</sup> Before the war the importing countries of Europe took about one-fifth (33 million quintals) of their total import (147.8 million quintals) from the Danube exporting countries and another fifth from Russia (30-40 million quintals). In the post-war period, exports from Russia ceased, and exports from the Danube declined to about a third of their former level. Exports from the Danube countries declined more than their total production in the years 1925-29. The yearly average production reached 85 per cent of the pre-war level, while exports only reached 58 per cent. (under 20 million quintals). By 1930, the level of production had reached the pre-war level. Now the maximum available surplus does not exceed 16 million quintals, equal to less than one-sixth of the total European imports, and of this 6 million can be taken by Austria and Czechoslovakia. Last year, owing to a bad harvest, the surpluses only amounted to 2 million quintals.

*Exportable wheat surpluses of Hungary, Bulgaria, Roumania, Jugoslavia.*  
Million quintals

1926/27	27/28	28/29	29/30	30/31	31/32	32/33
12	9	10	14	12	22	2

Europe's net imports from overseas amount to 130-150 million quintals.

economic policy of the new countries which aims at guaranteeing prosperity to their own populations, and attempts to stabilise a standard of living on an unstable basis. Great opportunities for export are the only way in which Eastern Europe can progress to better methods of production.

Peasant agriculture is the only possible basis for economic life in Eastern Europe, and has been recognised as such by the states which have carried through the land reform legislation. It need not, of course, be entirely based on wheat growing. But a change over to other branches of agricultural production by intensified cultivation (such as took place in Holland and Denmark) is only practicable as a gradual process. Livestock fattening in all these countries is as important to the peasant as wheat growing, and preferences on livestock exports would benefit him as much as preferences on wheat. But livestock in most districts is raised by extensive feeding and a change to intensive feeding would require an investment of capital which can only take place as savings accumulate. Nor is increased dairy production possible owing to the distance of big towns and bad transport connections. For the present preferences on wheat and livestock exports are necessary not only as a means of meeting foreign debt payments, but also as a condition of agricultural progress. In Eastern Europe there is in any case no prospect of great economic development; but political and economic stability might be secured if the governments of these states would abandon their previous economic policy of creating an artificial capitalistic superstructure, borrowing abroad in excess of their marketing possibilities and founding industrial concerns behind a tariff barrier, and would devote their resources to promote improvements in agricultural practice. DOREEN WARRINER.



## GERMANS, AVARS AND SLAVS<sup>1</sup>

AMONG the many Germanic peoples who play a part in the invasion of the Danubian provinces during the Fifth Century the Marcomanni are conspicuous by their absence. They seem to have passed under Ostrogothic overlordship in the heyday of Ermanarich's power. Amid the welter of Teutonic migrations, propelled by fear of the Huns, the Marcomanni were forced back from the Roman frontiers and lost sight of by the Roman historians. Protected by forest and mountain they appear to have continued to hold Bohemia for the greater part of the Fifth Century, taking no part in the invasions of the Roman provinces by other German tribes. It is possible, but by no means proved, that Attila brought them under his sway and that there were Marcomannic contingents in the composite army defeated on the Catalaunian plain. If so, it is the last mention in history of their once dreaded name. Before the end of the century, perhaps about 470, they had left Bohemia, most likely under pressure from the Lombards. It was then the Lombards that took their place and so were naturally in a position to occupy "Rugiland" as soon as Odowakar's destruction of the Rugian kingdom had depopulated the trans-Danubian part of Lower Austria. By this time the Marcomanni had moved to the south-west, accompanied, it may be, by remnants of the Quadi and reinforced very probably by smaller tribes, such as the Narisci. A mysterious silence settles over them. It is clear that so important and so developed a people was not likely to vanish, as smaller tribes may have, without leaving any trace. Under what name then did the Marcomanni continue their existence? Or with which of the historical groups of the German nation then being formed were they associated?

It is now generally agreed that it is in the Bavarians that we must seek the descendants of the Marcomanni. Everything points to the validity of such a theory. The very name of the Bavarians—Baioarii, Bajuvarii, Bajjavarjos—means "inhabitants of the Boiic land." The name was taken by them from the land in which they had lived five hundred years. These Bavarians are first mentioned about 520 in a Frankish "tabulation of peoples." Forty-five years

<sup>1</sup> This article was written as a chapter in a detailed history of early Austria and was supplemented by numerous notes and quotations of authority. For the present purpose these have been omitted. The writer wishes, however, to acknowledge his indebtedness to the works of Palacký, Bachmann, Václav Novotný, Niederle, Suman, Riezler, Büdinger, Huber, Vancsa, Widmann, Pirchegger, Jaksch, I. Egger, Helbok, Peisker, Bruno Krusch, Wattenbach, O. Kammel, Dopsch, Hodgkin and Westfall Thompson.

later the Roman poet, Venantius Fortunatus, speaks naturally of the land between the rivers Inn and Lech through which he journeys on his way to the Frankish court as "Baioaria." By this time, therefore, the Bavarians had completed the conquest of the land that now bears their name, together with much of Tirol, Upper Austria, and Salzburg, and had thus driven a wedge in between the Lombards on the east and the Alamannians on the west. There is no previously mentioned German race in whom we can seek their ancestors except the "lost" Marcomanni: geography, history, philology alike support the theory and it may now be accepted as certain, the only doubt that remains being how far other small German tribes may have coalesced with the Marcomanni to form this new Bavarian nation.

If, then, as seems clear, the Bavarians were none other than the Marcomanni of older history, they were no newcomers in Austrian history. They were, however, not the only invaders of Austria at this time. In the east the Avars and the accompanying Slavs pressed in on the heels of the departing Lombards. On the west the Alamannians were the first German folk to take permanent root on Austrian soil.

This celebrated confederacy, whose name the French and Spanish languages have preserved to describe the whole German race, is first mentioned as such in 213. It was composed, like the Marcomanni, Quadi and Hermunduri, of men of Swebic stock, especially of those Semnones whom Tacitus describes as "the most ancient and best-born of the Suebi." From their homes in Brandenburg they pushed into Central Germany, and in Caracalla's reign they were already strong enough to assail the Rhætian *limes*. Though that Emperor celebrated a triumph over them they proved a formidable menace to his successors. In Gallienus's reign they stormed the *limes* and overran Vindelicia; a strong Alamannic force even invaded Italy, but was finally defeated at Milan. Probus, Diocletian, Constantius, Julian, Valentinian I, Gratian, all continued the struggle successfully against these formidable foes, but in the following century the weakened Imperial power was unable to keep them back. Among the Teutonic invaders released by the death of Attila the Alamanni were prominent. About 455 an Alamannic tribe, the Juthungi, burst into Vorarlberg. By 470 the greater part of Switzerland was in their possession. Upper Austria and Salzburg also suffered from their attacks, but in the main these were directed to the west and south. In the last quarter of the Fifth Century, as the Marcomanni moved down on Bavaria and Upper Austria, the Alamanni were overrunning and occupying (never to be dislodged)

the greater part of Switzerland and the modern province of Vorarlberg. By 500 their conquest of Northern Vorarlberg was complete. Tirol had not yet been invaded by the Bavarians and formed part of the realm of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. In 502 the latter concluded an agreement with the Frankish King, Chlodwig (Clovis), by which Eastern Switzerland and Vorarlberg passed under Ostrogothic rule. After their defeats at Clovis's hands the Alamanni were quite willing to accept Theodoric's supremacy and remained under Ostrogothic rule till 536, when Witigis ceded them to the Franks. During these years the Alamanni settled peacefully round the Lake of Constance and the Upper Rhine and Ill valleys. The "Roman" inhabitants must have taken refuge in the Montafon and other high alpine valleys of Vorarlberg, where they retained for many centuries their language (like the Romauntsch of the Engadine) and to this day many racial characteristics, so that people of the highlands and lowlands of Vorarlberg remain today conscious of their distinctive character.

The Alamanni do not seem to have spread far into Tirol, into which their Swebic kinsfolk, the Bavarians, were advancing. The two peoples were, indeed, closely akin, belonging to the same original group of the German race, but differentiated by their divergent history. It may have been their racial affinities that prevented hostilities on a scale great enough to be recorded between them; it may have been geography, for the Arlberg is a natural frontier; but most of all the cause should be sought in their embarrassments elsewhere; for while the Alamanni (or Swabians as they now should more properly be called) were constantly forced to contend with the expanding ambitions of the Frankish kings on the west, the Bavarians in their invasion of Austria had to struggle against the competitive hostility of a ferocious Asiatic people, the Avars, who pressed into Austria on the east to occupy the provinces the Lombards had evacuated. More numerous and more important than the Avars were the Slavs.

The origin and early movements of the Slavs are wrapt in veils of obscurity which the rival tendentious enquiries of Slav and German writers have thickened rather than dispersed. Without entering at length into this difficult controversy, something of the early history may be noticed on which there is fairly general agreement. The Slavs are, of course, speakers of one of the great branches of the Indo-European family of languages, and originally they appear in the main to have belonged to the same fair, blue-eyed Nordic stock as the Teutons. The earliest centre in which they can

with any probability be located is in the predominantly flat and marshy country bounded by the Vistula on the west, the Carpathians on the south, and the Dnjepr on the east. Their neighbours were: on the west the Germans, on the north their kinsmen the Letts and Lithuanians, on the north-east Finnic peoples, on the east the Iranian tribes (living a nomadic existence, perhaps influenced by the Mongols) who were known to the classical writers as Scythians and Sarmatians, and with whom the Slavs may have been in close contact. They do not seem to have been broken off from the main group of Indo-European speakers by any distinct migration, but to have gradually been separated by geographical and political circumstances and differentiated into a distinct linguistic and racial type. It may even be that from the first there was never one Slav language but rather three sub-groups of Slav languages—the western (Polish, Lusatian, Sorb and Czechoslovak), eastern (the Russian group), and Southern Slav. There would appear to have been little political unity among these numerous Slav peoples, nor did their sheltered position amidst the forests and marshes of Poland and the Ukraine require political and military cohesion. But gradually economic necessities drove them, as they drove the Germans and other peoples, to expand beyond their native lands. Before the sixth century B.C. they may have shared with Baltic peoples the region between the Vistula and the Oder and been ejected thence by the Goths. In the second century of the Christian Era the slow infiltration of Slavs into Danubian lands had probably begun. Later, when the Goths and other German tribes had migrated south in search of plunder and settlement, the Slavs pressed on in increasing numbers to occupy the vacated territory. It cannot be doubted that the successors of Goths, Vandals and Lombards in these territories were the Slavs, though their remote and unsensational movements were not recorded by Greek and Latin writers. It is possible that before the end of the fifth century Slavs had already begun to occupy Bohemia following on the Lombards; as the latter moved south, the Slavs took their places. These Slavs were the ancestors of the Czech and Slovak peoples. There does not appear to have been any forcible ejection of such German peoples as were still left in these regions, merely a peaceful occupation by the Slavs of land left uninhabited. Other Slav tribes had already moved to the east, and here in the Ukraine and on the Black Sea they passed successively under Gothic, Hunnish, Bulgar and Avar rule. It was under the command of these Asiatic Bulgars and Avars that the Southern Slavs found their way into Danubian and Balkan lands.

It is in the year 558 that the Avars make their first appearance in European history. The Emperor Justinian, harassed by the Bulgars and Antai (the easternmost groups of the Slavs perhaps dominated by an Asiatic warrior class), seized gladly on the occasion of the arrival of a new horde of Asiatic barbarians, to secure valuable and effective allies against the enemies of Rome. These Avars, as they came to be generally called instead of by their earliest names Var and Chuni, were a remnant of the Vigur, a Turco-Tataric nomad people of Western Siberia who had preferred the adventures of migration into Europe to submission to the new and irresistible power of the Turks. They were not loth to accept Imperial subsidies for a war against the Antai and Bulgars, the nearest enemies both of themselves and Rome. The power of the Antai was broken and this Slavic people was brought under the command of the Avar Khagan. The Avars, after a short occupation of Dobrogea as subsidised allies of the Emperor, followed up their success by expeditions on a great scale through the Slav-populated territories of Galicia and Silesia. Here on the Elbe they reached in 562 the Thuringian territories of the Frankish King Sigibert (561-575), the husband of the famous Brunichildis, whose "Austrasian" realm comprised the greater part of modern Germany. This invasion was a failure, but a second, four years later, was more successful, and the Frankish King was compelled to buy off his redoubtable foe. The Avar Khagan was able to expel the remaining Germans from the land between Elbe and Oder and to maintain his hold over the Slavs who settled there, and thereby control both the rich lands of Bohemia and Silesia and the man-power for future campaigns provided by the subjugated Slavs. His attention was soon called to operations further south. In 567 the rivalry of the Lombards and Gepidae led to a decisive battle somewhere on the Hungarian plain in which the Gepidae were finally crushed, and as a result the Avars poured in to occupy their territory as forerunners of their Magyar kinsfolk who three centuries later were to succeed them there. Nor was this the full extent of their advance, for in the following year the Lombard King Alboin set out on his conquest of Italy, and Avars and Slavs were not slow to occupy the province of Noricum thus evacuated by the Lombards.

Contemporary records shed all too little light on the mutual relations of Avars and Slavs. It is very probable that the Western Slavs had begun to occupy Bohemia and Moravia before the coming of the Avars, and in these lands the Khagan may have contented himself with a control of strategic posts and a continuous demand for food supplies and recruits for his armies, in which the unfortunate

Slavs, according to contemporary evidence, were forced to bear the brunt of the heavy fighting, leaving the thrills of the decisive charges, pursuits and looting to their savage masters. Further south the connexion seems to have been closer. Slavs are not mentioned in Noricum before the Avar occupation of 567, and it is probable that most of them came in with the Khagan's armies. These were Slovenes and Serbo-Croats, the Southern or Jugoslavs who had for some generations gradually filled Ukraine, Wallachia and the Northern Balkans, where land had been left vacant by the Gothic migrations to the west. Some of these Slav hosts had already proved troublesome to Justinian's Empire, but it was chiefly when they had been incited and organised by the barbaric vigour of Bulgar and Avar warrior leaders that they proved by their fortitude, their persistence and their sheer weight of numbers irresistible invaders. During the last quarter of the sixth century these Avar-led Slovenes overran and settled in most of Pannonia and Noricum. Most probably they advanced up the valleys of the Save and the Drave and thence in all directions, to the Adriatic on the west, to Croatia and Serbia on the south, and to the north through Styria and Carinthia, and even over the mountain passes into Lower Austria, Upper Austria, and South-east Salzburg. Successive evacuations by its "Roman" and Lombard inhabitants had left most of Noricum very sparsely inhabited. Some of the towns may, indeed, still have maintained an obscure and precarious existence, for Aguntum was visited by the Roman poet, Venantius Fortunatus, in 565, and the bishoprics of Aguntum, Teurnia and Virunum are mentioned so late as 591, though the sees were apparently vacant and the towns may have been already deserted and destroyed. They must have fallen easy victims to the overwhelming numbers of the Slovenes, and probably no battles were required such as would have necessitated the intervention of the Avar army and deserved the attention of contemporary historians. The Avars seem, indeed, to have left to their Slav allies the work of occupying and colonising the Alpine mountain valleys and to have devoted their attention mainly to the Danube plain and Murtal. While there is no certain proof of their prolonged presence either in Bohemia or in the Alpine country south of the Danube, the valley of that river was held strongly by them. Of the various "rings" or kraals presumably surrounded by palisades and mounds which they are said to have possessed, two at least were in Lower Austria—one at the mouth of the river Kamp and the other by Königstetten, where the Wiener Wald slopes to the Tullner Feld. Their chief centre was, however, the Hungarian

puszta which attracted them as it attracted the Huns before and the Magyars after them. Here was—at least in the eighth century—the Khagan's capital, a vast fortified area many miles across in which villages and farms, as well as royal treasury and store-chambers, were situated, protected by a series of concentric palisades and earth-walls. Probably in this or a similar stronghold lived the Khagan Baian who led the Avar invasions of the sixth century, one of the series of ruthless and audacious Asiatic invaders of the type of Attila and Chinghez Khan, from whom medieval Europe suffered sorely. The name of Baian, like that of Cæsar in the Slav, and that of Charles the Great in the Slav, Magyar and Roumanian languages, has lived on as the title of a ruler, and down to recent times the Hungarian Governor of Croatia was styled the Ban and the three Hungarian counties—now Yugoslav and Roumanian—round Timișoara were known as *par excellence* the Banat. Unfortunately, there are few records of this remarkable barbarian's career and of the organisation which sufficed him to rule his wide but loosely-compacted dominions which, at the height of his power, may have vaguely stretched from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. Some would find in the name and functions of the Župan—a title common to the Polish, Czech, Roumanian, Hungarian and Yugoslav languages, though its significance varies and has varied from territorial nobleman and governor to village magistrate or landlord's bailiff—a relic of the Avar official and landed class who once dominated the subject Slavs. But the question how far the Avars actually administered the nominal dominions of the Khagan, or even to what extent they actually populated them and mingled with the Slavs must remain, as it has long been, a subject for intelligent speculation. At least it is probable that Avar influence was stronger on the Pannonian plain—in modern Hungary, the Vojvodina and Croatia—than in the Alpine districts of Noricum into which the Slavs slowly and painstakingly made their way.

While the Avars have left but dubious or superficial traces in Austrian history, the influence of the Slavs was profound and lasting. Unlike the nomad Avars, who never rid themselves of the restless habits of horsemen of the steppes and looked on their conquests solely as opportunity for slaughter, plunder and sensual gratification, the Slavs from the first showed the patient, pertinacious habits of the peasant whose one pre-occupation is land to till and whose intense family life is rooted in the soil. Though vigorous and savage fighters, especially in guerilla warfare, if necessity required, their

aim was not the acquisition of military renown or the plunder of cities, but the tenacious acquirement of cultivable ground, and to them the depopulated Norican valleys were an irresistible attraction of which they were not slow to take advantage. Place-names in Southern Austria show their ubiquitous progress. Apart from Croatia and Slovenia, which they made their own for good, the marks of their presence have been left most clearly on the names of mountains and rivers, villages and towns in Burgenland and Lower Austria, still more in Styria and Carinthia, and even extending into East Tirol and over the Salzburg and Upper Austrian border. The new name that Southern Noricum soon acquired—Carantania—is probably from the Slovene word "gora" (mountain), and served to distinguish the Alpine provinces of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola from the Pannonian plain. If some older names of mountains and rivers—the Karawanken and Koralpe, the Drave and Mur and Danube—were not displaced, in the majority of cases the Slavs gave fresh names. The Grebenze on the Styrian-Carinthian border is from "greben" (ridge), the Semmering from Slovene "smreka" (fir), the Jauerling on the Danube from "javor," which is "maple" in Slovene and Czech—for here on the Danube the two Slav streams may have met, the Slovenes pushing up the valley of the Mur and over the passes into Lower and Upper Austria, the Czechs pushing down the March and Kamp; both converged on the Danube valley which the Avars held themselves. The smaller streams of Lower Austria—Liesing, Triesting, Melk (and Mödling) are all Slovene in name—"les" (wood), "trusti" (reed), "metlika" (plant). In the north of Lower Austria names like Zwettl (from Czech "Světlo" = light, clearing) recall the trails blazed by the Slavs through this dense "Silva Nortica." The prevalence of towns and villages containing the roots of "grad" (fortress) or "straža" (outpost) in their names—names like Graz and Gratwein, Strassengel and Strassburg—shows the care the Slavs took to fortify their settlements. The frequent compounds of "Windisch" show a Slav population in touch with and later mastered by the invading German. In Vienna, Slav names are particularly frequent. The German-sounding names of the eighteenth and nineteenth districts—Währing and Döbling—are in reality Slav—"vary" and "teplica" both meaning "warm streams or springs." The ninth district, Alsergrund, similarly owes its name to Czech "olše" (alder tree). Such names derived from trees, as Dobrein and Dobritsch from "dob" (oak), Aflenz from "jablanica" (apple tree), Friesach and Fressnitz and Perschling from "breza" (birch), Leibnitz from "lipa" (linden), Gloggnitz



from "glog" (whitethorn), Göss from "gozd" (forest), Trofaiach from "drevo" (tree), are a few of the many Slav place-names throughout Styria, Carinthia, and Lower Austria.

Of the conditions of life of these Slavs during the last half of the sixth century, when under Avar domination they occupied all the eastern and southern provinces of modern Austria, all too little is known. Certainly, like all the early Slavs, they must have worshipped the deified forces of nature—the supreme Light-God (Svarog) and his children the Sun (Slnce) and Fire (Ogen). As in Teutonic religion, the Thunder-God (Perun) played a great part. There were goddesses of the seasons (Vesna, Lada, Deva), gods of the flocks and herds (Veles), of life and death, and innumerable spirits and fairies, both beneficent and malign. The Slavs' religion of rich fancy must have completely overshadowed such crude beliefs as the Avars possessed—probably of a Shamanist type. Similarly their settled habits of life—corn and fruit growing, bee-keeping, fishing—and their strong sense of family cohesion gave such guarantees for their permanency in the land in which they had once settled as the Avars could never enjoy. Unlike their Magyar successors three centuries later, the Avars, either from inherent incapacity or because their Slav vassals supplied all their wants, showed no disposition to cultivate and develop the land they had conquered, and so the two hundred years of their presence on the Danube left neither them nor Austria more advanced than before. But they long maintained their military efficiency, and their arms were employed with effect both against the Roman Empire and the German kingdoms. In 597 a mighty Avar host besieged Thessalonica. About 610 they raided the Lombard duchy of Friuli and sacked the town of Forum Iulii (Cividale). In 626, in alliance with the Persians, they attacked Constantinople itself. To the Germans on the west they remained, indeed, stubborn foes till the time of Charles the Great, but long before that time, in fact, early in the seventh century, it had become clear that there was no further danger of their overrunning Western Europe, for on the south of them the Lombards and on the west the Bavarians (under Frankish suzerainty) blocked the way successfully.

By the last decade of the sixth century the Slavs, under Avar hegemony, had occupied the whole of modern Styria, Lower Austria and Carinthia, and had penetrated over the mountain passes into the modern provinces of Upper Austria and Salzburg and up the Drave valley into East Tirol. It is here that the clash with the Bavarians came. Perhaps in the Pustertal itself—whose Slav name "desolate" recalls the devastations of the invaders—the Bavarian

Duke Tassilo I, about 592, successfully stemmed the Slav invasion. Hostilities continued during the next few years with varying success for the Bavarians and the Avar-led Slavs. But Tassilo's son and successor, Garibald II, after a defeat at Lienz recovered himself and again drove back the Slavs. The boundary line between the two races thus came to be, during the first half of the seventh century, somewhere near the present Austro-Italian frontier on the watershed of the Drave and Rienz, while in Salzburg the Slavs, pressing from the south over the passes of the Hohe Tauern, occupied the Lungau, Pinzgau and Pongau. In Upper Austria they took possession of the land between the Enns and Traun.

Meanwhile the Bavarians had reached a rough line of division with their Lombard and Swabian kinsmen on the south and west. With the Lombard Kingdom the frontier ran somewhere to the south of Salurn (the modern linguistic boundary) perhaps near Mezzo Lombardo, where the Val di Non joins the Adige valley. The Swabo-Bavarian boundary line probably ran at this time from Augsburg *via* the Ammersee, Kochelsee, Leutasch, Lermoos (Zugspitze), Telfs, and so up to Finstermünz on the Swiss frontier and down to Meran, but the two peoples were so closely akin that no hard and fast division is possible, and this western corner of Tirol may well have been colonised by both; its dialect and general character mark a transition from the Bavarian of Tirol to the Swabian (Alamannic) of Vorarlberg.

The Bavarian dukes of this period were in some way under the suzerainty of the Frankish kings. It may even be that they were themselves of Frankish race, for their names, Garibald I (*circ.* 560–590), Tassilo I (*circ.* 590–610), Garibald II (*circ.* 610–640), are Frankish rather than Bavarian. Frankish influence over this country was certainly strong in the sixth century. The Frankish kings had extended their power at the expense of Theodoric's weaker successors. The Lombard occupation of Noricum and the subsequent immigration of the Slavs, under Avar rule, had for the time blocked Frankish expansion, but their ambitions remained unappeased. The Austrasian Kings, Theodoric (511–534) and Theudebert I (534–547) reduced the Thuringians and Swabians successively to submission, and it seems very likely that the Bavarians also acknowledged Theudebert's overlordship. At least, they relied on Frankish help in their struggle with the Slavs, and King Dagobert offered all his support to Tassilo for this purpose. It was, indeed, needed, for the Slavs were learning to organise and to oppose a formidable resistance to Bavarian attempts to advance.

It was probably during the reign of King Dagobert, when Garibald II was Duke of the Bavarians, that the oldest existing sections of the Bavarian Lawbook, the *Lex Baiuvariorum*, were composed. This code, fragmentary though it is, is valuable evidence of the customs and institutions of the Bavarians. Written in Latin, for the Bavarians had had too long an intercourse with Rome to be unaware of the suitability of that language, its spirit is none the less purely Teutonic, and many Bavarian and Frankish words have necessarily to be employed to express non-Roman conceptions, so that rich material is, incidentally, supplied to students of early German. The oldest sections of the code are naturally concerned with the perpetual question of weregelds, of monetary compensations for killing or bodily injury. These are calculated with the meticulous precision of practical calculations rather than in any spirit of moral disapproval. This practical attitude of the primitive German towards acts of physical injury is as yet unaffected by Christian or Roman principles, which only begin to play a part in the later (eighth century) sections. On the other hand, there is respect and consideration for the position of women, to whom, in view of their defencelessness a double weregeld is allowed.

It is not clear how early the Bavarian people was ruled by a duke (Herzog), but it may have been long before the time of Garibald I (560-590). On the other hand, the position and title may be of Frankish origin and date only from the period of King Theudebert I's supremacy, and for this theory there is the support of the early dukes' Frankish names. The relations of these Bavarian dukes to the Frankish kings from Theudebert I to Charles the Great was one of subordination varying, according to the momentary strength of the two parties, from vassaldom to practical independence. The dukedom was hereditary in the Agilolfing house, though occasionally power would be shared by all the sons of the late duke or a son would be associated by his father with him in power. In theory the duke may have been elected from among near relatives of his predecessor by the people themselves or their chief men. Later on the Frankish kings claimed the right to invest the dukes. Apart from this limitation the duke exercised supreme power. Alike commander-in-chief and supreme judge, he was absolute ruler, save in so far as custom or prudence led him to consult the chief men of the nation or to consider popular feeling. His life was protected in earlier times by a more than fivefold weregeld, and later on even conspiracy against it was punished by death and confiscation of the property of the slayer; acts of violence at his court or in his presence were

punished with additional severity. A share of all fines fell to him, and into his treasury also were paid the tributes of vassal peoples. It appears that all unoccupied land was his, and to him passed all land to which there was no heir. Direct vassals of his also were such "Romans" as had remained after the German conquest. The duke's relatives, too, enjoyed special privileges and their lives were protected by a fourfold weregeld.

Next to the Agilolfing house came five noble families of special importance protected by a double weregeld. Their names are recorded in the *Lex Baiuvariorum*, and have survived in connection with places and families, but their origin is unknown unless they be the descendants of kings of separate tribes incorporated with the Marcomanni into the Bavarian nation. Below these nobles came the general body of freemen, with full rights to hold land, speak in the assemblies and fight in the host. They had the right to wear their hair long and carry weapons. Next to them came freedmen (*liberti*, *per manum dimissi* or "frilatz"), and below them the bondmen. Of these bondmen there were (at least in the ninth century and probably earlier) two kinds—the *coloni* and *barschalken*, personally free, but bound like the later villein to their lord's land and service, and the *mancipia* or slaves. The *barschalken* (though not mentioned in the code) may well represent the conquered "Roman" population. The *mancipia* were mostly Slavs or other war-captives or criminals condemned to slavery.

As early as the first half of the eighth century the original status of freeman was already being modified by the Frankish practice of granting fiefs and of commendation. Like his overlord the Frankish King, the Bavarian duke soon began forming his own corps of thegns or *hiltischalken* for service in peace and war and granting to them in payment the waste or disinherited lands of which he disposed. In return natural gratitude and a lively sense of favours to come, soon reinforced by iron custom, bound the *hiltischalk* to service of his lord, especially in war. Moreover, troubled times led the defenceless or impecunious free proprietor to "commend" himself to a lord who could protect him in war and help him in hard times in return for his military service. Possibly in the seventh century this process had not begun, but under Frankish influence in the eighth it speedily developed, and duke, nobles and Church were all busy granting fiefs and receiving new vassals. Of Frankish origin also were the *Grafen* or counts to whom the administration of the country was entrusted; but this, too, was probably a development of the eighth century. In earlier times, however, some form of local

government existed in the Gaue, of which, in Upper Austria, there were five and in Salzburg six. They, in their turn, may well have been divided into *hundertschaften* or *centena* (hundreds), as in Frankish and other German lands, though the name does not appear among the Bavarians. Some such division would appear necessary to allow of even the crudest forms of local justice and local consultation, the fortnightly "Dinge" or "Urteile" for local legislation and jurisdiction. Economically the Bavarians were more advanced than many other German tribes. Their close proximity to the Roman Empire had given them some interest in trade, and they quickly turned to such industries of their new home as viticulture and salt mining. In agriculture they were, unlike the Slavs, individualists. Each freeman owned (in theory, at least) his own hide (10-20 hectares) of land while sharing through a "Markgenossenschaft" in the common pastureland and forest and waters of the community. In the lowlands the triple rotation of crops became the rule, but in the highlands the "Eggartenwirtschaft." Fruit-growing, cattle rearing, bee-keeping were other activities of these Bavarian colonists, whose individualism maintained the single farm as the unit on which village life was founded.

By the end of the sixth century there was a clear racial cleavage between Eastern and Western Austria. In Lower Austria, Burgenland, and a little later in Styria, East Tirol, and Carinthia the Roman or Romanised population had departed or been submerged. In their place the deserted territory was occupied by the Slavs, in subjection to the Avars on the plain (e.g. the Tullner Feld), but largely autonomous in the mountain districts. In Upper Austria, Salzburg, Tirol generally, and Vorarlberg the Romanised population had been slower to leave, and there are many traces of their continued presence, both in such classes of men as the Barschalken and in the German place-names derived from or referring to the Romans. Thus, in Upper Austria, Lentia is continued in Linz, Iscala in Ischl, Laureacum in Lorch, while names like Seewalchen, Walchegg, and many more mark the presence of a "Welsh" (i.e. non-German Latin-speaking) population in this province. In Salzburg the influence of Rome maintained itself even more strongly—as befitted a province which throughout the centuries of Austrian history was to prove the stronghold of Roman Catholicism and the exemplar of Italian art. Toughest of all was the Latinism of Tirol. The Romanised Rhætian tribe of the Breuni were still in possession of the Vintschgau about 565 and, though the Bavarians gradually conquered all Tirol down to the Lombard frontier, these Breuni in the eighth century still

possessed a district of their own. Latin speech held out obstinately among these mountaineers; in the Vintschgau it was employed till the seventeenth century, and to the present day this "Ladin" (akin to the Romauntsch of the Grisons) is spoken in the Gröden and Enneberg valleys of South (now Italian) Tirol. In Vorarlberg the Alamannic conquerors at first left the Romanised Rhætians and Ligurians in possession of all the hill country, for centuries their language held out there, and many place-names in Vorarlberg, as in Tirol, recall in a corrupted form the Roman or pre-Roman originals.

There was then a two-fold difference between the eastern and western regions of what is now Austria. From the former the Roman and Romanised population had departed; in the latter they remained. Into the former the great tide of Slav migration surged, led or driven by the Avars; from the latter it was kept off by the Germans already in occupation, who had conquered and continued to rule the Romanised inhabitants. The Alamanni or Swabians of Vorarlberg soon passed under the overlordship of the Franks, for their Ostrogothic masters were weakened and finally overthrown by the campaigns of Belisarius and Narses. Indeed, as early as 536 King Witigis seems to have ceded to Theudebert the rights of the Ostrogothic Kingdom over Eastern Switzerland and Vorarlberg, which Clovis had acknowledged a generation before, and Theudebert could write proudly to Justinian "*per Danuvium et limitem Pannoniæ usque in Oceani litoribus dominatio nostra porrigitur.*" But neither over Swabians nor Bavarians did, or perhaps could, Theudebert exercise direct rule, and the former (like the Bavarians) remained under their own dukes, two brothers Leuthar and Butilin. These two brothers ultimately were tempted by the prospect of conquest and plunder in Italy. Invading that country in response to an appeal from the remnant of the Ostrogothic people hard pressed by Narses, they carried fire and sword throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula; but not for long, for in the course of the following year (554) Leuthar died of the plague in Venetia, and Butilin was defeated and killed in the battle of Capua. Apparently the Alamannic dukedom passed to the descendants of these brothers and so continued, but of their first successors for nearly two centuries we hear little; they must have been the contemporaries of the early Bavarian dukes Garibald I and Tassilo I, whose struggles with the Slavs have been already mentioned.

Till the beginning of the seventh century the Alpine Slavs remained under Avar domination. How far they possessed self-government can only be conjectured. Possibly even at this early

date they had their own "vladar" or duke, and under him were Slav (or Avar) *župani*. At least it is very likely that there prevailed the typical Slav grouping by families under an "elder" or *starosta* on whom devolved responsibility for the political and economic welfare of the *občina* (commune). The growing numbers and strength of the Slavs made them impatient of the Avars' brutal and capricious rule. Their chance of freedom was not long delayed. They were already in revolt against their savage masters when help reached them from an unexpected quarter. A Frankish merchant named Samo, probably from Sens, arrived with some companions in Bohemia on a trading venture. Joining in their rebellion he distinguished himself by his courage and ability, and after the Avars had been decisively defeated Samo was chosen king (623).

Samo reigned for thirty-five years. His successful campaigns against the Avars (whose power had much declined after the failure of their attack on Constantinople in 626) had inspired all the Alpine Slavs to rebellion. Like the Czechs and Sorbs in the north, the Southern Slavs also shook off the Avar yoke. The Croats and Slovenes were certainly in alliance with Samo, and perhaps even acknowledged his overlordship, though it is not likely that he ruled over any continuous realm from Saxony to Croatia, for the Avars still held, at least intermittently, the Danube valley. In spite of his Frankish descent Samo showed no respect to the Frankish Kingdom. In 631 King Dagobert had cause to complain of the robbery and injury of Frankish merchants in Samo's territory and sent a special envoy, Sycharius, to demand compensation. Only with great difficulty did Sycharius succeed in obtaining an audience. Samo refused one-sided compensation and was only willing to discuss a general redress of grievances on both parts. Sycharius thereupon, exceeding his instructions, began to threaten the King and to declare that Samo and his people owed service to King Dagobert. Samo did him no harm, but dismissed him without satisfaction, and war began.

Dagobert did not underrate his opponent. For his campaign against Samo he demanded the assistance of the Swabians under Duke Chrodobert, of the Lombards, and probably of the Bavarians, too. His Swabian and Lombard allies met with success and won rich booty from the Slavs—presumably Samo's Carantanian allies—whom they had attacked. But Dagobert himself was less fortunate. For three days he unavailingly assailed Samo's fortress Wogastisburg, and was finally forced to retire with heavy losses. Samo followed up his successes with an invasion of Thuringia in this and

the following year, campaigns which appear to have had considerable effect, for, while they rallied the independent Saxons to the side of the Frankish King, they induced the Sorb Duke, Drevan, who had hitherto been a Frankish vassal, to throw in his lot with Samo. All Dagobert's efforts to subdue Samo proved unavailing, and he had to content himself with securing the Frankish frontiers against further Slav attacks by setting up his son Sigibert as King of Austrasia and entrusting the task to him and to Duke Radulf of Thuringia. The latter's loyalty, however, was none too firm, and he appears later (641) to have intrigued with Samo against his own master.

For the rest of his reign Samo's position was secure. He ruled like a typical triumphant barbaric king. It is recorded that he had a dozen Slav wives and was the father of twenty-two sons and fifteen daughters. But he founded no dynasty. "His Empire," says Palacký, "was one of those phenomena in history which, like a brilliant meteor, form unnoticed and unexpected to vanish again after a short existence." His very name disappears from historical records till rediscovered by eighteenth century students, though some will have it that his memory was preserved among the Carantanians, in the Polish legend of Lestko, and even in the traditional founder of the Czech royal line Přemysl. With his death a period of nearly a century begins during which there is no record of Czech and Slovene doings. Bohemia seems to have fallen under the rule of several Czech chieftains. In Carantania there is mention of a Duke Walluc, whose position is semi-independent of the Avars. For the Avars themselves had lost much of their power and Bulgars and Slavs generally revolted against them. It may even be that the Khagan lost authority over his own chieftains. Another leader, the "Jugur," is mentioned in the eighth century as his peer, and chiefs called "Tudun" and "Tarkhan" appear with considerable powers. Unity of command was gone, and with all further conquest barred to them, the Avars settled down to slow demoralisation and decay or to absorption (like the Bulgars further south) by the numerically much superior Slavs.

ALLEN LEEPER.



# MICHAEL OF SERBIA AND THE TURKISH OCCUPATION

## I

### THE EVOLUTION OF MICHAEL'S POLICY

ONLY a venerable historic relic remains to-day of the fortress which Prince Eugene rebuilt to defend Belgrade during the Austrian occupation of the 18th century. When the Turks returned to resume their domination over the land which they had subjugated in the 14th century, they found at their hand a much more effective buttress of their power, and to this they clung in spite of all the concessions wrung by treaty in 1812 and 1830. It was still conceived to be the keystone of that arch of fortresses—Semendria and Fetislam on the Danube, Šabac on the Save, and Sokol and Užice in the interior—which had long constituted the defences of the Ottoman Empire at its most vulnerable point. Without doubt the guns of the Austrians could have reduced it in short order, but the time had come when danger lurked much more in elements at home, for the citadel, with its garrison of 4,000, held at bay a population of 1,000,000 unwilling vassals. While the citadel itself was still in a fairly defensible condition, the minor fortresses were unquestionably obsolete for practical purposes. Sokol and Užice had merely the appearance of crumbling castles mounted on steep slopes, while Šabac and Semendria were little better than ruins.<sup>1</sup> Were it not for the political aspects of these garrisoned holdings, even a people as proud as the Serbs might have endured them a century longer. But nationalism had awakened a people long inert, and Serbia found a leader who was eminently qualified to win her liberation.

If Michael Obrenović stands forth as one of the striking personalities of the Balkans, it is because he had the determination to rid his country of this hateful occupation, and because various circumstances, not always of his making, enabled him to succeed. Since a gallant spirit who plays successfully the role of liberator can easily become a legendary hero, some Western writers on Serbia have tended rather to magnify his prowess. Much, no doubt, may yet be learned from reliable Serbian sources; but some of the misinformation<sup>2</sup> on his policy and achievements can be corrected by a search in foreign archives. There was nothing really remarkable about Michael unless it was his steadfast determination. According to a French Consul, he was a man of rather mediocre intelligence,<sup>3</sup> and, though he had learned something from contact with the West

during his exile, much of his success was probably due to the more practical minds of some of his counsellors. Tall and gaunt, with a swarthy complexion and heavily bearded, Michael was a striking, and, in spite of his frail health, a rather forbidding figure,<sup>4</sup> and, perhaps because of his long exile, he had acquired a coldness of manner that made him difficult for his people to understand—especially as he was wont to hold everyone at a distance. But, while also somewhat naive and susceptible to flattery (as cloistered persons often are), he was a man of high purpose and indomitable convictions.<sup>5</sup> Of his patriotism and ambition there could never be any question, though his impetuous will might not always take account of his country's slender resources. It was for this reason that the shrewd and tactful Garašanin was needed at his side. Yet inevitably it was the Prince who furnished the impulse to rid his country of the Turks.<sup>6</sup>

Michael's hatred of the Turks was certainly justified by his own unhappy experience. Called to the throne in 1840, he had been expelled two years later with the support, if not actually at the instance, of the Sublime Porte, acting through its agent, the Pasha who resided in the citadel. The question of whether Michael had been guilty of connivance with Bulgarian unrest or whether his reforming zeal had played into the hands of his less progressive rivals, the Karagjorgjević, need not seriously concern us; it was the citadel which had accomplished his downfall, and the citadel which had stultified the national autonomy. Apart from its military value (which was slight) and its moral value as an emblem of Turkish suzerainty (which the Turks would never willingly relinquish), there was always the opportunity it afforded of covert interference with the turbulent course of Serbian politics. Doubtless it was only because of this military occupation that the Porte had been able to impose a constitution on Serbia in 1838, and it was partly through the agency of a senate thus constituted that three Serbian princes, including Michael himself, had been forced to abdicate.<sup>7</sup> It was no wonder that the Obrenović sought to strengthen the executive as the only means of interposing resistance to the citadel. When Miloš returned to power in 1858 he ruled without regard to the constitution, and sent a deputation to Constantinople to demand the right for Serbia to make one for herself. Though the question was not settled before the Prince's death a few months later, the more pressing request—that Michael, his son, should be recognised as his successor<sup>8</sup>—had received a favourable response.<sup>9</sup> A year after his accession to the throne Michael saw to it that the constitution

was changed in such a manner that the power of the prince could no longer be invaded by a senate in the service of his enemies<sup>10</sup> Yet the action of the Powers had even more decisively clipped the suzerain's wings. By the Treaty of Paris in 1856 the "rights and immunities of Servia" had been placed "under the collective guarantee of the signatory Powers"—a provision which came to mean that no decision of the Porte regarding Serbia was valid without the concurrence of the Great Powers. While the Porte's right of garrison was explicitly confirmed, it was stated that "no armed intervention can take place in Serbia without the previous agreement of the high contracting parties."<sup>11</sup> It was thus with the consciousness that his action would be widely interpreted and perhaps tacitly condoned<sup>12</sup> that Michael altered the constitution. Serbia was now—since 1856—a European problem.

Whether Michael felt that Europe could generally be looked upon as a shield to protect him from the consequences of a provocative policy we cannot say, for he was seldom disposed to look with any confidence to foreign Powers. He was also aware that the Turkish occupation was now registered in the public law of Europe, and that, while it could no longer be used as an agency of unlawful interference, the existence of alien troops on Serbian soil was a perpetual barrier to the national aspirations. There is little reason to doubt that from the moment of his accession in September 1860, Michael formed the determination to rid his country of this painful and incongruous yoke. It might take time for his plans of deliverance to mature, but a Balkan prince is ever an opportunist, and, meanwhile, the status of the Turkish civil population was a matter that might constitute a convenient point of beginning. By a firman of 1830 it was ordained that "no Turk except those who garrison the fortresses shall be allowed to inhabit Serbia"—the civilians being allowed a year of grace in which to sell their various properties<sup>13</sup> This provision had been modified by another firman three years later, which specifically excepted the Moslems of Belgrade and allowed five years for the Turkish inhabitants of the other fortress towns to accomplish their withdrawal.<sup>14</sup> But, partly because arrangements for the sale of their property had never been seriously attempted, the stipulation had remained without effect. Old Miloš had demanded its enforcement when he made his other proposals to the Porte. It was a common source of complaint that the Turkish residents of Šabac and Užice were frequently ill-treated by the Serbian population,<sup>15</sup> but the Porte was slow-moving, and it was not the Obrenović habit to solicit the interest of the Powers. Perhaps a more serious bone of

contention was the state of things in Belgrade. Stretched between the citadel and the "Serbian city" lay the Turkish quarter, numbering something like three thousand souls.<sup>16</sup> They were small merchants, largely purveyors of food, and as such were of great importance to the garrison in the citadel. By the terms of the firman of 1833 the police jurisdiction of the city was confided jointly to the Prince and the Pasha—a régime which meant in effect that all offences committed by the Serbians were strictly under Serbian jurisdiction, while any Moslem who disturbed the police was subject to the authority of a Turkish *voivode* or superintendent of police. According to the positive statement of the British Consul, Prince Miloš had replaced a few hundred pandurs by an armed gendarmerie, composed of desperate characters, to watch over the safety of the city,<sup>17</sup> but, as an Austrian despatch wrote of them as unarmed on an occasion when there was actual trouble,<sup>18</sup> it is not improbable that the report was exaggerated—especially as regards the character of the men. Much stir had been caused, however, when Miloš once extended police patrols into the forbidden Mussulman quarter, and it was not till after appealing to foreign Consuls that the Pasha was able to get the action revoked.<sup>19</sup> Then, several months later, there was a series of riots in Belgrade, resulting in the killing of seven Turks and the wounding of eighteen, and henceforth all citizens were prohibited from carrying arms and must be off the streets by 10 p.m.<sup>20</sup> However true it may be that the Turks were "universally admitted to be a harmless, peaceable people,"<sup>21</sup> the presence of the two races in such close proximity—especially considering the dual jurisdiction over crimes—was a chronic source of danger to the peace. Finally, a constant grievance of the Serbs was the presence of Turkish sentries at each of the four gates of the city, for inasmuch as the population had long ago spread out beyond these ancient portals, the hated Turk was standing guard in the heart of the Serbian capital. In so combustible a situation one can readily see the making of a crisis.

But Michael was in no hurry to stir up trouble. Since the Turks were apparently aggrieved because Christians of the neighbouring provinces had taken refuge in his dominions, Michael tried to get them to return—though he declined to use compulsion.<sup>22</sup> He was credited, moreover, with having brought about a better feeling between Turks and Serbians in Šabac.<sup>23</sup> So far, too, there was no apparent design to raise the question of the fortresses;<sup>24</sup> and for the moment the Prince confined himself to seeking some solution of the question of jurisdiction.

It was probably a wise move on Michael's part to consult France on the course to be pursued. When Marinović, a member of the senate (later its president) and reputedly a capable politician, was sent on a special mission to the West in March 1861, Thouvenel, the French Foreign Minister, bade him advise the Prince to commence a negotiation with the Porte, promising his good offices to make the negotiation successful.<sup>25</sup> Accordingly, in April 1861, a deputation, headed by Garašanin, repaired to Constantinople to present a *mémoire* addressed to Aali Pasha, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs. This *mémoire*, while citing the firman of 1830 (no mention was made of that of 1833), requiring the withdrawal of the Turkish residents of the fortress towns, merely requested that the Mussulman population should be regarded as equal sharers of Serbia's immunities and should thereby be placed under Serbian jurisdiction.<sup>26</sup> Both Baron Prokesch, the Austrian Internuncio, and Sir Henry Bulwer, the British Ambassador, joined their French colleague in urging the Porte to terminate this dual jurisdiction, Bulwer feeling that no accommodation was possible while two co-ordinate authorities were functioning side by side.<sup>27</sup> But, unfortunately, the Porte showed little zeal to solve these vexing questions. While admitting that the Turks in the fortress towns should take their departure, it proposed to send a mixed commission (part Serbian, part Turkish) to arrange for the sale of their property, and as regards the Moslem citizens of Belgrade, it expressed earnest desire for an *entente* without committing itself as to the basis.<sup>28</sup> A second *mémoire* in August was presented to the Porte, rearguing the Serbian case,<sup>29</sup> but without effect, the Porte now flatly refusing to renounce any right connected with Belgrade.<sup>30</sup> Such proposals of the Porte as a mixed tribunal to try offences committed by Turks or Serbians in Belgrade, were rejected by a third communication from Garašanin, which finally closed the negotiation.<sup>31</sup> The French *chargé d'affaires* had valiantly redeemed the promise of his chief to work for an *entente*, but it is clear that the Porte would not treat the matter in its fundamentals, and thus Michael's effort to reach a solution by diplomacy had failed.<sup>32</sup>

Shortly before the death of Miloš, Longworth, the British Consul, had said that Michael, hating the Turks, would welcome a crisis, though he would not deliberately force one.<sup>33</sup> The failure of the negotiations would seem to suggest that he had nothing now to hope for but a period of disorder which would bring the Porte to reason. Perhaps if he had been less narrowly patriotic he would have placed his case before the protecting Powers. But, if we may believe the Austrian Consul, he had "shown unmistakably towards a part of

the consular corps the antipathy which he nourishes towards all European diplomats."<sup>34</sup> "His whole conduct, since his accession, to our body," declared Longworth, "has evinced an intention on his part to lower their influence and ignore their right of intervention."<sup>35</sup> No doubt Michael found these minions of the protecting Powers very meddlesome and—with the exception of Tastu, the French Consul—very unsympathetic. His contemporary, Cuza, had much the same experience in the United Principalities, and Michael was not endowed with Cuza's patient tact. Longworth himself (who, by the way, could not speak Serbian) had seldom anything good to say of the Serbs, and the small influence which he had over the Prince was a reflex of his own and to some extent his Government's short-sighted prejudice. Russia was the Power who, by virtue of an influence long exerted in Serbian politics, was supposed to be predominant at Belgrade. Yet the Prince himself was certainly no tool of Russia, and was disposed—if he looked outside at all—to seek the counsels of France.<sup>36</sup> Still more noticeable is the fact that Michael was determined to place his little country in a state of greater fitness to further his designs.

Certainly, at the moment, there was little to encourage the Prince to try the hazard of a revolt against his suzerain's rights or even forcibly to eject the Turks, whose residence was illegal. For Serbia was, even by Eastern standards, a very backward country. Poverty, it is true, hardly existed, for no one lived for the future, and there was abundant land for every one (indeed, only a small proportion of it was as yet under cultivation). Yet little was done with its agricultural possibilities, for the fertility of the soil was wasted rather than improved, and, according to a French report, more wheat was actually imported than exported. For most of the peasants the raising of pigs and goats was the chief source of livelihood.<sup>37</sup> "They are a nation of shepherds and swineherds," wrote Longworth, "and have no desire apparently to be anything else."<sup>38</sup> Industries were few, for Belgrade with a population of twenty to twenty-five thousand was the only town of any importance, and the only persons of any consequence in the land were the wholesale merchants of the capital, a sprinkling of intellectuals, and the members of the bureaucracy, a few of whom had profited by contact with the West.<sup>39</sup> Serbia had no upper class, like the Danubian Principalities, and the peasant, owning his land, and thus free from exploitation, was content to remain at a low level of subsistence. All accounts seem to agree to the indolence and apathy of the people, who, as the British Consul said, "prefer a life of sloth and intemperance in their native

forests to the civilisation which might result from improved industry and intelligence."<sup>40</sup> Yet, with all their habitual inertia, the Serbs were good fighters, and, if the national revenue could be raised (taxation normally was very light), the Prince might find it possible to augment his fighting forces "One does not do great things with small means," he told the French *gérant*, "and we have only small means."<sup>41</sup>

But Michael intended to make the most of his opportunities. He had already been pretty ruthless in getting rid of all officials whom he did not trust. Then, with a burning desire to make his country approximate to the standards of the West, he had "applied himself earnestly to the task of reforming and reorganising every branch of the administration."<sup>42</sup> By enactments which he imposed on the Skupština (the national assembly) at the close of 1861 he greatly increased his constitutional prerogatives, and was no longer compelled to choose ministers from the senate or share with it the direction of foreign affairs.<sup>43</sup> While the power of the Skupština was itself reduced, the emasculation of the Senate had undoubtedly been the Prince's chief concern, since it was that body, as we have said, which rendered the position of every prince precarious. Parallel with these measures and with the institution of an income tax was an Act providing, through conscription, for a standing army of over 50,000, as well as for a reserve, and, by arrangement with the French War Office, a French engineer, Lieutenant-Colonel Mondain, was engaged to undertake a thorough-going reform of the military establishment.<sup>44</sup> For the important post of *predstavnik* (that is, president of the council) as well as for that of Minister of Foreign Affairs, Michael finally chose Garašanin, a man of considerable finesse and a skilful opportunist, who had served under previous princes and had the confidence of the French.

Great was the annoyance of the British and Austrian governments at these measures undertaken without any "by-your-leave." It was complained that an Act declaring the throne hereditary as well as the extension of the Prince's prerogatives in foreign affairs and the military arrangements contravened the Sultan's firmans. The Porte was much alarmed, and the British and Austrian agents remonstrated with the Prince—though quite without avail.<sup>45</sup>

Garašanin, more suave than his master, assured them that if Serbia wanted to make capital out of Turkey's weakness, she did not need to organise her militia for the purpose;<sup>46</sup> indeed, he had lately said—with his tongue in his cheek—that it would be useful in the service of the Porte, and the Austrian agent, Vasić, was afraid that

he had reference to the disaffection in Herzegovina<sup>47</sup> To be sure, the *predstavnik* gave subsequent assurance that Serbia wanted only to strengthen herself internally; but the Consuls were very evidently puzzled. Longworth was much disturbed over Mondain's appointment, which seemed to denote a species of French intervention.<sup>48</sup> At times, however, he seemed to fear that Russia had a hand in these new armaments.<sup>49</sup> And, in truth, whatever suspicions pointed to Russia—and they were not very convincing—there was some cause for alarm among the solicitous friends of the Porte. Herzegovina was still in a state of ferment, and if, as Garašanin affected to believe, Austria was liable to seize Bosnia (as compensation for the lost Italian provinces), such a crisis might reasonably tempt Michael to intervene.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, the Montenegrins were also in revolt, and the Porte had to send some of its choicest contingents to put them down. When these Slavic brothers asked for aid, Garašanin begged Tastu to tell him what he should do, as public opinion might force the Prince to send them speedy succour. It was well known that refugees from Bosnia and Bulgaria were passing across the frontier into Serbia, and there was much complaint of armed bands which infested the countryside.<sup>51</sup> Garašanin admitted to Tastu that the time might come when Serbia would be forced to place herself at the head of a movement to liberate the Slavs, but that he hoped to delay it as long as possible—adding, however, “I shall work to prepare ourselves materially.” Of course, the wily *predstavnik* may simply have been angling for French support for the solution of less perilous problems, but even the friendly Tastu believed that Serbia meditated war in the coming spring.<sup>52</sup> Yet, without more light on the actual plans of Prince and Premier it is impossible to get at the whole truth. It is certainly not inconceivable that Michael had simply resolved to enforce respect for his diplomacy by making his suzerain realise that he could, if he would, bring on a crisis in the Balkans.<sup>53</sup> Ambitious and headstrong, the Prince hoped that Serbia might, by brandishing the sword, force a situation that would in some way lead to a Turkish withdrawal from Serbian soil. Whether the circumstances which in the ensuing autumn played into his hands were actually and deliberately provoked by the Prince's government is hardly, perhaps, susceptible of proof.

#### THE BOMBARDMENT OF BELGRADE

Perhaps it was the military activities of the Government and the advent of some arms which had come *via* Austria that made the gendarmes of Belgrade less tractable in dealing with Turkish officers.



On 23 May, a gendarme refused to give up two Moslem ruffians to the Turkish chief of police, and in the scuffle which followed the Serb was thrown to the ground and injured. Since a mob soon gathered, it was almost a miracle that no one was slain. The Government then sent a despatch to the Pasha, requesting that his sentries should be replaced, but the Pasha refused to do this without an inquiry. As, on the following day, a Bosnian Moslem was murdered by a Serb, the Pasha immediately decided that it was a deliberate act of reprisal.<sup>54</sup> There was comparative peace then for nearly a fortnight, but on 5 June there was a brawl between a Serbian gendarme and a Tartar employee of the Austrian post, which resulted in the Tartar's death. As this, like the riot of 23 May, had occurred near the Stambul Gate, the Pasha ordered it to be closed for a time. Garašanin then made a general complaint to the Consuls of the hostile attitude of the Turkish sentries, and declared that he could no longer be responsible for order in the city.<sup>55</sup>

The question who was to blame for these outrages is vastly less important than the fact that they occurred; and it should have been obvious that they would continue to occur until the fundamental causes were removed. Unfortunately, the evil was likely to become aggravated until matters had reached a crisis. Whether it is true, as Longworth later declared, that the Serbian Government was deliberately fomenting trouble in order to get possession of the gates and enforce its own solution of the matter of jurisdiction<sup>56</sup>, is a question that cannot be settled. Michael himself could hardly have been anxious about the peace of the city, for he left for the provinces on the 12th, though it is interesting to note that Garašanin had heard that a bombardment of the city was being contemplated in the citadel.<sup>57</sup> Meanwhile, nobody was punished for the tragedy of the 5th, since neither side would admit guilt, but Garašanin demanded that every Turk who disturbed the peace should be henceforth delivered to Serbian custody, and also tried in vain to get the Pasha to withdraw his sentries.<sup>58</sup> Longworth seems to have been in favour of a Turkish withdrawal from the gates, but the only precaution taken was the closing of these passages.<sup>59</sup>

It took another clash to arrive at any sort of truce. Just what produced the explosion of the 15th is far from clear<sup>60</sup> (Turkish and Serbian versions are naturally contradictory, and those of the Consuls are hardly more to be trusted); but, in any event, a fight between a few Serbs and Turks led to the gathering of a Serbian mob of about a thousand persons (so it was said),<sup>61</sup> who stormed the Stambul Gate and held the Turkish guards there in a state of siege.

Since not only firing had continued uninterruptedly throughout the night (over a hundred had been killed and as many wounded), but the struggle had spread to other parts of the city, and since Garašanin, "who had exerted himself to the utmost to restore order, now declared it was impossible to do so," the Consuls under the leadership of Longworth decided to intervene. Happily an assertion of Garašanin's that he could not pacify the Serbians as long as the Turks remained in the city, but that he could guarantee order if they withdrew, seemed to suggest a mode of adjustment. The British Consul, who had made three visits to the citadel, succeeded in getting the Pasha to consent to the basis proposed by Garašanin, and, though we are not told whether the Pasha had been reluctant to adhere, he seems to have demanded the presence of Garašanin as a signatory of the agreement. Accordingly, the Consuls repaired to the citadel in a body, accompanied by Garašanin, and a convention was then signed between the Pasha, the *predstavnik*, and the Consuls.<sup>62</sup> In this instrument the Pasha agreed to withdraw his sentries from the gates, chiefly on the condition that Garašanin guaranteed their safe passage to the citadel; that the houses and other property of Turkish residents should be respected; and that Turkish families who wished to withdraw to the citadel should not be molested.<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately, while there is no reason to doubt the good faith of the Serbian Government, it seemed impossible to hold back the Serbian populace for the moment, and the houses vacated by the Turks were immediately plundered—though Garašanin voluntarily promised redress.<sup>64</sup> According to both Longworth and Vasić, some of the Turks who decided to stay and defend their homes were brutally murdered.

Such was the situation at nightfall on the 16th. The avoidance of further trouble depended on whether fear and hatred had been sufficiently allayed by the evacuation of the gates. The story that the Turks were about to leave the citadel to attack and plunder the town may partially account for the frenzy of the Serbs. On the other hand, those in the citadel probably learned that during the night one Turkish house had been set ablaze and that some Turkish residents, including two women, had been slaughtered. It was charged that the Serbian Government had been lax in respect to these outrages, especially in having deliberately failed to hold the *gendarmérie* in check, but nothing but martial law would have availed, and, with Michael absent from the city, such a measure could hardly have been instituted in time. When the Pasha, after a visit of Vasić to the citadel on the 16th, had sent word to Garašanin through the Austrian agent to see that the Serbians kept at a distance from

the citadel (otherwise they would be fired upon), Garašanin gave the desired assurances<sup>66</sup> Later it was stated that some disorderly Serbians fired "towards the Vidin Gate,"<sup>67</sup> but this point was, of course, some distance from the citadel. More serious was the charge that the Serbians fired throughout the night into the citadel itself.<sup>68</sup> Whether true or not, the Pasha must have believed it, and it was probably for that reason that he got a message to Longworth, urging him to repair with the *predstavnik* and the other Consuls to the citadel without delay<sup>69</sup> Similarly, he sent flag-of-truce-bearers with some sort of communication for Garašanin himself, but the events of the following day prevented their carrying out this mission. No one thought at daybreak on the 17th that the struggle would be immediately renewed, though Tastu believed that sooner or later a more serious crisis would ensue.<sup>70</sup> It was just after Longworth had received the Pasha's message that the explosion took place.

At about nine o'clock the Austrian Consul heard military music, and, looking out of his window, observed a funeral *cortege*, consisting of two gendarmes and a detachment of soldiers, conducting the bodies of some of the Serbian dead to burial. A few minutes afterwards a crowd was seen to gather and they were shouting that the Turks were arming. At the same moment the noise of cannon was heard, and one shot entered the Austrian consulate, causing a shower of stones and mortar.<sup>71</sup> Longworth, who had received the Pasha's communication, was talking with the Russian Consul (preparatory to seeking the other Consuls and Garašanin), when he likewise heard the firing.<sup>72</sup> To their consternation they realised that the citadel had opened fire on the city.

While the Consuls were gathering at the hotel occupied by Tastu, Vasić made up his mind to go to the citadel to stop the bombardment. His object, he wrote, was to avert danger from Austrian subjects, and he thought that he ought to go alone because of the personal risk involved. Before going, however, he went to Garašanin to announce his proposed mission, and he begged him to do what he could to restrain his countrymen; he also saw Longworth and Tastu and informed them of his intention. To reach the citadel by way of Semlin (the only safe way of approach) was a matter of some hours, but Vasić finally reached his goal, and persuaded the Pasha to stop the bombardment for two hours during which Austrian residents might be enabled to leave the city; he also left the assurance that he would bring the Consuls to the citadel. It was naturally with considerable astonishment that he found the Consuls on his return in a great state of excitement and indignation. Longworth declared

moreover, a fact that the bombardment had been renewed during the night—probably because the Serbians had been active in their reprisals.<sup>80</sup>

Whether it was true or not that the Pasha's action had been inspired by firing into the citadel, the bombardment of a defenceless city could hardly be condoned by any reasonable person. Longworth, whose Turkish prejudices were for the moment exceeded by his righteous indignation, declared that the Pasha had been "guilty of a childish and unfounded panic."<sup>81</sup> On the day following the bombardment the entire consular body, with the single exception of Vasić, sent an identical statement to the Embassies, declaring that they left on the Pasha the "responsibility of an act so contrary to the principles of international law," and would stay in the beleaguered city to share the lot of their nationals until orders should come from their governments.<sup>82</sup>

It hardly needed the action of the Consuls to induce the Porte to give its attention to a crime, so obviously a blunder. Aali Pasha was aware of the scrimmage which had preceded the bombardment—Bulwer wrote that he had persuaded him to sanction for the time being the Turkish withdrawal from the gates<sup>83</sup>—and he could not but realise that his government had been placed in a very serious light. As it was ever a Turkish device to find a scapegoat when the government's own conduct was open to criticism, the offending Pasha was at once removed—even though Aali had excused him by saying that the citadel had been attacked. Simultaneously, a Turkish commissioner, Ahmed Vefyk Effendi, was dispatched to Belgrade to investigate the causes of the disturbance.<sup>84</sup> Thus the Porte had done all that it could be expected to do until the Powers had reached some collective decision in the matter.

In the meantime, order had been restored in Belgrade—thanks largely to the Serbian garrison of 8,000 who manned the barricades, and to the excellent work of Colonel Mondain in enforcing discipline. As a precaution, also, against some accidental "incident," the Pasha withdrew all his troops except some sentries from the outer works of the citadel.<sup>85</sup> By the 30th, however, the Serbian forces manning the barricades were said to number, including reserves, 13,000, for there was a prevalent fear that the Turks might make a sortie.<sup>86</sup> Since the Consuls had received orders to make every effort to keep the peace, Longworth and Vlangaly (the Russian Consul) stationed themselves day and night on the *glacis*, while Tastu stood on guard in the citadel. Michael placed the city and its environs under martial law, and plunderers were summarily dealt with.<sup>87</sup> The

immediate situation was therefore much relieved;<sup>88</sup> but there was undoubtedly a good deal of latent apprehension as to what the Turkish occupation might lead to in the future,<sup>89</sup> and Michael, minded to make as much capital as possible out of his country's plight, had appealed to the Tsar, to the Emperor Napoleon, and to Lord John Russell. To the British statesman the Prince declared, after picturing the ruins of his capital, that "the security, the peace, and the goodwill of a million inhabitants depended on the arrangement which the Government of Great Britain is called upon to make in common with the Sublime Porte and the protecting Powers, to defend Serbia and the general peace of the Ottoman Empire against such a catastrophe." Lord John's reply, which attributed the disaster to "the violations by the Serbians of the relations established by treaties between the Sublime Porte and Serbia," roused in the Prince a feeling of intense indignation.<sup>90</sup>

It is an odd fact that about two weeks after the bombardment we read of a steady depopulation of the city. Thousands of citizens left their shops and homes to emigrate to the countryside, where they camped in different places in the greatest discomfort. The odd part of the episode is the fact that this exodus did not take place sooner. That these refugees acted from genuine fear is beyond question; but one might suppose that such a panic would have occurred immediately after the bombardment and tend to become allayed as time passed without any further collision with the fortress. The natural inference is that the Serbian Government worked upon the terrors of the population to such an extent that they no longer dared to stay in their homes or to go about their business.<sup>91</sup> Such a spectacle, of course, gave the Prince a chance to add some graphic touches to his letters to foreign Powers. It was assuredly to his interest to obtain, if he could, the sympathy of Europe for his ambition to rid his country of a hated occupation.

The Serbians were, in fact, engaged in something like passive resistance to the *status quo*. On the one hand, the Government let it be known that it expected to be relieved of the menace of the citadel;<sup>92</sup> on the other hand, it carried out elaborate preparations for defence, and the gradual depopulation of the city proceeded;<sup>93</sup> not till the citadel was surrendered would these fugitives return—so the government said. When Ahmed Vefyk, the Turkish commissioner, arrived, he found little disposition on the part of the Serbians to co-operate with him in investigating the causes of the crisis, and he was quite unable to procure the removal of the barricades, which (much to the wrath of the Turks) reached almost to the citadel.

Though Garašanin finally agreed that the barricades should not be extended any further, Vefyk claimed that the promise was soon broken, the work being resumed during the night. He then attempted threats, but this only served to lessen his influence.<sup>94</sup> "What shall I do?" was his lament to Tastu,<sup>95</sup> as though he realised the futility of his mission. Undoubtedly the situation was very combustible, and one is tempted to believe that if the Turks had not succeeded in worsting the Montenegrins, the intrepid Michael would have made immediate plans to storm the citadel. But, even if his intentions were really innocent, one may realise that fear, quite as easily as hatred, may lead to desperate acts. Rumours of Turkish armaments near the frontier brought new alarm to the Serbians and increased their warlike activities.<sup>96</sup> Vasić believed that they wanted to terrify the Porte into yielding the citadel.<sup>97</sup> Longworth felt that such measures were mainly to impress the Powers.<sup>98</sup> But Tastu confessed his fear that a new crisis was impending.<sup>99</sup> If the situation was to be prevented from assuming alarming proportions, certainly Europe must take some action.

As a matter of fact, the Powers had been a good deal startled by the news of the bombardment of Belgrade. Thouvenel, according to Cowley (the British Ambassador to Paris), was thrown into "a great state of excitement" when he learned of it,<sup>100</sup> and his first act was to remind the Porte that no intervention was under the Treaty of Paris permissible without preliminary agreement among the Powers.<sup>101</sup> Russell must have been more confounded, as we may judge from his resultant action. His proposal was that Austrian troops, accompanied by commissioners of the Powers, should occupy the space between the city and the fortress—desiring, as he said, to "leave in the hands of Austria the pacification of Belgrade."<sup>102</sup> Russell's fear was that the bombardment, which he called a "most unfortunate affair," would lead Russia and other Powers to make capital out of it and encourage the Serbians to "start (as he expressed it) for the cap of independence."<sup>103</sup> Yet it is hard to see how he could have supposed that the Powers, whom he distrusted, would have consented to an Austrian occupation, and even the Porte had some doubts about the wisdom of the remedy.<sup>104</sup> At all events, Count Rechberg, the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, was not the kind of diplomat to try anything hazardous, and he met the proposal by a counter-proposal that a conference should be held at Constantinople between the Ambassadors and the Ministers of the Sultan.<sup>105</sup> Such a body should be entrusted with the task of effecting a permanent pacification.

Since all the Powers were willing to accept this device, the Conference should have met without delay and thus have given to both parties to the dispute the confidence that a serious effort would be made to reconcile their differences. Unfortunately, France appears to have wanted an interval to elapse in order that she might obtain more precise information about the disturbances at Belgrade,<sup>106</sup> and then, after it was agreed that a conference should be called, the Turks wasted another fortnight over the question of whether a representative of the King of Italy (whom Austria had not recognised) should participate in the meetings. Considering the weary weeks consumed in futile negotiations, it was more through good fortune than good management that conditions did not become aggravated at Belgrade. Thouvenel, who seems to have put faith in a joint Turco-Serbian investigation of the dispute, argued that the Consuls should be instructed to participate,<sup>107</sup> but the proposal was rejected by Great Britain and Austria, though Bulwer was forced to admit that Vefyk's mission had failed.<sup>108</sup> Meanwhile, Michael made amends for having treated Vasić with indignity,<sup>109</sup> and after Longworth had been scolded by his government for having denounced the Pasha prematurely, a secretary of the British Legation at Vienna, Robert Lytton by name, a nephew of Bulwer, was sent to Belgrade to carry on a personal investigation.<sup>110</sup> Looking forward to the Conference as the arbiter of its fate, the Serbian Government prepared a *mémoire historique* on the course of events, which blamed the Turks for everything<sup>111</sup>—a feat paralleled by a similar Turkish report paying equal honour to the Serbs!<sup>112</sup> In any event, each of the protecting Powers was depending mainly on the judgment of its Consul—though such judgments were but a reflex of the general attitude of the governments! Whatever it might be felt necessary to concede to the Serbians to quiet their fears, Austria and Great Britain were determined that the Porte should keep the citadel,<sup>113</sup> and Bulwer's chief concern was to find some means of securing it against attack; if this were managed, the Porte, he said, might be willing to give up some of the smaller fortresses, "but this cession should be kept back . . . and not be made too easily."<sup>114</sup> Prokesch, too, realised that some concession must be made, though he feared that the Turkish Ministers would be too timid to take the initiative.<sup>115</sup> Meanwhile Aali was being pressed to call the Conference;<sup>116</sup> though it was not until 20 July—more than a month after the bombardment—that he finally issued the summons.<sup>117</sup> Yet the usual Turkish habit of procrastination had not been the only cause of delay. France had found a pretext for putting off the meeting in the first

instance. No one knew at the time what was actually brewing in Paris, but a search in the French archives reveals an interesting fact.

On 10 July, 1862, a secret "protocol" (as it was called) was signed at Paris by Thouvenel and the Russian chargé d'affaires. In this instrument Russia and France agreed on a common policy of supporting Serbia. While they did not pledge themselves to demand the termination of the Turkish occupation, they agreed to press for the demolition of such outworks of the citadel as extended into the city, the definite transference of the gates into the hands of the Serbians, the evacuation of all other forts, and the subordination of Turkish residents to Serbian jurisdiction.<sup>118</sup> Thus France and Russia faced the opening of the Conference, prepared to espouse the interests of Serbia, and to get for her such advantages as might allay the storm for the present.

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<sup>1</sup> Anon., *Journal of a Steam Voyage down the Danube to Constantinople and thence by Malta and Marseilles to England*, London, 1842; A. A. Paton, *Servia, the Youngest Member of the European Family*, London, 1845, pp. 78, 149, 167; Dozon to Tastu, Oct. 15, 1861, annex to political dispatch no. 50, Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères, Turquie, Belgrade, vol. 13; Longworth to Bulwer, no. 43, Aug. 4, 1861, F.O. 78/1585.

<sup>2</sup> It would be hard to find more misinformation crammed into small space than one finds on page 253 of P. Coquelle's *Le Royaume de Serbie*, a book often cited for the history of Serbia. Most works in English dealing with Serbia of this period seem to me to show no real acquaintance with Michael and his policies; though I would except from this statement the brief account in Mr. William Miller's *The Ottoman Empire*.

<sup>3</sup> Botmiliau to Drouyn de Lhuys, no. 112, 10 Feb., 1865, *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Borowicka to Rechberg, no. 86, 29 Oct., *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/122.

<sup>6</sup> Sir Henry Bulwer seems hardly to do justice to him when he writes: "I doubt whether the Prince, who is himself nothing remarkable, knows very distinctly what he would have, but people have put it into his head that as the Turks have no fortresses in Moldo-Wallachia, they should have none in Servia, and this being a clear idea within his comprehension has got fixed in his rather narrow mind and obstinate character." Bulwer to Russell, 9 Oct., 1862, *Russell Papers*, G. & D., 22/91 (Pub. Rec. Off.).

<sup>7</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 29, 16 Oct., 1860, F.O. 78/1515. This was in spite of a provision of the firman of 1830 which had stated that "the authorities of my Sublime Porte will not interfere in any manner whatever either in the internal administration or in the affairs of the country"; Hertslet, *Map of Europe by Treaty*, II, p. 843.

<sup>8</sup> While the hereditary principle had been recognised by the firman of 1830 and confirmed by that of 1838, the dethronement of Michael had led to the election of Alexander Karagjorgjević, and then after Alexander's fall by the election of Miloš; hence the Porte had now the excuse that the hereditary principle had been in effect abrogated. Obviously an elective monarchy would open the way to a recrudescence of intrigue. Yet the British and



Austrian Governments seem to have resented a return to the former mode of succession.

<sup>9</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no number, 12 March, 1860. F.O. 78/1515 This promise was confidentially communicated to Michael.

<sup>10</sup> Organic Law of the Senate. Longworth to Russell, no. 57, 28 Sept., 1861. F.O. 78/1585.

<sup>11</sup> Articles xxviii and xxix.

<sup>12</sup> While this and other enactments brought strenuous opposition from Austria, Great Britain, and the Porte, Thouvenel, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, remarked that, while he could understand why the Porte wished to maintain the *status quo*, the changes were justified by Serbia's unhappy experience; Thouvenel to Tastsu, no. 1, 7 Jan., 1862. *Aff. étr.*, Turquie, Belgrade, vol. 13. It was obvious that unless the Powers took collective action—which was seldom to be expected—Serbia was much freer now to effect internal changes.

<sup>13</sup> Hertslet, *op. cit.*, vol. II, 845.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 931.

<sup>15</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 22, 30 April, 1860. F.O. 78/1515.

<sup>16</sup> Longworth estimated the number in 1862 as 3,270: "Correspondence relating to the Bombardment of Belgrade in June 1862," no. 22, inc., *Parl. Papers*, 1863, vol. lxxiii.

<sup>17</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 28, 3 July, 1862. F.O. 78/1672.

<sup>18</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 26, 26 June. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.

<sup>19</sup> De Valliat to Thouvenel, no. 18, 14 March, 1860. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 12; Longworth to Bulwer, no. 6, 14 March. F.O. 78/1515.

<sup>20</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no number, 9 August, 1860, *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 6, 22 April, 1860, *ibid.* Longworth was so biased against the Serbians that his statement can hardly be taken as conclusive. His predecessor as British Consul wrote of the Turkish residents as publicly vituperating the Sultan for his alleged leniency towards the Serbians; Fonblanque to Russell, no. 47, 13 Oct., 1859. F.O. 78/1440.

<sup>22</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 20, 19 April, 1861. Strictly speaking, according to the firman of 1830, inhabitants of one province of the Ottoman Empire were not permitted to move to another.

<sup>23</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 36, 19 Sept., 1860. F.O. 78/1515

<sup>24</sup> Though this question had been somewhat agitated under Miloš, who thought at one time of requesting of the Porte the evacuation of the citadel; Longworth to Russell, no. 6, 14 March, 1860. F.O. 1515.

<sup>25</sup> Thouvenel to Tastsu, no. 2, 15 March, 1861. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 12.

<sup>26</sup> Mémorandum remis par M. Garašanin à S.A. Aali Pacha, 22 April. F.O. 78/1573.

<sup>27</sup> Notes on Garašanin's Mission, April, 1861. F.O. 78/1573; Prokesch to Rechberg, no. 33 A-D, 3 May, *Staatsarchiv*, XII/72. Bulwer went so far as to address a letter to Aali, not contesting the Porte's rights, but arguing that to concede Serbia jurisdiction over Turkish residents would be politically expedient and avoid trouble from the direction of Russia; Bulwer to Aali, 19 July. F.O. 78/1573.

<sup>28</sup> Answer of the Porte to Garašanin, enclosed in Bulwer's, no. 517. F.O. 78/1573.

<sup>29</sup> *Archives diplomatiques*, 1861, vol. 4, p. 436.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 449.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 440.

<sup>32</sup> My examination of the British, French, and Austrian dispatches to and from Constantinople and Belgrade has revealed no basis for Mr. Temperley's statement (*History of Serbia*, p. 245) that "Michael took an opportunity to

raise the question of the fortresses in 1861; but, owing largely to the Turcophil attitude of the British Government, the matter was adjourned." The negotiations of 1861 concerned only questions relating to the Turkish civilians in Serbia.

<sup>33</sup> Longworth to Russell, no. 35, 24 August, 1860. F.O. 78/1515; cf. Vasić to Rechberg, no. 1, 1 Jan., 1861. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.

<sup>34</sup> Borowicka to Rechberg, no. 86, 29 Oct., 1860. *Ibid.*, XXXVIII/122.

<sup>35</sup> Longworth to Russell, no. 62, 6 Dec., 1860. F.O. 78/1515.

<sup>36</sup> Longworth reported on 25 June, 1861, that Michael was "no longer on friendly terms with Russia." Both he and his Austrian colleague regarded Tastu as the Prince's chief foreign adviser.

<sup>37</sup> Botmiliau to Drouyn, no. 65, 4 May, 1864. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 15; Paton, *op. cit.*, pp 320-1, cf. Vasić to Rechberg, no. 7, 10 March, 1862. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.

<sup>38</sup> Longworth to Russell, no. 8, 10 April, 1860. F.O. 78/1515.

<sup>39</sup> Botmiliau to Drouyn, no. 64, 27 August, 1864. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 15.

<sup>40</sup> Longworth to Russell, no. 35, 24 August, 1860. F.O. 78/1515; cf. Tastu to Thouvenel, no. 41, 4 Sept., 1861. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 13.

<sup>41</sup> Dozon to Thouvenel, no. 51, 30 Oct., 1860. *Ibid.*, vol. 12.

<sup>42</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 32, 16 Nov., 1860. F.O. 78/1515.

<sup>43</sup> Botmiliau to Drouyn, no. 40, 2 Nov., and no. 42, 14 Nov., 1863. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 15.

<sup>44</sup> Dozon to Thouvenel, no. 13, 2 April, 1861. *Ibid.*, vol. 13.

<sup>45</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 9, 25 March. F.O. 78/1672.

<sup>46</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 9, 17 March. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.

<sup>47</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 7, 10 March. *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 9, 17 March. F.O. 78/1672.

<sup>49</sup> Longworth to Russell, no. 19, 4 May. *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Tastu to Thouvenel, no. 69, 18 Feb., and no. 72, 18 March. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 13; Dozon to Thouvenel, no. 76, 24 April, *ibid.*, Vasić to Rechberg, no. 7, 10 March. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.

<sup>51</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 15, 22 April, *ibid.* As these were said to have been organised by Serbia, the Austrian Government lodged a formal complaint through its agent at Belgrade. The Pasha having also been induced to complain to the Serbian Government, Garašanin denied all complicity; Tastu to Thouvenel, no. 76, 29 April. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 13.

<sup>52</sup> Tastu to Thouvenel, no. 69, 18 Feb., *ibid.* Vasić, the Austrian vice-consul, firstly came to the conclusion (no. 22, 26 May) that while the militia was a prospective menace, Serbia was quite unequal to war at present, and that Michael would await a more favourable opportunity, Vasić to Rechberg, no. 18, 5 May. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133. Undoubtedly Michael liked to imagine himself liberator of all the Slavs. See Rachitch, *Le Royaume de Serbie*, p. 712.

<sup>53</sup> Garašanin warned Vasić that, as the Porte would not respect its obligations (he had reference to the failure of his mission in 1861), Serbia would no longer feel it necessary to observe the treaties, Vasić to Rechberg, no. 22, 26 May. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/136.

<sup>54</sup> Longworth to Russell, no. 20, 26 May, F.O. 78/1672; Vasić to Rechberg, no. 22, 26 May, no. 23, 27 May, and no. 25, 5 June. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.

<sup>55</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 26, 6 June, *ibid.*; Report of Vlangaly, 9 June. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 14, f. 18. A copy of Garašanin's complaint to Vasić is dated 6 June.

<sup>56</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 25, 20 June, 1863. F.O. 78/1749.

<sup>57</sup> According to Longworth, Garašanin told him on the 8th that he had heard "from a trustworthy source that the Turks were revolting against the Pasha with the object of effecting the bombardment of the town, others say (he continued) that this pretended revolt, whether simulated or real, will serve as a pretext for the bombardment"; Longworth to Russell, 11 July, "Correspondence relating to the Bombardment of Belgrade in June 1862," *Parliamentary Papers*, 1863, vol. lxxii, no. 21, inclosure 2.

<sup>58</sup> Thouvenel to Moustier, no. 49, 13 June. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 354.

<sup>59</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 25, 20 June, 1863 F.O. 78/1672; Vasić to Rechberg, no. 30, 19 June.

<sup>60</sup> According to one account, a young Serbian, while drawing water from a fountain, was attacked by a Turkish sergeant, and, when a Serbian gendarme came to his rescue, he was shot and killed by another Turk; Tastsu to Thouvenel, no. 83, 16 June. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 13. Another story was to the effect that some Turkish soldiers who were being dragged by Serbian gendarmes to the Serbian police station offered resistance and were fired upon by a Serbian dragoon; Longworth to Bulwer, no. 28, 3 July. F.O. 78/1672. It is not impossible that both stories are substantially true and that these outrages took place simultaneously.

<sup>61</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 29, 16 June. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.

<sup>62</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, 26 June, "Correspondence relative to the Bombardment of Belgrade in June 1862," *Parl. Papers*, vol. lxxii, no. 4, inclosure 1; Tastsu to Thouvenel, no. 83, 16 June. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 12; Vasić to Rechberg, no. 29, 16 June. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.

<sup>63</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, 16 June, "Corres. Bomb. Belg.," no. 4.

<sup>64</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, 16 June, "Corres. Bomb. Belg.," no. 4.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*; Vasić to Rechberg, no. 30, 19 June. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.

<sup>66</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 30.

<sup>67</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 25, 20 June, 1863.

<sup>68</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 32, 27 June. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133. Testimony to the same effect was furnished by an official of the Austrian steamship company. It is worthy of remark that the Pasha told Vasić, as excuse for the bombardment on the 17th, that shots had been fired from the direction of the Vidin Gate throughout the night, Vasić to Rechberg, no. 30.

<sup>69</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 29, 9 July. F.O. 78/1672.

<sup>70</sup> Tastsu to Thouvenel, no. 83, 16 June. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Bucharest), vol. 12.

<sup>71</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 30.

<sup>72</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, 21 June.

<sup>73</sup> Bulwer expressed the conjecture that Longworth had treated Vasić haughtily because the latter had only the rank of vice-consul; Bulwer to Russell, 25 June. *Russell Papers*, G. & D., 22/90, Pub. Rec. Off. The fact, however, that Vasić had shown especial concern for Austrians made Longworth imagine that he had known of the Pasha's intention and had deliberately refrained, because of collusion with the Pasha, from warning his colleagues of what was to happen. Later, on learning of his government's displeasure, he altered his attitude toward Vasić, and Rechberg remarked in July that he and Vasić were "now turtle-doves"; Loftus to Russell, 27 July, *ibid.*, 22/41.

<sup>74</sup> Blindfolded, so that they could not see the barricades.

<sup>75</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 30. *Ibid.*; Tastsu to Thouvenel, no. 5, 23 June. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 12.

<sup>76</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, 21 June.

<sup>77</sup> Bulwer said few were killed; Tastsu said there was one. Vasić, while admitting, like Bulwer, considerable damage to property, said no one was

killed in the city, though an artilleryman and a civilian were killed in the citadel; he also added that a great many in the city were injured; Longworth to Bulwer, 26 June; Tastu to Thouvenel, no. 84, 21 June. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 12; Vasić to Rechberg, no. 30

<sup>78</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 30

<sup>79</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 31, 22 June. F.O. 78/1672.

<sup>80</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 30; Tastu to Thouvenel, 18 June, telg. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 12. Tastu said that it was without provocation; Vasić, that it was caused by Serbians stealing up to the moat.

<sup>81</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, 21 June. Longworth made the point later that the Pasha, being a civilian, did not actually order the bombardment—for which the commandant of the fortress was technically responsible; Longworth to Bulwer, 30 July, "Corr. rel. Bomb. Belg.," no. 20, inclosure 1, *Parl. Papers*, 1863, vol. lxxiii. There is no doubt, however, that he assumed the responsibility of having instigated it

<sup>82</sup> *Arch. dip.*, 1863, vol. 2, pp. 115-6, or "Further Paper respecting the Bombardment of Belgrade, June 1862," *Parl. Papers*,

<sup>83</sup> Bulwer to Russell, no. 5, 18 June. F.O. 78/1653

<sup>84</sup> Moustier to Thouvenel, no. 96, 18 June. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 354

<sup>85</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 32, 27 June. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133. It may be noted, however, that Tastu blamed the Pasha for the profusion of sentries—even where they had not been stationed before, Tastu to Thouvenel, no. 87, 27 June. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 12. Yet such precautions were no less justified than the Serbian defences in the city.

<sup>86</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 33, 30 June, *ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 32

<sup>88</sup> Michael, while somewhat nervous, assured the Consuls that no disturbance would be initiated by him

<sup>89</sup> "It is an inevitable consequence of the bombardment that confidence has been killed for ever"; Tastu to Thouvenel, 27 June, telg. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 12.

<sup>90</sup> Longworth to Russell, no. 89, 19 Dec. F.O. 78/1673, *cf.* Tastu to Thouvenel, no. 97, 1 August. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 14. For this correspondence see "Corr. rel. Bomb. Belgrad."

<sup>91</sup> Longworth and Vefyk seemed to share the opinion that the Government was abetting the emigration; Tastu to Thouvenel, no. 92, 10 July. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 14; Longworth to Bulwer, 21 July, "Corr. rel. Bomb. Belg.," no. 28, inc. 1, *Parl. Papers*, 1863, vol. lxxiii.

<sup>92</sup> Writing on 3 July, Vasić said that not a third of the population had remained; Vasić to Rechberg, no. 35. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.

<sup>93</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 31.

<sup>94</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 32, 27 June. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.

<sup>95</sup> Tastu to Thouvenel, no. 89, 2 July. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 14.

<sup>96</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 31.

<sup>97</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 34, 10 July. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.

<sup>98</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 31.

<sup>99</sup> Tastu to Thouvenel, no. 92, 10 July. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade), vol. 14.

<sup>100</sup> Cowley to Russell, 17 June. *Russell Papers*, G. & D., 22/59, Publ. Rec. Off.

<sup>101</sup> Thouvenel to Moustier, no. 50, 20 June. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 354.

<sup>102</sup> Russell to Bloomfield, 18 June, telg. F.O. 7/625.

<sup>103</sup> Russell to Bloomfield, 18 and 25 June. *Russell Papers*, G. & D., 22/98, Publ. Rec. Off.

<sup>104</sup> Moustier to Thouvenel, no. 100, 24 June. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 354.

<sup>105</sup> Rechberg to Prokesch, 22 June, no. 1. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/77. The

British proposal was likewise opposed by Russia, according to the quoted statement of the Russian Minister at Constantinople; Moustier to Thouvenel, no. 100.

<sup>106</sup> Moustier to Thouvenel, 27 June, telg. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 354.

<sup>107</sup> Thouvenel to Moustier, no. 53, 27 June, *ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> Bulwer to Russell, 8 July, telg., F.O. 78/1653.

<sup>109</sup> Michael took his hand and said that he was not the man to do another an injustice and from what he had learned he had done him (Vasić) an injustice, Vasić to Rechberg, no. 33.

<sup>110</sup> Russell to Fane, 16 July. *Russell Papers*, G & D., 22/98. Russell had decided that Longworth had "lost his head" (as he expressed it).

<sup>111</sup> "Corr. rel. Bomb. Belg.," no. 20, inc 20.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 34.

<sup>113</sup> Russell to Bloomfield, no. 193, 10 July; F.O. 7/626; and to Bulwer, no. 392, 9 July. F.O. 78/1645.

<sup>114</sup> Bulwer to Russell, 9 July. *Russell Papers*, G. & D., 22/90, Pub. Rec. Off.

<sup>115</sup> Prokesch to Rechberg, no. 49 A-B, 3 July. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/76.

<sup>116</sup> Russell to Bulwer, 10 July, telg. F.O. 78/1645.

<sup>117</sup> Ali to the representatives, 20 July. *Arch. dip.*, 1863, vol. I, p. 239.

<sup>118</sup> *Aff. étr.* (Russie), vol. 228, f. 76.

# THE RUSSIAN AGRARIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917

## I

It would be a long story to recount the various features of the Russian Agrarian Revolution of 1917. It must suffice to record in the brief space of an article some of the predominant phases. No one, whether cognisant of Russian history or alternatively possessed of an intelligent interest in foreign affairs, can fail to understand the significance of such an epoch-making event. An epoch, indeed, passed away in October 1917. In the new era heralded by calamitous defeat, the insurgence of irrepressible rural disturbances played a major, if not the major, part.

It is possible at this distance from the year under review to consider outstanding occurrences and to chronicle the outbreaks that accompanied the downfall of the old régime. Materials are to hand—the result of the labours of archivists, largely inspired by the late Professor N. Pokrovsky. The efforts of K. G. Kotelnikov and V. L. Meller have enabled students of the contemporary Russian history to examine the formidable mass of telegraphic reports from and to the Central Government during 1917. *Krestyanskoe Dvizhenie v 1917 godu* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1927) affords original source-material arranged according to the successive months from March to October (O.S.)—the regional division of Russia's provinces following the well-known scheme of Semenov-Tyanshansky. Appropriate volumes of the historical journal *Krasny Arkhiv* help the investigator to develop points which *Krestyanskoe Dvizhenie* fails to elaborate. Personal memoirs help to lend "touches of nature" which the official language of an administrative machine may fail to convey.

Yet the crisp objectivity of the telegraphic reports of *Krestyanskoe Dvizhenie* is invaluable because the study of a contemporary period demands wary walking.

It is undoubtedly of no small interest to follow the state of mind of the Central Provisional Government (or Governments) during the year under review. To examine such a state of mind is rendered comparatively easy by a study of the Appendix to the above-mentioned *Krestyanskoe Dvizhenie*. There one finds a series of Circulars of the Ministry of the Interior, Chief Department of Affairs of the militia and other authorities<sup>1</sup> To read them with appreciation

<sup>1</sup> "Tsirkulyary Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del, Glavnogo Upravleniya po Delam Militsii i Drugikh Vedomstv"

of Russia's situation at the moment, is to understand the dynamic process of a revolution. What a change from the rural placidity of early March to the irresistible and "elemental" peasant discontent of October that robbed the social order of its last support!

On 17 March (O.S.) the Ministry of the Interior had asked local authorities for information as to outstanding occurrences. On 20 March, Prince Lvov, Prime Minister of the Provisional Government, appears upon the scene for the first time. He expressed his anxiety for the regular and peaceful progress of affairs in the cantons (*volosti*). Pending the completion of temporary arrangements for the formation of the cantonal *zemstvo*, he therefore empowered them to organise cantonal committees. Such cantonal committees would temporarily administer local affairs.

Somewhat ominous even at that early date in Russia's revolutionary development were the new Provisional Government's instructions that "the means of support utilised would depend upon local conditions, influenced by the vitality, working capacity and respect inspired among the inhabitants by the respective institutions." Until the above-mentioned "cantonal *zemstvo*" was established, the sphere of cantonal authority was to remain unchanged. Special attention was to be devoted to the regular organisation of cantonal committees to secure uninterrupted army supplies, the maintenance of social order and the unimpaired functioning of the cantonal machinery.

It is clear that the Government knew the significance of peasant collaboration which the *volost* alone could secure. Recollections of 1905-6-7 were sufficient to cause pessimists to wonder whether the impact of a discontented peasantry and a beaten army upon a weakened administration would have similar results in 1917. At that date in March the future was still uncertain.

By the end of March a disquieting phenomenon caused concern in the capital. Prisoners of war—a useful factor in the economy of estates depleted of normal supplies of labour—began to disappear. Prince Urusov's request to the local authorities to obtain the Village Militia's assistance revealed the Central Government's anxiety. Was such assistance likely to be obtained? The Village was not interested in maintaining a labour-reserve which tended to lower its own rates of pay. In the Official Circular of this date, a significant mention was made of the possible intervention of military forces.

By 3 April a new note of anxiety appeared in official documents. It was little more than a month since Nicholas II's abdication. The planting of seed for the harvest was imminent. Army and people

depended upon that as on no other single economic factor. The Provisional Government issued an "appeal to citizens." That appeal received the support of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies—which was symptomatic of the dyarchy which ruled in Petrograd until October. From the contents of the Minister's Circular one might assume that interference with estates in the vicinity of villages had already occurred, even if information upon that subject were not obtainable elsewhere.

The "tenour of village life" was deemed worthy of inquiry by the Central Government on 11 April. The suggested systematisation of reports itself conclusively reveals by internal evidence the various types of disorder that menaced authority over the length and breadth of the decaying Empire. An "agrarian movement" was now definitely recognised. Its phases were now catalogued—infringement of land laws; unauthorised acts affecting owners, landowners and land leaseholders; unauthorised ploughing of land; incendiarism; illicit timber-cutting; removal of farm implements; "cattle-lifting"; destruction of boundary marks; and, finally, trespassing.

To such qualitative analysis of the Russian agrarian situation, a quantitative survey is a useful supplement. Statistics which illuminate the period are to be extracted from *Information on the number and nature of violations of the law based on the sources of the Chief Administration of affairs of the Militia for March–September, 1917*<sup>2</sup>. In March one finds only seventeen cases of infringement of land laws, whether implying attempted seizure of estates, interference with timber rights or the removal of labour from estates. Other general acts of criminal intent—involving burglary, robbery, deaths during disturbances, unauthorised arrests and searches, not to mention liberation of convicted prisoners—amounted to fifty-six cases. (The second figure is inclusive of urban disturbances.)

The month of April showed a considerable loosening of social discipline. Landed property rights were infringed in 204 cases. Yet cases of violence leading to fatal results or implying robbery or incitement of the populace to riot, amounted to 32 cases only. The figures for March and April cannot be directly compared, since some instances of violence were placed under the heading of landed-property infringements. Despite this minor reservation, the totals for March and April (73 and 236 cases, respectively) need little comment. A great change had evidently occurred in the countryside.

Numerous telegrams from private individuals told later of

<sup>2</sup> *Vedomosti o chislennosti i rode pravonarushenii po svedeniyam glavnogo upravleniya po delam militsii za Mart–Sentyabr 1917g.*



arrests and of the unauthorised activities of village communities. Cantonal committees, even before 13 April, were depriving land-owners, both large and small, of "the possibility of executing their duty to the State." Undefined control over rural affairs was already exercised by the village communities themselves. A "land question" now appeared. An "unauthorised settlement" of this problem "in the interests of the population itself concerned in the matter"—a "fortuitous arrangement" governed solely by a "narrowly local point of view"—was a prospect upon which the administration of Prince Lvov could not but frown. The liberty of the individual, it appeared, no longer rested upon the sanctions of the old legal system. The consolidation of the new régime was menaced by unauthorised decrees—presumably of cantonal and village communities. It is abundantly clear that Provincial Commissaries had an unenviable task, suspended as they were in mid-air between a weakening authority above and the seething multitudes below. Dualism of government was not an unshared peculiarity of Petrograd.

As early as 6 May a fuel crisis had arisen—menacing both army and town. Local village committees were asserting a right as old as serfdom to the produce of forested areas in their neighbourhood. Yet it must not be imagined that peasant aggrandisement was the predominant factor in this crisis. Transport, of necessity, played an important part, as did the decreasing supplies of mineral fuel. It was the old Transport Regulations of 1916 that were now, in May 1917, invoked to cure a serious disease.

On 8 May the Provincial Commissaries were reminded that they must see "that the Central Government was always in touch with events." The first "All-Russian Peasant Congress" met in Petrograd in May. It must have been a matter of concern to Prince Lvov's Administration to know how far any potential radicalism among the delegates was likely to be supported in the villages. Lenin, too, was present, trying his ground and seeing what assistance his party might derive from the "radical bourgeois peasant who had not yet territorialised himself." The Bolshevik leader's reception at the Congress must have caused relief in the first post-revolutionary Cabinet. When Lenin advocated direct seizure of power, the assembled delegates are reported to have laughed. Strange how soon, in a revolutionary crisis, what seems ridiculous in spring will seem practicable in autumn!

Spirit depots were causing disquiet before 9 May—riotous behaviour inevitably becoming even more dangerous in their vicinity.

Yet the First Provisional Government was not inclined to allow the preventive destruction of such commercially valuable stores.

What directly affected the Army was the shortage, during March and April, of fodder. Brusilov, Commander-in-Chief of the South-west Front, had already complained of its insufficiency.

If the picture presented in the Official Circular of 12 May is not exaggerated—and evidence from other sources does not lead one to suppose it can be—social dissolution was already not a potential but an actual phenomenon. Illegal arrests and searches, expulsion of estate staffs, destruction of estates, robberies and violence were the order of the day. "Respected officials" were no longer treated with respect. Various organisations were assuming governmental powers. Levies were being imposed by local authorities. Mobs were being incited to attack government representatives. Cleavages were appearing based on class, racial or religious distinctions.

Still more definite proof of Russia's dangerous position was the announcement that "wholesale desertions were rendering the Army impotent as a fighting force." That Army, one must not forget, was a peasant Army. Desertions on such a scale were bound to increase the more militant elements of the villages that were soon to demand "Peace and Land."

Could Guchkov's successor, Kerensky, keep the Army on a military footing? Could Shingarev's successor, Chernov, assuage rural passions and hold in leash the peasant mastiff?

It is not often understood what a revolution was implied in the resignation of Prince Lvov (7 July). To have a Socialist Prime Minister gave Russia a unique position in the political world of Europe. To have a "narodnik" Minister of Agriculture was also an innovation, at which the worshippers of the popular communal land tenure in the sixties and seventies of the 19th century would have marvelled no less than their opponents. The more conservative elements of the First Provisional Government were willing to step aside if only the avowed representatives of (peasant) socialism could control the village—now almost uncontrollable. Could Russia be kept on a war-footing regardless of the disasters of the previous years? Or would 1917 prove to be the epilogue to the drama whose prologue had been 1905? Still more sand had to run through the glass before one could tell.

The head of the First Provisional Government publicly explained on 9 July the position which led to his resignation. His words are of import as indicating the failure of that Government's attempt to

base itself upon personalities emanating from the last and fourth Duma of Nicholas II. It is certain that, in Prince Lvov's Administration, Milyukov and Guchkov had played, or had intended to play, more prominent parts. Yet it was the increasing impotence of the Government in agrarian affairs that drove Prince Lvov from office and, indirectly at least, gave the "trudovik" Social Revolutionary, Kerensky, the reversion of the leadership.

"Although I believe" (wrote the retiring Prime Minister in the *Novoe Vremya* of 9 July) "that land ought to be handed over to the peasants, I cannot agree either with the content or the spirit of the land laws submitted by the Minister of Agriculture (i.e. Chernov) to the Provisional Government for ratification. The Provisional Government has declared that the occupation of the land should be organised in the interests of the working classes and of national welfare, but the Minister seems to me to depart from this principle and introduce laws which undermine the people's conception of justice. Far from combating aggressive tendencies or bringing order into agrarian relations, he appears to justify the disastrous seizures of property that are taking place throughout Russia and aims at confronting the Constituent Assembly with a *fait accompli*. To my mind, the laws proposed by him are part of a party programme and not measures necessary for the good of the country. I consider the Minister of Agriculture's land programme disastrous for the country, for it will ruin and undermine it both morally and materially, and I very much fear that it will create throughout Russia the state of things against which the Provisional Government has been, during the last few days, energetically struggling in Petrograd."

One is left in no doubt from the above letter that it was firstly the agrarian agitation and secondly the Social Revolutionary Party's increasing influence that caused Prince Lvov's withdrawal from office. Until July the advocates of a modernised "cherny peredel" (general redivision of all lands) stood behind the self-determination of the various cantonal and village assemblies of Russia. The views of Chernov, one of the principal theoreticians of the Party and the object of the retiring Prime Minister's attack, naturally form a subject of interest in the study of the period. At a lecture delivered on 30 April, 1917, in the Shanyavsky University, Moscow ("Agrarny vopros i sovremenny moment," reproduced in *Zemlya i Volya*, No. 44, Moscow), Chernov had re-emphasised a fact that everyone knew—that the Russian Army was a "peasant"—a "village army." Upon the village fell the burdens of the bloodshed. It was this "peasant army" that was especially interested in the

land question. Rumours of land redistributions had even in the first two months after the revolution caused disquiet and desertions—desertions that threatened to impair the fighting-machine, already lacking in "morale" after the defeats of 1915 and the collapse of Roumania in the previous autumn. The emphasis of Chernov's remarks lay in his assertion that the agrarian question had a vital significance for the Army. The land question (he asserted) naturally stood in the centre of all the organised tasks of the moment. He considered that the prospective strength of labour democracy in the future Constituent Assembly would lead to another page in Russia's chronicle which should reproduce "the glorious history of the First and Second Dumas." He advised the slogan, "Land through the Constituent Assembly," while envisaging an elastic form of the oft-discussed "general redivision" based upon the labour capacity or actual size of the peasant family. His concluding declaration that "the peasantry itself was the real autocrat of Russia" ("Sam narod eto istinny Samoderzhets Rossii") was a statement the truth of which was never more evident than in the succeeding October, when he himself was hurled from power by those who utilised the forces that had placed his party in office.

If this article were not meant simply to summarise the main features of the peasant risings of 1917, it would be instructive to pursue the implications of the opposition of Lvov to Chernov—an opposition which showed that the forces of agrarian discontent were no longer latent. In fact, a new 1905 had dawned, this time considerably magnified.

The quantitative significance of the peasant aggrandisement in May and June certainly gave the First Provisional Government little cause for optimism. Compared with the 204 cases in April, May provided 259 cases of law-breaking in landed property relationships. In contrast with the 32 cases recorded in April of violence or destruction involving person or property, there were 152 cases in May. The month of June certainly showed no decrease in the first type of offence, of which there were 577 instances. Of the second type, however, a decrease is recorded, there being 112 instances.

It was in July, however, the month when the more conservative elements were in retreat, leaving the agrarian socialists and moderate Social Democrats masters of the field, that the alarming total of 1,122 cases was registered as the number of infringements of landed property rights in the Russian dominions. Of this amount, 1,100 instances occurred in European Russia alone. Seizure of property

or assault upon the person represented 387 cases, of which the majority (342) were again in Europe.<sup>3</sup>

It may be pertinent to note here that the "organised" or "inspired" nature of the peasant movements had now reached its acme. The more moderate Social Revolutionaries, as champions of peasant rights, were necessarily no longer interested in stirring up the peasantry against a government whose leader, Kerensky, was their own man and in which their ideas were admittedly predominant. Yet later months, from August to October, were to make it questionable whether the nominally triumphant party had in fact led the agrarian offensive. One might be forgiven for supposing that they had simply walked in front of spontaneously advancing hosts. It was certainly no easy task to control the peasant rear when the efforts of the new head of the Provisional Government had so signally failed to galvanise the front into a patriotic offensive.

On 18 July, H. G. Tsereteli,<sup>4</sup> not long returned from his Siberian exile to which he had been despatched with other socialist members of the Second Duma ten years before, issued an appeal for order in rural areas. The conditions reported to him from the countryside menaced "the army, the country and the existence of the State itself." Proceeding, he declared that "Revolutionary Russia must be secured from hostile action without and cold and hunger within." He deprecated illegal redivisions of land which, he stated, threatened the food and fuel supplies. But despite the ability of Kerensky and Tsereteli to control the capital, the thousands of village communities were a different proposition.

July witnessed the culmination of peasant self-determination as far as it was encouraged by parties, such as that of the Social Revolutionaries, or by persons speaking in that party's name. For every hundred cases of peasant infringement of the old legal arrangements, March had reported only six to be inspired. In April, 33 cases were supposed to be of organised character. May announced 67 instances of that type; June, 86; July, 120

The Social Revolutionary Party, together with its Social Democratic allies (or the representatives of these parties in power), considered the prosecution of the war of greater moment than the drastic rearrangement of the social and economic relations of the village. The Government now relied upon "the fulness of its

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ved. Glav. Uprav. po del. milits. dopoln. soobsch. gazet. za iyul mes. 1917g. Prodolz. Krest. Dvizh.*

<sup>4</sup> Then Minister of the Interior.—Ed.

revolutionary authority to preserve the whole land fund unimpaired until the convocation of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly which will transfer the land into the hands of those working it." If one recalls the pre-revolutionary decade and the stormy debates of the First Duma, one understands fully the social implications of the above announcement. To quell peasant disturbances and to persuade the war-weary army to resume the conflict at the Front, the Government categorically adopted the programme of the "Trudoviki" (Labour Group) of Russia's first modern parliament. Certainly the prospective redistribution rested with the so far unconvened legislature. The cantonal and village assemblies were offered a promissory note to be honoured later. The value received was to be renewed peasant support of the war-aims of the Second Provisional Government.

Simultaneously the Government challenged the authority of the multiplicity of "executive committees" that had sprung mushroom-like from the soil of Russia at Nicholas II's abdication. Of these spontaneously acting bodies the Soviet in Petrograd was but one. Cantonal committees were now ubiquitous. Provincial and District Commissaries were becoming either figure-heads or puppets in their hands. The Food and Land Committees, responsible to their central bodies in the capital, were, indeed, recognised by the Government. It was in fact A. I. Shingarev, a Constitutional Democrat (Liberal), who had promulgated the decree that instituted them. Chernov, his successor, followed in his footsteps. These Food and Land Committees found little support locally, save where their personnel either coincided with, or was controlled by, the cantonal or village executive committees. The inability of the Central Government to guide these local committees led to the ultimate elimination of Kerensky and Chernov in October.

The ensuing months witnessed a series of attempts to restore the authority of Petrograd over Russia by the application of military force. General Kornilov now (on 31 July) made generally applicable to the whole war zone a "Compulsory Decree" (No. 737) which had originally been declared, on 8 July, to cover only the South-western Front. Railway transport, the Commander-in-Chief asserted, was in ruins. Food for the troops and forage for the animals was still deficient. "The agrarian question can in no wise be decided in unauthorised fashion with the use of violence."

Whether the cause lay in the increased firmness of the Central Government's handling of affairs, as witnessed by the above decree, or whether the requirements of harvesting turned village minds to

their usual economic labours, there did occur a decrease in the number of reported cases of rural illegalities. Whereas July had shown 1,122 breaches of land laws, August reported only 691. On the contrary, acts of seizure accompanied by violence increased from 387 in July to 440 in August.<sup>5</sup>

The question of the gathering of the harvest now (by 2 September) caused anxiety in Petrograd. The Minister of Agriculture, Chernov, required Provincial and District Commissaries to prevent any interference in that operation by cantonal committees. On 26 August, General Kornilov made his premature attempt to seize Petrograd and stay the progress of revolutionary events. His action and the subsequent loss of prestige which Kerensky experienced actually helped to "deepen" the Revolution and make certain future events almost inevitable. The army continued to disintegrate. The garrisons in the rear showed less and less inclination to act against their village compatriots.

On 8 September, Kerensky, in his capacity of Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, reiterated what the now deposed Kornilov had earlier decreed. There was clearly increasing anarchy in every sphere of rural life. A food and fuel crisis threatened both front and rear. Local Commissaries were definitely instructed to apply for military assistance if necessary.

If account is taken of the numerical value of the breaches of land laws in September, it is found that the previously-mentioned decline in August continued in the succeeding month. The August total of 691 cases sank to 629 in September. Harvesting, as before, probably affected the figures. Yet the number of cases of seizure accompanied by violence—certainly a truer reflex of the Government's weakness and of the loosening of social bonds—rose from 440 in August to 958 in the next month.<sup>6</sup>

October presented a catastrophic appearance. A state of civil war virtually existed. The Ministry of the Interior, at this date under N. D. Avksentyev, recognised that "the internal position of the country is continually growing weaker" (7 October). Commissaries were asked to endeavour "to unite the well-disposed elements of the population in the fight against increasing anarchy." The "active support of the population" was essential. Certainly that was the one factor that the Government had failed to secure. "The foreign enemy (it was proclaimed) was penetrating further

<sup>5</sup> *Krest. Dviz. Prodolz. Ved. Glav. Uprav. po del. Milits. za avgust 1917g.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ved. Glav. Uprav. po del. milits. za sentyabr mes. 1917g. dopol. soobshch. gazet. Prodolz. Krest Dvizh. v 1917g.*

and further into the heart of the country." The Government was convinced that "all must experience immediate alarm over the disorders which were happening everywhere in the wildest forms." The Russian people "did not show any signs of a protective instinct (*spasitelnovo podema*) which love of country, dread for its fate and a sense of self-preservation should inspire." Inertia among the villagers menaced the authority of the Provisional Government. Every social organisation should be asked to co-operate with the Provincial Commissaries in restoring order. The new cantonal *zemstva* were one of the expedients on which Petrograd counted to retain peasant loyalty. But that new institution—despite its basis of universal suffrage—could not withstand the village executive committees.

As a last despairing hope it was announced that "selected and trustworthy military men, released from service or given leave to join," were to supplement the notoriously feeble militia.<sup>7</sup> The peasantry sank into a political coma from which the prospective loss of its gains during the year under review alone could awaken it almost twelve months later.

Even parish churches were exposed to attack. Monastic and church land had not escaped expropriation during the period of the supremacy of local executive committees. So alarming had the situation become that the Militia Department now (on 7 October) instructed the Commissaries that the provisions of the "General Act Governing the Peasant Estate," as set forth in the Collection of Laws (*Svod Zakonov*), should be utilised "to compel village communities to maintain guards over local churches and monasteries." Had the old and oft-quoted peasant esteem for the religion of his fathers failed to survive in the general chaos? One can draw no other conclusion.

Upon the question of the danger to the public peace owing to the riotous destruction of spirit stores it appears that even on the eve of the fatal 25 October the Government hesitated to sanction their official demolition in view of the consequent financial loss to the Treasury.

Even more disquieting was the food situation. The "consuming" provinces (not to mention Petrograd and Moscow) feared starvation. The provinces of the south and east that produced a grain surplus were unable to secure adequate manufactured articles to warrant a continuance of internal trade. The *quid pro quo* was

<sup>7</sup> *Vestnik Vrem. Prav.* 10 (23) Oct., 1917. No. 173 (219) *Prilozhenie Krest. Dvizh.*, p. 422.



absent. This breakdown of economic relations menaced what little chance there was of maintaining the active army at the Front. Military assistance was offered to the local Commissaries, who were to employ troops at double the usual rates. The result resembled that which met Canute when he rebuked the waves. Even reinforcements in the form of reserve regiments failed to stem the tide of rural rebellion.

The month of October provided 42.1 per cent. of the total number of cases of destructive activity registered since Nicholas II's fall from power<sup>8</sup>. The number of estates affected by the agrarian movement increased in September by 30.2 per cent. over August, and, in October, by 43.2 per cent. over September. The period of pseudo-legality, of ostensibly legal sequestration of private estates, gave place in the last two months of Kerensky's administration to one of real peasant war.

The War Ministry issued an order on 11 October (through Major-General Verkhovsky) wherein existing conditions were graphically described. "Ruin in the rear, destructive riots, burning of grain in transit, violence and atrocities threaten the Front Line with hunger and cold, supplies of food and accoutrements being held up." The Ministry foreshadowed "the early use of the active army to preserve order within the country." The whole territory of the "Republic" was now divided into areas under reserve brigades and regiments. To the military heads of these forces the civilian Commissaries were instructed to turn for reinforcements. Specially selected men from among the ranks of those who had earned distinction at the Front were to reorganise the Militia. "To the trusty hands of these defenders of their country, citizens would (the Minister believed) be ready to leave the preservation of all they held most dear—liberty and life."

The Provisional Government of Kerensky had only four more days to live. Its final decree (21 October) exhorted Commissaries to use military force to quell disturbances. Cavalry were to be obtained from district headquarters. "Firm and determined action without the slightest delay is needed to localise and suppress disorders."

On 25 October Kerensky was driven from Petrograd. Lenin's Party seized power. It immediately consolidated its position by the issue (in collaboration with the Left Social Revolutionaries) of the "Land Decree" of 26 October. The frequently discussed "cherny peredel" (general redistribution) was at last officially recognised by a Russian Government.

L. A. OWEN.

<sup>8</sup> *Krest. Dvizh. : Predislovie*, p. 8.

## ROUMANIAN BALLADS AND SLAVONIC EPIC POETRY

WITHIN the last fifty years or so a great change has come over scholars in Roumania, an altogether more sober and scientific view being now taken of the relations—cultural, historical and philological—between Roumania and the neighbouring nations. It has come to be realised that all these nations form one group; though ethnically divided, spiritually they all seem more akin to one another than would have been allowed by anyone some fifty years ago.

The beginning of the 18th century saw the rise in Transylvania of a new movement which, as I have shown elsewhere, had its roots in the desire of the Catholic Church to win over the Roumanian nation. It was a very shrewd move on the part of those who wished to detach Roumania from the Orthodox Church and join her to the Catholic, and up to a certain point it had a definite result among the Roumanians of Transylvania. There the Roumanians were split into two religious sections, those who belonged to the Orthodox Church and those who became united to the Catholic. What influence could be more decisive in its result—so the argument ran—than to wean the people from the old Cyrillic script and thus make a definite break with the Orthodox Church? This was the beginning of what may be called the battle of the alphabet, a battle which at one time assumed a very curious complexion. People who would not subscribe to the new doctrine were ostracised; anyone who dared breathe a word about the Slav element and its influence on the Roumanian language, or draw attention to the old literature printed and written in the old Slav script, was considered a traitor to the national cause. Few understood the innermost meaning of this new move, and I believe I was the first to show that philology was but a cloak for a deep-laid scheme. With all the means in their power, and aided by a superior classical education, the leaders of the clergy especially did their very best so to transform and to alter the character of the language that anyone reading a work like the grammar of Treboniu Laurian would scarcely recognise it as Roumanian at all. It is characteristic of the time that the two men, Laurian and Maxim, who adopted Latin names, relegated to a glossary all the words which they wished to see erased from the language. They never dreamed that this glossary would be the most valuable contribution they have made to Roumanian

philology, containing as it does the most important and most popular words in the language. The name of Miklosich was a bugbear; and when Cihac published his great dictionary it was scarcely allowed to be sold.

These are things of the past; yet it would be interesting to write a history of the various Roumanian systems of orthography and the successive attempts to transcribe into Latin letters the old Slavonic script so long used by the Roumanians. The result was that the whole ancient literature came to be almost forgotten; as regards manuscript material, I believe that except for B. P. Hășdeu and Cogălniceanu, I was the first to use this enormous and rich source for drawing up a history of Roumanian literature. Fortunately people no longer fight shy of recognising the importance of both Slav and other foreign influences on the formation of the Roumanian language and on the Roumanian nation itself. Above all, that psychical unity which finds its expression in the popular lore is beginning to be better understood. It is the folk-lore, so fundamental a factor in the culture of all these peoples, that shows how close the affinity between them has been. Folk-lore, in its widest sense and properly understood and studied, seems to be the best antidote against the extravagant nationalism so rampant in our times. It shows that the peoples never lived separately from one another. They gave and took; they never asked whence a thing came; if it appealed to them they would take it, be it a song or a story, a practice or a ceremony, or what is called a superstition. The folk-lore of South-Eastern Europe is still a rich mine which has not yet been fully quarried, but the hot wind which blows from the West is withering up the flowers and plants that grow on the field, and the modern culture which is replacing the old robust beliefs and practices will in time destroy it altogether. Many destructive influences are at work. To say nothing of the modern schoolmaster and the clergy, political passions run high, and there is, too, the ridicule which modern man heaps upon the various manifestations of the life of the past generations. It can only be hoped that the garnering of the old treasures has not been too long delayed. The fountain which was flowing so richly some 50 years ago is in danger of drying up.

I have selected for this brief study, which shows the intimate connection between the different nations in South-Eastern Europe, a few Roumanian ballads. They are epic poems; and it would take me too far were I to investigate the remote parallels to them, for their study raises a problem which apparently has not yet been

envisaged. Nothing seems to be so closely connected with the country and the people as these ballads. They tell of a local hero, or it may be of an incident, which would seem to have happened in one particular part of the world. The hero is a national, a local hero. No one has yet sought to investigate whether the ballad does not form part of the same cycle of folk-lore which includes the fairy tale. If that should prove true, studies should be made not merely from the local, but also the comparative point of view. Some of the writers on epic poems, or rather epic ballads, have adduced curious parallels between Serbian or Roumanian ballads and some Scottish ballads, and have touched on the parallelism of style and *motifs*. Every epic poem is for them a drama or a romance with its own particular setting; the achievements of the hero are set forth with their peculiar individuality; by his victory in love or in battle, by his success or failure, he becomes endeared to his own people, his own race.

There was a time when fairy tales collected, say, somewhere in the Balkans or even further afield in the East, were compared with fairy tales in the rest of Europe. But science has moved in this question also, and it is no longer legitimate to compare a fairy tale in one part of the world with one found thousands of miles away. Comparison is now made with the fairy tales found in contiguous countries. Thus a real chain of transmission or borrowing is slowly forged. Ballads and epic poems in particular have so much purely local character that it would be unreasonable to look for a connection with those current in distant and separate countries; no one might dream that they could be transmitted from nation to nation. It is not yet realised that local colouring is of local origin. The elements borrowed from the popular beliefs of one nation have taken the place of those incorporated from another. The heroes who played a great part in the imagination of one people of local origin might have been changed for those which have come from a distant country. On a general scale such a substitution had already taken place when the Merovingian cycle of romances and epic poems came to be that of the Carolingian. Almost the same deeds and the same actions, the same encounters and the same adventures occur in both, the only difference being that new names better known to the minstrels of the period of Charlemagne or later were substituted for those which belonged to a more ancient period.

I am moved to this consideration (to which I have given fuller expression elsewhere) by the study of two valuable books which have appeared recently :—one by Dr. Subotić on Serbian popular

poetry, and the other by Mrs. Chadwick on Russian epic poetry. The former deals with Serbian epic poems having the battle of Kosovo as its central *motif*, while the latter gives us a complete survey of the Russian *byliny*, starting from the oldest cycles of the Kiev period but bringing us down practically to modern times. Dr. Subotić is carried away by his enthusiasm and local patriotism, and except for some remote parallels with certain Scottish ballads and a slight reference to Homer, he pays no attention to the whole of the epic poetry of the Balkan Peninsula. He cannot find anything equal to the flight of imagination and poetic picturesqueness of the Serbian ballads, which for him outrival every other; nay, the very existence of any other is scarcely touched upon. It seems as if all poetry had been concentrated on the Serbian epic, and that the lays current among the Bulgars, Albanians, Greeks and Turks are of no consequence whatsoever. Serbian poetry appears to him self-contained, a unique poetic island in a sea of indifferent poetry. But he himself has realised that the story in the Serbian epic is devoid of all historical evidence. The whole description of the battle, its alleged historical importance, the role played by the various leaders—everything has been entirely changed in the poem. There is really no basis for the details which from meagre beginnings have been elaborated and developed. There is no doubt, however, that careful examination would show that every detail and every *motif* found in that undeniably beautiful poem can be traced to various influences which have been brought to bear upon the popular minstrel. Recent investigations have gone very far to prove that the real setting of an epic poem does not depend so much on historic veracity as on the power of imagination and the education of the minstrel. And by education we do not mean book-education, although much depends upon material which slowly filters from written to oral literature. The characters and capabilities of the minstrel in the form which an epic poem takes are now becoming more and more evident, as is apparent from Mrs. Chadwick's book. The environment in which the minstrel grows up, his social standing, even his age, his general occupation and many other subtle influences, all work together to give to the poem the form in which it is taken down in writing, and a careful investigation reveals the fact that all the Balkan nations, on whichever bank of the Danube they are, have the same characteristics.

No adequate judgment of the merit of any of these epic ballads can be formed unless a comparative study is initiated. Only when that is done can that which is of local national character be

distinguished from that which is borrowed. Only then can we determine what bears the imprint of the minstrel's genius, the stamp of the nation where the poem is sung. The substance may have been borrowed from elsewhere, but so transformed and localised as to become an entirely local product. It would be necessary to study the Byzantine heroic poem of Digenis Akritas; to it and to some of the Turkish ballads one would have to look for the unravelling of the problem of the origin and character of the ballads found among the nations in the South-East of Europe. They are reflected in the Albanian just as strongly as in the Bulgarian; only when all are studied will the real merit of each be clearly evinced. Such a study, moreover, will contribute to the elucidation of the problem of the origin and development of these epic poems. The process is everywhere the same. We need only go back to the *Shahnameh* of Firdausi, to the romances of Antar of the Arabs, to chivalrous romances of Christian Europe, to find similar adventures and similar incidents. This cannot be the result of mere coincidence. There has been a constant coming and going, taking and giving which seems hitherto to have escaped the eyes of the student. But it would be impossible to attempt so far-reaching an investigation, covering as it would practically the whole of the poetic and epic literature of the middle ages down to modern times. This must be a task for scholars for many a day to come. The problem they have to solve is comparative, and so is analogous to the comparative study of fairy tales; though perhaps a little more complicated, it is essentially the same, for how otherwise comes it that many nations, apparently living so far away from one another, especially in Europe, should show so curious a similarity in some of the most important elements of their epic poetry?

But I must limit myself to the South-East of Europe. There we have on the one hand a large literature of *byliny* (a term I would translate by *res gestae*, the story of things that have happened). It is not necessary here to enter upon the history of the discovery of these *byliny* by Rybnikov and his successors, but let it suffice to say that they were discovered much later than Vuk Karadžić discovered the Serbian ballads. Leaving aside the fact that we have almost a chronological sequence of such *byliny*, it has been found that the same minstrel, when reciting the same *byliny* some years later, freely introduced so numerous and great changes, including new incidents, that except for the framework and the general *motifs* we seem to have a new work of his own poetic imagination. Moreover, the court minstrel will describe the hero as a knight, the merchant as

a trader, the soldier as a man in arms, and so on. Such poems have been so coloured and changed by the poet that one begins to doubt what has hitherto been unchallenged, the reliability of the popular memory.

It has been customary to believe that certain tales, songs, etc., and especially some historical incidents, have been retained almost unchanged throughout the ages, and that a tale which a minstrel told may be taken as historical fact. Here again it would take me too far to follow up this train of thought. More and more does my conviction grow that belief in the popular memory and its ability to retain historical incidents largely rests on a fallacy, as great a fallacy nearly as that oral literature is independent of written. The reverse seems indeed to be the case. Outlines found in written literature are quite sufficient to offer to the poetically gifted minstrel the entire material upon which to weave his narrative. He is not so scrupulous as to enquire whence came the material; comparative investigation has indeed distinctly shown the entire indifference of the minstrel to the sources of his information and *motifs*. Religious literature and hymns are often a source and a model for *byliny* and other popular songs. The discovery of the Russian *byliny* startled Russian society just as much as Vuk's discovery startled his countrymen. Many a scholar has tried to unravel the mystery of their origin, but again it has been found that they have countless parallels in the epic literature of neighbouring countries. Influences have been found from Finnish, Polish, Ukrainian ballad literature on the one hand, from Tartar, Mongol and Persian on the other. But in spite of much research no definite conclusion has been reached—for the simple reason that the point which I now raise has never been appreciated, namely, that ballads have shared the fate of other popular literature which is now clothed in a local garb. They are the product of migration from country to country, though the question may be left open whether it is the West or the East which has given most. In the same way there is still no established doctrine for a large number of popular tales. Their origin points mostly to the East. Dr. Subotić has not failed to find also some parallels to the *byliny*. But how can that parallelism be explained? The Serbs have not borrowed from the Russians on Lake Onega, close to the Finnish border, nor is the opposite supposition credible. It is, however, legitimate to try to connect these various epic poems with one another by finding any links and transitions extending from the South to the North, and we must always bear in mind that the people never troubled themselves much about the origin of a tale or

a poem. It was quite indifferent to them whether they repeated the story as it was told to them or whether they were reading the story of Bevis of Southampton under the form of Buovo d'Ancona. Leaving aside the problem of the Russian broadsides (*dubochnye kartinki*), they delighted in a Western romance in its chapbook form, so long as the heroes and their adventures appealed to them. The prowess of the knight, the cunning of the rustic, the clever action of a woman, exercised a definite charm upon the people, and they never asked whence they came and to what nation they belonged; a change of name was quite sufficient, and often even the name has not been changed. It has been taken over by the people so long as the story appealed to them.

My intention here is to show that ballad literature must be studied in its entirety. I submit that one cannot study Serbian popular literature nor Russian *byliny* without taking into account the epic poems of the neighbouring countries. There must be an unbroken chain, and in that chain I would now insist on the Roumanian link. It is most instructive from many points of view. In the first place it bears out the fact that people do not hesitate to take some of the heroic figures from the Balkan nations and treat them as if they were Roumanian. They may even retain the name, as in the poem of Baba Novac, who is equally a Bulgarian and a Serbian hero, and yet he is sung by the Roumanian minstrels at the court of the Boyars just as he is sung by them at the court of the rich men south of the Danube. The setting is very much alike. The pictures show the same poetic imagination as those which so beautifully characterise the latter.

In the present article I restrict myself to translating three Roumanian epic poems; the first traces a theme which is very popular among the people of the Balkans, the second is almost a copy of one of the ancient *byliny* of the oldest cycle, and the third describes fights with the Turks such as are common in Balkan epic poetry. It will be seen that Roumanian epic literature, though written in a language entirely different from those current elsewhere in the Balkans, has *motifs* which can be closely paralleled, and that it cannot be properly appreciated unless the literature of all the nations living, as it were, in a kind of spiritual unity be thoroughly studied. In the first ballad we have a very old and popular theme. A youth is in peril of death. Father and mother are appealed to in vain to save him from the danger at the risk of their own lives. They hesitate, but then the bride or the girl whom he loves steps in and she does not shrink from risking her life. She saves her



beloved from the apparently imminent danger or from real death, and she is accordingly rewarded in the usual manner. It reminds us of the theme of the Alcestes of Euripides, and is one that has just been carefully studied by G. Megas in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*. The author has adduced a large number of tales and ballads from the Balkan peninsula. He was not aware that a ballad with the same subject and in many variants exists in Roumanian literature. Whether it goes back to the ancient drama of Euripides or whether it is due to later influences and traditions, lies outside the scope of this article. It is sufficient, however, to show how close the connection is between Roumanian and Balkan epic poetry. No doubt the Roumanians have got it from the South, and it also shows the close connection between the epic poem and the fairy tale.

The second is a romance which is almost identical with one of the *byliny* of the Kiev cycle called "The Absence of Dobrynya" (Russian Heroic Poetry, p. 81). The youth goes away, leaves the young woman and asks her to wait a certain time for his return. She waits, but during the last few days she is prevailed upon to marry another man. At the wedding feast her lost lover returns. He is not recognised. He drops the ring into a cup of wine and passes it to the bride, who drinks it and recognises the lover who has returned. That this should have become the subject of two ballads in two epic poems of Russia and Roumania is also not a matter of sheer coincidence. In Roumania there is also a tragic ending, for here it is the married woman who forgets her lost husband and is very severely punished for it; and then there is the heroic poem of Baba Novac, where the name shows that it belonged to the large cycle of Bulgarian poetry. It is a graphic description of a fight with the Turks. This is one of the most popular *motifs* of the ballads of that country. The description of this fight between the Turks and the Christians has not been changed throughout the ages, and the people liked to listen with joy to the defeat of the Turks and the wonderful exploits of the almost supernatural hero.

One is also strongly struck by the similarity in style and form—the broken verse and the repetition of certain phrases which serve as a *point d'appui* for the minstrel, starting as it were a new episode. Precisely the same manner of recitation with constant repetition of certain speeches is also characteristic of the Russian and Serbian poems. This cannot be the result of independent invention, and it will be for the student to find out how close is the connection in the whole group. He must also carry his investigation further

and discover how far these peculiar features of epic literature can be traced to the East or to the West. In that way he will make the study of ballads run on parallel lines with the study of the fairy tale, a theme which has hitherto almost exclusively occupied the attention of the folklorist. The similarity between fairy tales found in different countries is apparently much greater than that between the ballads, which, I repeat, seem to have been of local character and are not envisaged from the point of view of migration and dissemination.

The three ballads here given are all translated from the collection published by Tocilescu, *Materiale Folkloristice*, Vol. I. București, 1900. Full reference is given there to other variants. It is to be noted that they come from different parts of the country, showing thus their great popularity. Most of them are sung by the Cobzar, who is often a gypsy and who gets his name from the Cobza, the string instrument on which he accompanies the singing of the ballad.

MOSES GASTER.

I. *The Ballad of Milea* (Tocilescu, p. 30)

Green, green leaves of three lettuce.      Milea cries from the valley  
 From the valley, from deep ravines      Milea groans and Milea screams.  
 Nobody did hear him      Save only his mother.      To him she  
 went      And she asked Milea.      "Why dost thou cry, Milea, and  
 groan?      Thou didst groan and didst scream.      Hast thou spent thy  
 money,      Or hast thou spoilt thy clothes,      Or did thy steed grow  
 old,      Or has thy time arrived      For to get married?"      And  
 Milea spoke to her:      "No, mother, little mother mine.      Thou  
 hast stopped, mother, to ask me.      I wish thee to place thy hand in my  
 bosom      For that is the truth I am telling thee.      Mother, my  
 mother, my money I have not spent      Nor have I spoilt my clothes,  
 Nor has my horse grown old.      A sudden sleep overtook me,  
 And I, mother, laid me down      Under that round pear-tree      Covered  
 with flowers.      The wind, mother, blew upon me;      It shook the  
 flowers down,      They all fell into my bosom,      And from them  
 there came to life      A little serpent-dragon,      With three tails of  
 gold,      Green leaf of mallow.      Here, mother, is my kerchief.  
 Wrap thy hand in it      Place thy hand in my bosom.      Take it, for  
 it twists itself round my heart.      When the dragon stretches out  
 He coils round my chest.      Mother, when it draws in      My heart  
 melts away."      When the mother heard it,      She spoke with her  
 mouth.      "Oh no, darling Milea,      Rather than be mother without  
 a hand      Better I without thee.      Mother can bear other sons."  
 And the mother went away.      Milea remained behind.      He began  
 to scream and to groan.      Nobody heard him      Save his father, who  
 heard him,      With his mouth he asked:      "What ails thee, Milea,

that thou shoutest,      Thou shoutest and screamest?      Hast thou  
 spent thy money,      Or spoilt thy clothes,      Has thy steed grown  
 old,      Or has thy time come,      The time to marry?"      Then  
 Milea said:      "Father, little father mine,      Thou hast stopped to  
 ask me.      I wish thee to place thy hand in my bosom.      To tell the  
 truth      My money has not been spent,      Nor have I spoilt my  
 clothes,      Nor has my steed grown old,      But a sleep overtook me  
 And I laid me down      Under that big round pear-tree      Laden  
 with flowers.      Father, father, the wind blew softly.      It shook the  
 flowers down      All fell into my bosom,      And from them there  
 came to life      A little serpent-dragon,      With three tails of gold,  
 Green leaf of mallow.      Here father is my kerchief.      Wrap  
 thy hand in it      Place thy hand in my bosom.      Take it, for it  
 twists itself round my heart,      When the dragon stretches out      It  
 coils itself round my heart.      And when it draws tight my heart  
 melts."      When the father heard it      With his mouth he spoke:  
 "Oh no, little Milea,      Rather than be father without a hand  
 Better I without thee.      Mother can bear another like thee."  
 And the father went away.      Then Milea remained alone.  
 He began to scream and groan.      Nobody heard him but his love.  
 She came to him and she asked him:      "O my love, Milea  
 mine,      What ails thee that thou screamest?      Has thy shirt  
 become black,      Or hast thou spent thy ducats?      Or has thy  
 steed grown old?"      Then Milea replied:      "O beloved mine  
 My shirt has not blackened,      Nor has my money come to  
 an end,      Nor my steed grown old,      But a sleep overtook me,  
 And I laid myself down      Under that big round pear-tree  
 Covered with flowers,      The wind, my beloved, blew.      It shook  
 the flowers down.      They all fell into my bosom      And from them  
 there came forth      A little serpent-dragon,      With three tails of  
 gold      With the head of a bull.      Green, green leaf of mallow.  
 My beloved, take the kerchief      Wrap thy hand in it.      Place thy  
 hand in my bosom and pull it out,      For it has tightened itself round  
 my breast."      When his love heard it      She swiftly came to him,  
 Put her hand round his neck,      Kissed him on his mouth,      Put her  
 hand into his bosom,      There she felt a clasp,      She pulled the  
 strap;      She pulled the girdle out,      Out of which she took a small  
 money-bag.      Then on the grass she sat down,      And she poured  
 the purse out,      And golden coins she counted.      The heart grew  
 in her,      And Milea started singing:      "Many people I have  
 troubled      And all have forsaken me.      Father, mother came to  
 me      And they did not venture      And they have given me up.  
 Then my love came,      Only my love she saved me      From the quick  
 death which threatened me.      Green leaf of mallow.      My beloved,  
 stop now here      Let me go a little away,      And when I come back  
 to thee      Thou wilt see what I shall bring."      The beloved stayed

where she was      Until he came back.      He brought a casket of  
gold :      " Now my love that is for thee      For us to have, to eat and  
drink,      For a heavy winter will come.      Green leaf and the nut  
Better than with father and mother      It is with a dear love.      My  
father has forsaken me and my love has saved me      She had the  
courage and she came and drew death away."

II. *Moşneagul* (*Tosilescu*, p. 94).

Green leaf, flower of hay.      That Moşneag, the old man,      From  
his earliest youth      Until great old age      No son from his body was  
born.      But at hoary great age      With prayers he prayed      With  
fastings he served.      God heard him      And a son was granted.  
He got him on a Friday,      He baptised him on Friday,      Saturday  
he betrothed him,      On a Sunday he married him.      Monday a  
letter reached him,      A Firman from the government,      To serve  
in the army      To render service to the Emperor      At the Port of  
Tarigrad.      When the order reached him      He mounted his steed.  
Of his parents he took leave      And from his wife he took an oath  
To wait for him for nine years      Nine years and nine days.      If it  
proved that he could not come      Then she well may marry another.  
" Beloved, my beloved,      When thou seest I do not come      Then  
sow basilicum      On nine hearths of fire.      And if it grows green and  
fine      Thou wilt know that I am well,      But if it turns black and  
burnt      Know that I am dead and gone."      But that harlot what  
did she do?      Nine years she kept true,      Nine days she did not  
keep,      She went and she married.      Another youth found favour  
Beyond the seven frontiers      Where the harlot used to go      On days  
of festival.      But what did the old man do?      On a holy Sunday  
Whilst the priests were chanting      A hoe and a spade he took in his  
hand      To the vineyard he went,      To dig out the weeds      On a  
holy Sunday.      He did not cut it with a spade,      But he cut it from  
root to root      And pulled it out from the very root,      And he threw  
it across the garden      And he tied up the bunch of grapes.      He  
worked the long, long day      Until his gait gave way.      He looked  
down the road of the valley      Towards the sun-rise,      He beheld a  
knight on horseback,      A knight, black with thought,      And the  
horse white from the road.      The knight came along whistling      And  
the horse snorting with its nostrils      And the wind blowing through its  
mane.      He came near the old man,      No greeting did he give him  
For it was Sunday.      " No greeting to thee, old man,"      " Thank  
'ee, my lad,"      " Father, is not that a sin      On the holy Sunday  
To cut the weeds? "      " As thou didst ask me      So I will answer  
thee."      " No, my son, it is not a sin,      For from my earliest  
youth      Until grey old age      A son from my body was not born,  
But at my grey old age      A son was granted to me.      On a Friday

he was born,            On Friday I baptised him,            On a Saturday he was  
 betrothed,            On a Sunday I married him.            Monday the order came  
 to him,            Order from the government,            That he should join the  
 army.            When the order did arrive            He mounted his steed,  
 From his parents he took leave            From his wife he took an oath            To  
 wait for him for nine years            Nine years and nine days.            If it  
 proved that he should not come back            She may well marry another.  
 She is to sow basilicum            On nine hearths of fire.            If it grows green  
 and fine            She will know that he is well,            If it comes up black and  
 burnt            She will know that he is dead and gone.            But what did the  
 harlot do?            For nine years she kept true            Nine days she did not  
 keep,            She went and she married            Another youth found favour  
 Beyond the seven frontiers            Where the harlot used to go            On  
 days of festival.            Today is the wedding            For that reason I did  
 what I did            To cool my heart."            "Old man, be so kind            To  
 come with me            That I may also see the wedding,            That I may also  
 give a present."            To the wedding they both went.            They sat  
 down to the table uninvited.            He took the cup without a greeting,  
 He drank and ate well            And he asked the wedding-party            To  
 bring the bride to him            So that he might also make a gift to her.  
 When the bride drew near            He put his hand into his pocket.            Into  
 his pocket he put his hand,            Drew out seven gold ducats            But  
 after that what did he do?            From his finger he drew the ring,            The  
 ring of his marriage.            It made a wound in his heart,            He threw it  
 into the cup            To the bride he gave it to drink.            The ring she at  
 once recognised.            She drew a deep breath            And with her mouth  
 she said:            "Youth, drink and make merry,            Do not think of me.  
 He for whom my heart longed,            Behold, brother, he has come,  
 And he was not killed."            He took her by the hand            And home  
 they went together,            He tied her fast to a green tree            And he  
 began to reprove her.            "Beloved mine,            Cursed be thy love,  
 Why hast thou done this to me?            To my mother thou didst not  
 hearken.            She is not a bad woman            Not to be able to live with her.  
 Nor to my father didst thou hearken,            Who never thought evil against  
 thee.            May God punish thee."            After reproving her            He lit a  
 fire at her feet            It went on burning to the end.            With a shovel he  
 took the ashes            And cast them to the wind.            And what the wind  
 did not carry,            The earth was to swallow.            Nor was this the very  
 end.            Green bushes grew out of it,            Which hurt the people.  
 The devil's nature was in them.            Such a thing has never more hap-  
 pened            As long as the world has stood,            Nor will it ever again be  
 told            So long as the sun will shine on the earth.

### III. *The Song of Baba Novac (Tocilescu, p. 106).*

Green leaf of thistle.            Listen unto me, ye people.            I will tell you a  
 story,            I will sing you a little song            Small and beautiful            To

cross the hill with it,      Unto the stream of the Danube      Where  
 the water flows.      Who comes and draws near?      A boat beautifully  
 decked      With green cloth and embroidered.      But who was in  
 that boat?      The son of Novac,      Of Novac, Baba Novac,      From  
 the mountains of Ardal      Gone down the Danube.      The Turks  
 beheld him,      They beheld him and they knew him well.      They  
 jumped and were drowned      As numerous as leaves and grass.      But  
 the servant of Gruia,      May the bread and salt strike him down  
 And all the household victuals.      To the Turks he went      And with  
 his mouth thus he spoke:      "Ye Turks, ye Boiars      Why do ye  
 drown yourselves?      For Gruia is drunk,      And he is now fit for being  
 captured,      Bound and handcuffed      With silken ropes      And  
 with twisted wire,      Which cuts the flesh to the bone."      But the  
 Turks, what did they say?      "We will pay thrice his weight,      Three  
 times so many ducats      And five times of silver coins."      But the  
 servant of Gruia      May the bread and salt strike him.      To Gruia  
 he went      And put his hand on him,      And he tied and chained  
 him      With ropes of silk      And with twisted wires,      Which  
 cut the flesh to the bone.      Then they took and then they weighed  
 him,      Three times as many golden ducats      And five times of  
 silver coins.      Green leaf, bean of tulip.      They carried him to the  
 pale of Corbi.      They smote him with their hands.      Four or five  
 cut him with a spade.      Tomorrow they are going to finish him.  
 Green leaf, bean of tulip.      And Gruia woke up      And up he looked.  
 No strength was left in him.      He espied a little raven,      And with  
 his mouth he thus spoke:      "Raven, raven, brother raven,      Slide  
 down gently, Take my little ring      And go with it      To the moun-  
 tains of Cearideal.      And there thou shalt croak      At all times,  
 early to midday."      But Novac, what did he do?      He laid a table  
 in the open      The little raven began to croak,      And Novac, what  
 did he do?      From the table he rose      And to the house he went,  
 Took the gun from the nail      To shoot the little raven.      As Novac  
 entered the house      The little raven flew down,      And the ring it  
 dropped      Into the winecup on the table.      When Novac came  
 out      The little raven had disappeared      There was none there to  
 shoot,      So he sat down at the table,      Took the cup into his hand  
 And to his mouth he put it,      And the wine he did drink.      There  
 he saw the little ring;      He saw and recognised it      And with his  
 mouth he said:      "Gruia, Gruia, father's chick,      The Turks have  
 cut thee up,      The ravens have eaten thee up."      From the table  
 he rose,      Entered into his palace,      He filled sacks with gold,  
 Took off his princely clothes      And a monk's garb he put on.      And  
 he went along a lane      Which was somewhat twisted      And it was  
 twisted and forsaken      And covered with reed,      Only Novac knew  
 it.      He came to the Danube.      Maidens there washed the linen.  
 With his mouth he thus spoke:      "Good day, ye maidens,      If you

will answer truthfully      The linen will grow white      As a sheet of  
 paper,      Beautiful as in the shop      Fit for scribes to write on.  
 But if you lie to me      May your linen grow black      As the habit  
 upon me,      As the heart within me."      Green leaf of wormwood.  
 "Maid with the long plaits,      The beloved of Gruia,      Hast thou  
 seen Gruia?"      But the maiden, what did she say?      "Monk, evil  
 omen,      The Turks have caught Gruia.      They have taken him to  
 the pale of Corbi      To smite him with their hands.      Four or five  
 have cut him with the spade.      Tomorrow morning they will kill  
 him."      But Novac, what did he do?      He went up the lane  
 And to the Turks he came,      And with his mouth thus he spoke :  
 "Ye Turks, ye Lords,      What is the guilt of that slave?      That ye tied  
 him on so fast?      If he is for sale      I will give you ducats and all  
 money.      If he is for change      I will give you two for one."      But  
 the Turks, what did they say?      "He is not for sale,      Nor for any  
 change,      But he is for killing,      For he is the son of Novac,      Of  
 Novac, Baba Novac,      From the mountains of Cerdeal,"      But  
 Novac, what did he do?      When he heard it,      He backwards  
 turned      More and more aggrieved.      He pretended to stumble,  
 And the sacks of gold poured out.      The Turks together run,      But  
 Novac, what did he do?      Quickly he ran to Gruia,      Drew his  
 sword from the sheath,      And the ropes he cut      And freed Gruia  
 from the bond.      And with his mouth thus he spoke :      "Gruia,  
 Gruia, father's chick,      Thou take the ends,      And I will take the  
 middle ones.      I know the proper way, the proper time,      If any  
 of them escapes      Thy head will pay for it."      The sun has sunk  
 towards the west      Novac has cut seven thousand      And, as for  
 Gruia, without number,      And when the sun did set,      None was  
 left for Novac.      To the Emperor he went,      And with his mouth  
 thus he spoke :      "O, brother Emperor,      If heaven would allow  
 For the Emperor to be killed      Thy head I would now take."      The  
 Emperor, what did he say?      "Oh, brother Novac,      Rule thy  
 country in peace.      As long as I am Emperor      Mayest thou remain  
 a Haiduc."

I have struggled along with the song      As a wolf with his howling.  
 Pass on the cup lavishly to drink,      For the Cobzar to wet his mouth.

MOSES GASTER.

## SCOTT IN POLAND

MODERN historical romance in Polish literature derives from the work of Scott. There were special circumstances in Poland owing to which the lead given by the British master was eagerly accepted. The Romantic movement was everywhere instinct with a strong liking for the Past; in proportion as they appeared the truest expression of this inclination, Scott's works must have acquired a double significance in a country in which these tendencies were growing in accordance with the events of the day. After the glamour of military greatness bound up with the victories of Napoleon, in whose exploits Poland had taken an active part, had faded away and had been succeeded by the drab days of the Holy Alliance, while the national hopes of Poland were suffering under a cruel disappointment,—the eyes accustomed to romantic sights could not but turn to the past in quest of what was lacking in their surroundings. This attitude towards history, with its necessarily underlying idealisation of the past, was markedly evident in its scientific and its literary aspects. It inspired a number of historians, with J. Lelewel at their head, to investigate the events and spirit of bygone days; it encouraged many a playwright to take the subjects for his tragedies from the history of Poland; finally it inspired some essays in the field of the novel which may be considered as preparatory in the development of historical romance in Poland. All these factors contributed to the creation of an atmosphere in which the novels of Sir Walter, once they had appeared in Poland, were bound to be welcomed on their own merits as expressive of the tendency which was already apparent in the literary life of the period.

We possess, indeed, good evidence to prove that the works of Scott were met with enthusiasm. From the correspondence of the young Mickiewicz and his student friends we learn how eagerly Scott's poems were read about 1820 in Wilno. Soon they were also translated into Polish, although the prose versions made by K. Sienkiewicz and W. Młodnicka from the French were very far from rendering the spirit of the original. It was only in the eighteen thirties and forties that the well-known friend of Mickiewicz, A. E. Odyniec, produced adequate translations of Scott's poems.

Still less successful were the early translations of Scott's novels. As many as nineteen of them were issued in Polish between the years 1828 and 1837; the translation was made from the French of Defauconpret, and the style was very poor. But, at the same time,



the best among the works of the "Wizard of the North" were accessible to cultured Polish readers either in the original or in French, and in this way they left many interesting marks upon Polish poetry of the Romantic era. The examination of Scott's influence in this particular field is made easy by an excellent study by Professor S. Windakiewicz on *Walter Scott and Lord Byron in reference to Polish Romantic Poetry*. Here it is hardly possible to make use of all the details brought to light by the Polish scholar, and accordingly I am obliged to limit myself to two examples which illustrate the power exerted by Scott upon two leading poets of the Romantic School in Poland.

The first is Slowacki's early tragedy *Mary Stuart* (1830). The author, who was familiar with Scott's works and tried to imitate him in an unfinished novel in French (*Le Roi de Ladawa*), endeavoured to express ideas which were inspired by the reading of Scott in dramatic form. A part of the plot of the play, as well as a number of episodes of secondary importance, was taken from *The Abbot*, while the main theme originated in Scott's *History of Scotland*. The early period of the reign of Queen Mary, ending in the death of Darnley, has been embellished by a number of personages (the astrologer, the page, the fool) obviously derived from Scott's suggestions.

*Mary Stuart* is, of course, only a youthful attempt and its literary standard is not very high. But the research work of Professor Windakiewicz has thrown also a revealing light on some aspects of Mickiewicz's *Master Thaddeus* (1834), which is one of the greatest achievements in the history of Polish poetry. It appears in this poem, too, that there are elements for which the author is indebted to Scott. Thus it consists of three different plots united by the writer's skill. The principal of them renders the sad story of Jacek Soplica, who in his youth has committed a crime for which he atones in the guise of a monk by organising a conspiracy against the Russian oppressors of the country. The second plot concerns the adventures of Jacek's son Thaddeus, who after a number of blunders marries the granddaughter of his father's victim and, by this means, puts an end to the long feud separating the two families. Finally, the two plots are interwoven with a description of the national movement which aims at expelling Russian troops from the country and which ends with the exultant reception of the Polish army marching across Lithuania against Moscow in 1812.

It is sufficient to refer to the *Bride of Lammermoor* or *Rob Roy* to discover the pedigree of this complex structure. Moreover, one finds that his reading of the Scottish novelist imposed a type on the

splendid gallery of characters depicted by Mickiewicz. Even in the attitude of the poet towards his subject, in his humorous treatment of it, one may trace analogies with the method of Scott.

As a matter of fact, it is possible to go too far in ascribing these analogies. Some of them should be put down to the fact that there was much similarity in the surroundings and the early experiences of Scott and Mickiewicz, in the general conditions of life in the inaccessible Highlands and the equally inaccessible forests of Lithuania at the beginning of the 19th century. On the whole, though the Polish poet's indebtedness to his Scottish model is beyond question, one must not forget that *Master Thaddeus* has an artistic value of its own, an exceptional position such as cannot be claimed by the novels of the impatient and careless Scotsman. If the technique of narration is his, it has been applied to an epic poem full of Homeric grandeur and of a beauty which cannot be achieved except in poetry.

These two different examples are sufficient to demonstrate how wide was the influence of Scott upon the leaders of Romantic literature in Poland.

\* \* \*

At the same time a number of novelists were inspired and encouraged to assist in the creation of historical romance. And M. Grabowski, himself a poor novelist but an excellent critic, endeavoured to formulate a system of set principles for the makers of works of that genre which, in his opinion, were the greatest achievement of modern literature. It was a blend of poetic inspiration and realistic observation that was required from the writer of historical novels, a blend which—according to Grabowski—was the basic feature of the works of Sir Walter Scott. From this point of view Grabowski could not approve of the work of the earliest imitators of Scott in Poland, who had failed to realise the spirit of their model. They were rather numerous and regarded as a special school of literature.

This "school" was inaugurated in 1825, when J. U. Niemcewicz published his first historical novel, called *John of Tenczyn*. The author's interest was fired by the adventures of a talented Polish diplomat of the middle of the 16th century who, having been sent by his sovereign to Sweden, fell in love with the sister of the king of that country. Upon returning to Sweden a second time, Tenczynski was attacked by the Danish fleet, had a narrow escape, and died from wounds received in the fight. Thus the subject-matter of the story was based upon the history of Poland, but the author's method

of setting the adventure against a historical background of the Jagellonian (Golden) Era was inspired by the example of Scott. Under this influence Niemcewicz introduced into his novel picturesque descriptions of all sorts of buildings and homes, a series of pictures of social and private life, such as provincial elections, or receptions at the Royal Court, debates of the Diet, or battles between the Poles and the Tartars. Unfortunately his knowledge of the past was hardly sufficient; neither was his descriptive power equal to the antiquarian skill of Sir Walter in reproducing the pageantry of bygone days. None the less, *John of Tenczyn* made an enormous impression on its readers and was received with enthusiasm. It threw wide open the gateway of history and, despite the unsatisfactory and one-sided treatment of the historical subject, showed the reader the wealth of the interesting material with which it dealt. The result of Niemcewicz's lead was that a number of writers were inspired to produce historical romances overburdened with long descriptions of old manors, institutions, edifices and costumes gleaned from old chronicles and from authors' conjectures alike and executed in a manner resembling that of the Waverley novels.

The achievement of Niemcewicz was followed up by A. Bronikowski, whose prolific novels from Poland's history were written in German and immediately translated into Polish. He owed to Scott his historical interests; but his fancy had also been caught by Lord Byron and the creators of mystery and horror in romance. *Kenilworth* in particular, that gloomiest of all Scott's novels, suggested to Bronikowski material for many a romance the plots of which were crimes and horrible adventures and the characters desperadoes. Such was his *Hipolit Boratynski* (1828), an imaginary picture of the Jagellon period. Again, his *King Casimir and Esther* (1828), dealing with the legendary liaison between that medieval monarch and the beautiful Jewess of Cracow, was modelled on *Ivanhoe*. Finally *King John Sobieski and his Court* (1830), a complex picture of the political intrigues at the close of the 17th century, had features in common with *Peveril of the Peak*. In spite of the obvious faults of Bronikowski, the fascination of his manner was extremely strong and capable of affecting the minds both of mature writers and of hot-headed youths just entering the field of literature. Moreover, the indubitable merit of this German writer was that in his works he covered the whole of Polish history from its early dawn to its setting at the end of the 17th century. In this way he brought to notice a considerable number of hitherto neglected historical personalities and events.

This accounts for the fact that even writers whose earlier interests had nothing in common with historical romance, such as Count S. Skarbek or F. Wężyk, were unable to resist the temptation of the new literary form. Accordingly Count Skarbek, an eminent economist and author of a few novels of manners, penned two historical tales dealing with the political events of 17th-century Poland. Again Wężyk, a classicist playwright, turned to the Middle Ages in his quest for the racial and national antagonisms which form the subject of his two romances.

More original was Felix Bernatowicz, a novelist who yielded to the influence of Scott and other makers of historical romance but who was able to impress upon his work the stamp of his own individuality. His imagination was arrested by the most brilliant and important event in the history of Medieval Poland, the union with Lithuania, and he chose it for the subject of his romance, *Poyata, or the Lithuanians in the 14th century* (1826). This theme was not unfamiliar to the readers of the period; it had been treated in epic poetry as well as in the novels of two French writers of Polish origin, Madame Choiseul-Gouffier and Mme. R. Rzewuska. It was particularly tempting, inasmuch as it was linked with the sentimental and perhaps even tragic story of the sufferings of the youthful Queen Jadwiga who, for the benefit of her subjects, abandoned her Austrian fiancé and married the Lithuanian prince Jagiełło; while the contrast between the Western and Christian civilisation of Poland and the primitive manners of heathen Lithuania gave every promise of furnishing an extremely interesting background. Bernatowicz was truly conscious of the difficulties inherent in his work. Accordingly he not only carefully studied the old chronicles but he also visited and examined the localities which he intended to describe in his novel. But he was unable to overcome the conventions he had inherited from the makers of the sentimental novel, and he lacked historical intuition. He failed to combine the fictitious and the historical into a successful and convincing whole. However, he produced a good piece of conscientious literary craftsmanship, touched here and there with true poetry. The symmetrical structure of *Poyata*, its descriptions of the Lithuanian landscape, its pictures of battles and various ceremonies have power to attract the interest even of modern readers.

Among the lesser imitators of Scott one should single out the achievements in this line of Sigismund Krasiński. This writer, who was destined to develop into a great poet, in his youth took part in the fashionable pastime of novel writing. Disconnected

reminiscences of the stories he had read, bound up with an inaccurate knowledge of history and intermixed with the fancies of a boyish imagination, found an outlet in a series of short stories and in two long novels. Incomparably better is Krasiński's later short story in which he endeavoured to render the tragic adventures of Maryna Mnishek, the Polish wife of the Russian impostor Dmitry. Some motifs of *Agay Khan* (1834), as it is entitled, originated in the novels of Scott, though the highly coloured setting of the story was a result of the oriental tendencies then in vogue all over Europe. The great charm of the work lies in its style.

Roughly speaking, all these historical novels written between the years 1825 and 1835 belong to the period of apprenticeship in the school of Sir Walter Scott. All of them were rather superficial in their dealing with history, but at the same time they opened the gates for the coming generation of greater novelists.

Grabowski, who sharply criticised all these "Walter-Scottists," did not limit himself to mere negation, but persistently maintained that Poland ought to produce her own Scott; he even pointed out a man who, in his opinion, was called to fulfil this high vocation. This man was J. I. Kraszewski, the most prolific novelist of the period. In fact, Kraszewski, though he did not conceal his interest in the past, betrayed no inclination to follow in the footprints of the "lame Scottish idol"; he declared instead for a strict adherence to historical facts and against the encroachments of imagination in the historical novel. However, in the course of time he changed his point of view, or at least wavered between the conflicting opinions as to the task of the historical novelist. Accordingly he continued to write novels which were merely dry accounts of historical events, and simultaneously he dealt with the same facts in romances planned in the manner of Scott. It suffices to mention his *Times of Sigismund Jagellon* (1846), that splendid picture of Polish society in the 16th century which resembles both *Guy Mannering* and *Oliver Twist* and is a harmonious union of history and adventure—to realise which Kraszewski had to abandon his early distaste for the *Waverley* manner. Yet among his achievements in the field of historical romance, embracing one hundred and five titles, his early principles seem to prevail the most, though there is no doubt whatever that the novels in which he adopted the method of Scott are his best. To support this opinion one may refer to his novel called *An Old Saga* (1876). This is the introductory romance to his great cycle of twenty-nine novels describing the whole of Poland's history. In it he recalled the earliest days of her national existence, when she

first emerged from the darkness of virgin forests. The spirit of poetry hovering above the picturesque scenery has here illuminated an archæological knowledge of the ancient Slavs, a co-operation which greatly contributes to the value of the tale. Against this background the writer, in accordance with Scott's standard, constructed a two-fold plot of a love-story and a political antagonism.

We may say that the further development of the historical novel in Poland ran along the path discovered by Scott. Attempts were made to introduce some noteworthy innovations, such as in *November* (1845), by Henry Rzewuski, which was an extremely well executed picture of Polish civilisation in the middle of the 18th century. But Rzewuski himself in his later novels abandoned the new path and returned to the *Waverley* type of novel. No inclination to introduce new methods can be discovered in the works of Michael Czaykowski who, during his strange career as a political agent and a Turkish general (Sadik Pasha), managed to produce a set of historical romances chiefly based on the past of his native land, Ukraine. An extremely lively narrator, Czaykowski was, however, rather limited in his imagination. Nearly always he employed the pre-Scott trick of "anagnorismus" as the mainspring of the plot; his heroes of obscure and mysterious origin nearly always turned out to be lost children of persons of importance. Still, the way he developed his story and treated his characters betrayed in him a true follower of Scott. Again, the literary career of Zygmunt Kaczkowski was similar to that of Rzewuski. In his earlier novels he rendered the atmosphere of the Polish gentry of the time of the Bar Confederacy in a highly original way; but in his latest and longest romance, *The Knights of King John Albert (Olbrach-towi Rycerze)*, it was evident that the writer had yielded to the old method of Scott.

The romance of Kaczkowski came out in 1889, that is two years after Henry Sienkiewicz had published his *Trilogy* and achieved the revival of the historical novel in Poland. A public that had not paid particular attention to the later productions of Kraszewski and his contemporaries met the rising star of Sienkiewicz with an indescribable enthusiasm. One might say that it was this young novelist that gave a new life to the literary formula invented by Scott: a formula based in the case of Sienkiewicz not so much on Scott's theory as on his practice and on the practice of his innumerable followers. For in fact, when considered from this standpoint, the work of Sienkiewicz hardly offers anything as regards subject-matter and structure which would not have been known to his

predecessors, both foreign and Polish, no matter how he may surpass them in brilliant narration, an uncommonly plastic vision of life, vivid and masterly character-drawing and a Homer-like gift for describing episodes of war. This could be proved by a minute investigation into certain *motifs* in the *Trilogy*, *Quo Vadis* and *The Knights of the Cross*. A final result of a study of that kind must be the statement that in the works of Sienkiewicz we have to deal with Walter-Scottism rather than with Walter Scott. The case may be illustrated, for instance, by the ways in which Sienkiewicz rendered the interrelations between the Poles and the Knights of the Cross; they display certain features in common both with *Ivanhoe* and *Poyata*, with Scott and Bernatowicz. Such examples could be easily multiplied, while their systematic collection and commentary would show the literary individuality of Sienkiewicz in a very characteristic light and would allow us to define precisely his position in the history of the Polish historical novel. It is only natural that we should find a considerable number of immediate reminiscences from Walter Scott, as, for instance, the story of the rescue of King John Casimir by the mountaineers, which bears a close resemblance to the famous scene in *Ivanhoe* in which King Richard is saved from danger by Robin Hood; this class of *motifs*, however, could not be regarded as prevailing in the works of Sienkiewicz.

Apart from these considerations as to the story in the novels of the Polish writer, attention should be paid to his fundamental device which reappears in the structure of each of his romances. It is the rivalry for a girl of two young men who represent two opposite political, national or religious parties. The idea of a love intrigue, with an elopement and the rescue of the girl, set against the background of serious political antagonisms, if traced up to its sources leads us back to the methods of Scott. The same must be said of the method of giving prominence in the plot to a fictitious character, often assuming even the rôle of the saviour of his country from a multitude of perils. If we add to this a whole collection of other *motifs* such as elopement and pursuit, miraculous rescues, hair-breadth escapes, duels more or less decisive for the plot, the hero's falling into the hands of his enemies, whose chieftains acquaint him with the reasons of their activities which, eventually, may bring him under a charge of treason,—it will not be difficult to discover that these are simply the well-known mediums of the technique of Scott, though renovated and again skilfully applied. Finally, the type of a faithful servant helping his master at most difficult moments

and reappearing in every novel from the pen of Sienkiewicz also originates in the gallery of the characters created by Scott and his followers, and may be ranked with the equally conventional figures of the proverbial servants in French classical comedy.

The features here stressed more or less at random do not in the least cover the whole of the question. They permit us, however, to infer that the romance of Sienkiewicz, on account of its components, belongs to the family of the romance created by Walter Scott and, accordingly, is the same *roman d'aventures* on a historical background with which the Scottish novelist conquered Europe, in a way very much like that in which Sienkiewicz bewitched the hearts of his contemporaries. In other words the romance of Sienkiewicz must be looked upon not as a new form of historical novel but as the last and perhaps the most brilliant continuation of the literary form developed by Scott. At the same time, not unlike *Pan Tadeusz*, it may be regarded as the adequate homage paid by Polish literature to the writer who was able to inspire whole generations with love for the past and taught them to express it in a truly artistic form.

JULIAN KRZYŻANOWSKI.

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# CURRENT RUSSIAN LITERATURE

## I. LEONID LEONOV AND HIS "SKUTAREVSKY"

THE first two decades of the 20th century in Russian literature were dominated by poetry as a literary genre. It was only after the Revolution that began a marked revival of prose fiction. This revival has already been noted in the *Slavonic Review* (see D. S. Mirsky's article, vol II, p. 200). Since then if anything it has become still more accentuated, and a tendency has arisen to go over from the minor prose genres—short stories and *nouvelles* which cropped up so abundantly in the early twenties—to the major genre of the great realistic psychological novel, to continue, in fact, the line of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky. Chronologically speaking, the first important manifestation of this tendency has been the publication of K. Fedin's novel *Cities and Years* (in 1924), but since then it has become especially connected with the name of Leonid Leonov, one of the most talented and significant among the younger generations of writers in Soviet Russia.

Leonov, who is only thirty-four years old, has already four great novels to his credit, not to count numerous short stories, and every new novel of his is a literary event. His latest, called *Skutarevsky*, was published early this year.

Leonov began by writing poetry and wrote a great deal of it (so he says in his own autobiography), but so far as I know, his poetry has never been collected (perhaps not even published). His early poetical training is, however, clearly felt in such stories of his as *Tuatamur*, a weird poem in prose, with a strong oriental flavour, written in the person of one of Genghiz Khan's lieutenants, and describing, from his point of view, the famous battle of the Kalka. There was nothing as yet in that "poem" to reveal the future realistic novelist. Nor are the other early stories of Leonov particularly revealing of this side of his talent, though in *The End of a Petty Man* (*Konets melkago cheloveka*) which D. S. Mirsky, in his *Contemporary Russian Literature*, has characterised as a clever *pastiche* of Dostoyevsky, there are elements which went to the making of Leonov the novelist and which reveal in him not a *pasticheur*, but in some ways a kindred spirit of Dostoyevsky. But then, among those early stories of Leonov we also have the two charming fantasies where the realistic is quaintly intermingled with the Hoffmanesque, *The Wooden Queen* and *The Knave of Diamonds*; (*Slavonic Review* Vol. XI. No. 32. p. 264).

Leonov's first novel, *The Badgers* (*Barsuki*), was published in 1926. This full-length novel (not available in English, but there is a French translation) marked an important stage in the post-revolutionary revival of Russian prose, and, following in the wake of Fedin's *Cities and Years*, reintroduced into it the great novel of which the main interest no longer lay in pure verbal "ornamentalism" but in the treatment of psychological and social themes. Coming as it did from the pen of a twenty-seven-year old novelist, *Barsuki* was remarkable for the wealth of its psychological and social contents and for the sureness of its handling. It is an ambitious vast-scale novel with an important social background to it. Leonov presents in it, in terms of both individual and social psychology, his favourite social theme—the clash between town and village, Leonov's unconscious artistic sympathy being on the side of the village, the peasants, though the novel ends characteristically at the moment when the town triumphs over the village and the peasant rising, led by one of the two brothers who are the main characters of the novel, is suppressed by a special punitive expedition at the head of which stands the other brother. By personifying the conflicting forces in those two brothers, Semen and Pashka, Leonov makes the social and the individual psychological conflicts coincide.

*Barsuki* was followed the next year by another novel, still more ambitious in size and in psychological scope, called *Vor* (*The Thief*; there is an English translation). This second novel of Leonov has no such definite social theme, though the Revolution as a social background is always present in it, and its hero, Mitka Vekshin, a curious type of Russian Rocambol who has at the same time more than one thing in common with his Dostoyevskian namesake Mitya Karamazov, is one of the "disillusioned" of the Revolution: from a prominent figure in its early stages—a Commissary of the Red Army—he becomes, under the régime of Nep, the ringleader of a formidable gang of burglars with a "European" reputation. It is impossible to relate briefly the contents of this long and ambitious novel, but since it is available in English, there is really no need for this. Both in matter and in manner it reminds one of Dostoyevsky. Leonov has Dostoyevsky's predilection for "*nadryv*," for painting psychological complications and perversities, for investigating the darker sides of human nature. The construction of the novel is intentionally complicated, Leonov making very clever use of the device of a novel within novel. His characters are numerous and varied—representatives of the

underworld, gangsters, *ci-devant* bourgeois, small Soviet employees—a whole gallery passes before our eyes. Some of them belong to the most memorable character creations in Russian literature, and two are particularly attractive and worthy of being put side by side of the most famous characters of the Russian novels; they are Pukhov, the home-made philosopher with a strong religious colouring who tells his young friend Mitka to “temper himself by suffering,” and Pugel, the circus man, a Russian German and a worthy companion of other Russian Germans in Russian literature. But where Leonov particularly excels is in the drawing of the *ci-devant* men, the downtrodden representatives of the old régime, whom he pictures with great insight and plenty of sympathy. Generally speaking, Leonov is deeply imbued with “humaneness,” which makes him fit in well with the main traditions of Russian literature. Revolutionary events play no direct part in *Vor*, and it is even difficult to locate it exactly in time; but the general impression of turmoil of Revolution is excellently rendered.

*Vor* has no definite political tendency, no political message to bring, no political axe to grind. It is true that it ends on an “optimistic” note—Mitka gives up his gangster’s life, and goes into seclusion somewhere in the country, from which, we gather, he emerges a reformed character, reconciled with the spirit of the time; but this conclusion looks as if it has been artificially appended: Leonov is not interested in Mitka’s social reformation, he is primarily concerned with man and the complex psychological processes in his soul. No wonder, therefore, that after the publication of *Vor* the orthodox Soviet critics began to accuse Leonov of anti-social tendencies, of a romantic and sentimental attitude towards the remnants of the old régime. As a true realist, Leonov is, above all, concerned with life in all its manifoldness and complexity. He makes one of his characters in *Vor* say: “After all, we know life better than anyone else; it has a pleasant relish; one eats it and dies without noticing.” Through the mouth of Firsov it is Leonov himself who speaks here. And again, speaking of Firsov, it is of himself that he says: “Firsov was fond of life, of its pungent and coarse smell, of its tart and bitter taste, its flimsy bulkiness, even of its wise senselessness.” This being in love with life makes Leonov’s *Vor* contagiously alive—in reading it you feel irresistibly drawn into his world, into the reality transformed by the novelist, you begin to share the life of his characters. This, even more than any similarity of literary manner or style, brings it about that Leonov resembles Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy

(for he resembles Tolstoy, too). *Vor* is a very typical Russian novel, such as the European reader is accustomed to expect on the strength of Tolstoy's and Dostoyevsky's work.

Leonov's two latest novels fall, in my opinion, below the mark which he reached in *Vor*. It is an undeniable fact that literature in Soviet Russia has to work under adverse conditions, full creative freedom being denied it. This lack of creative freedom has recently been clearly brought to light by such an impartial foreign observer as the young Polish writer, Antoni Slonimski, who went last year to Soviet Russia rather prejudiced in favour of its rulers and came back on the whole disillusioned. In his book of impressions (which was reviewed in the *Slavonic Review*, April, 1933) he gives an interesting account of a literary gathering at the Polish Legation in Moscow, and reports a curious conversation with Leonov on the subject of freedom of creation. Apart from Slonimski's testimony to the constant "police observation" under which Soviet writers find themselves, it is a notorious fact that imaginative literature in Soviet Russia has far too often not only to fall in with the general line of policy of the Soviet Government but also to carry out direct "social commands" (*sotsialny zakaz*). Leonov's last two novels bear distinct traces of this state of affairs. In *Vor*, published during a period of comparative literary freedom, he permitted himself to be "anti-social," to deal with eternal human values, to paint only the sidelights and the backyards, so to speak, of the Revolution—it is significant, for instance, that there is not a single convinced Communist in the novel and the almost unique representative of the ruling régime, a certain Chikilev, looks too much like a conscious caricature—even his name suggests it—of Shigalev in Dostoyevsky's *Besny* (*The Possessed*); it reads like a curious parody of Shigalevism in Soviet conditions.

It is natural therefore that in his next novel (*Sot*, published in 1930; translated into English) Leonov had to expiate this sin of "anti-sociality," and to choose a subject of greater *actualité*. *Sot*, which appeared at the end of 1930, soon after the first wave of *saboteurs'* trials swept over Russia, has its action set against the background of the Five Year Plan. Its theme is the carrying out of a vast scheme of industrialisation and electrification of a river flowing through the dense forests of a remote part of northern or north-eastern Russia (hence its name, *Sot* being the name of that river). This gives Leonov the opportunity of showing the new Communist society and its ideal and enthusiastic representatives at grips with the old world, as represented by the monks of an

out-of-the-way hermitage situated amid those dense forests, by the conservative and superstitious peasants, and by the sabotaging elements among the engineers. One of the monks, a former White Army officer, who preaches the end of our civilisation and dreams of the advent of a new Attila, plays the part of *agent provocateur*. The young Communist heroine, whose father is one of the *saboteurs* and who happens, out of pure whim, to have saved during the civil war, the life of that officer and now monk Vissarion, discovers the plan of sabotage. Vissarion is killed, the sabotage fails, the peasants rally to the Soviet government and the plan of industrialisation, which involves the construction of a large paper-mill, is carried on *ad maiorem gloriam* of the Five Year Plan. *Sot*, together with Pilnyak's novel, *Volga Flows into the Caspian Sea* (also translated into English) was one of the first reflections of the Five Year Plan in literature (since then their number has increased). As such, both no doubt belong to the domain of the "*sotsialny zakaz*." It is curious, however, that both with Pilnyak and with Leonov the artistic attention is directed rather to the past than to the present or the future, and that both are much more powerful and successful in their picture of the old world opposing the Communist efforts at innovation, than of the achievements of the Five Year Plan. Psychological conflicts, whether they are due to social causes or are rooted in individual qualities, interest Leonov infinitely more than any technical achievements or any political ideas. He is too much of an artist to be wholly biassed, and in spite of the obvious "tendency" of *Sot* and of the melodramatic artificiality of its plot, it remains an interesting novel, full of psychological insight, and of many interesting characters and ideas.

The same may be said of *Skutarevsky*, Leonov's latest novel, which appeared in book-form early this year. In its centre stands Skutarevsky, a scholar of European fame, a great physicist, an outstanding specialist on problems of electricity, whom Lenin places at the head of an important technical institution which is called upon to work out in secret a scheme that will result in the complete revolutionising of Russian industry. Skutarevsky, though himself of proletarian origin (which is more than once duly emphasised) and with strong Socialist propensities, is at first, by his whole mental attitude, his way of looking at things, his wayward independence, alien to the cause which he, however, serves more or less voluntarily, but, as it were, from outside. And the whole novel is the story of his gradual inward rallying to that cause. The action is again set against the background of the Five Year

Plan, now in its concluding stage; an important element of the plot is another sabotaging conspiracy which clearly reflects the influence on the author's mind of the famous "Scientists' trial" of 1931. Its aim is to wreck the entire electrical industry of Soviet Russia (after the recent Metro-Vickers case this adds to the novel a peculiar topical flavour), and its dramatic interest is enhanced by the fact that among the principal "wreckers" are to be found Skutarevsky's brother-in-law, who maintains a contact with the *émigrés* in Paris, and Skutarevsky's own son who ends by committing suicide. This situation reminds one of the intertwining of the social and family conflict in *Barsuki*. (similar situations, though in a less pronounced form, are to be found also in *Vor* and *Sot*). As in the case of *Sot*, here, too, Leonov is much more successful in the painting of the representatives of the old world or of the rich, complex and contradictory characters of the two brothers Skutarevsky, than in that of the sincere and enthusiastic Communists who are represented by Skutarevsky's pupil, Cherimov, and by the young girl, Zhenya, whom Skutarevsky picks up on the road, and with whom he has a rather queer and abortive love affair. The novel ends by Skutarevsky, at the instigation of Cherimov, giving an account of his work to the meeting of the workers of the factory which is the patron of his institution—this must evidently symbolise his descent from the heights of his proud scientific aloofness and detachment into the lower regions of practical Communism, and his final and practical adherence to the new régime. The conclusion seems somewhat artificial and unmotivated; but just as in *Barsuki* and *Vor*, Leonov knows how to break off his novel at the right moment. What interests him is not Skutarevsky faithfully and wholeheartedly serving his new masters, but Skutarevsky tossed by complex and contradictory emotions, and struggling in a world of conflicts and social and psychological complications. In *Skutarevsky* Leonov displays his usual gift of character-drawing. Skutarevsky himself is an interesting psychological portrait, and some of the secondary characters are quite admirably drawn. But both *Sot* and *Skutarevsky* lack the freedom, richness, objective variety and inner significance of *Vor*. Nevertheless, these first four novels place Leonov in the foremost rank of the young Soviet Russian writers.

GLEB STRUVE.

## OBITUARY

### SERGIUS PLATONOV

1861-1933

THE Soviet Government is understood by some to favour every person and everything distinguished in art, science, and literature; hence their doubts as to merits of the late Professor Platonov, who has suffered that Government's displeasure. In admiration, Professor Hoetzsch, the sponsor of Rapallo and of the Soviet-German political friendship, mentioned to me Platonov's independent and uncompromising attitude, and with regret and compassion the treatment it brought about. However, for a number of years, Platonov's scholarship and personal reputation protected him, despite the place he had occupied under the *old régime* in the Imperial Historical Society.<sup>1</sup>

In introducing his Master's thesis in the great hall of St. Petersburg University in 1888, and thus opening the usual public discussion of the thesis, Platonov, then twenty-seven, described himself as a pupil of Bestyuzhev-Ryumin and Zamyslovsky, primarily engaged in the critical examination of historical sources. Then he went on: "Together with the habits of scientific criticism, I have derived from our university the aspiration after abstract historical constructions, and the belief that historical research cannot be fruitful unless it takes as its starting point some comprehensive historical idea or leads up to such an idea. That is why in selecting an epoch of Russian history for special study, I have chosen the Time of Troubles (*Smutnoe Vremya*). It seemed to me that that epoch presents itself as the historical knot that joins together the ancient Rus with the new Russia. It thus appeared natural first to take hold of that knot, and then to follow up the threads either towards the earlier times or else towards modern times. I realised that it would be impossible for me at the very beginning of my historical work to attempt the study of that epoch in all its complexity. One fact fixed my attention—the Nizhny-Novgorod movement of 1612. I wanted to make an all-round investigation into the social composition of the Middle Volga region, in order to discover which class was the leading one there and why. This, I imagined, would enable me to discover the leaders of the national exploit (*narodnago podviga*), and to understand the popular movement of 1611-12 at its very roots. . . ." These few sentences—we can quote no more—imply

<sup>1</sup> Cf. The Polovtsov Memoirs in *Krasny Arkhiv*.

a reverence, at any rate, more than a scientific interest, which this workman's son of peasant stock preserved throughout his life for the fusion of the popular element with the monarchical principle. It seems obvious that, save for his guidance in painstaking research, he would now, under the rule of Stalin, be regarded by many as a curious fossil.

Platonov, in approaching his subject, had to revise the sources on which the accepted history of the "Troubles" and the political rebirth of Russia was founded. Thus he showed up the unmethodical and insufficiently critical use made by his predecessors of contemporary narratives and chronicles (*Skazania i Povesti*), of which he discovered a considerable number, at that time unknown, in the archives of Moscow and private collections. The "literary history" of the available unofficial sources, some appearing as moralising and didactic, some as political partisan pamphlets, others, especially those following upon the election of the first Romanov, adulterated by rhetorical pretence, was Platonov's first objective.

The analysis of several hundred manuscripts on the lines chosen by Platonov had its limitations, dependent upon the qualities of the research worker. The estimate of the latter was exceptionally flattering. Klyuchevsky<sup>2</sup> and Ikonnikov<sup>3</sup> reported on the thesis to the Academy of Sciences, and Platonov was awarded the Uvarov Prize. A second edition was published in 1918 as the second volume of Platonov's Works.

In 1899 Platonov published in book form his essays on the social structure and the class relationships of the Time of Troubles, under the title *Studies in the History of the Troubles* (*Ocherki po Istorii Smuty*). A third edition of this work appeared in 1910. It was more widely read than any of his others and became "one of the classics of Russian historical literature." Again, Ikonnikov and Klyuchevsky, in his famous *Boyars' Council* (*Boyarskaya Duma*), not to mention others, like Sergeevich, left no doubts as to the exceptional value of Platonov's minute estimates of the social and economic characteristics of the various regions of the Moscow State, and of the forebodings of the crisis of 1584-1612, reflected already in Fletcher's observations of 1588-89. At the death of John the Terrible, two contradictions or inconsistencies were revealing themselves, the one political, already noticed by Klyuchevsky, a levelling monarchy

<sup>2</sup> Report on the thirty-seventh award of the Count Uvarov Prize. V. O Klyuchevsky.

<sup>3</sup> Review by V. S. Ikonnikov, in the *Izvestia* of the St. Vladimir University, 1889, which supplements Platonov's findings.



operating through privileged groups, and the other social, the subordination of the economic needs of the producing classes to the military requirements of the State and the service gentry. However, Platonov's merits lay not in attractive generalisations, but in a convincing elucidation of the convulsions that followed upon the death of John in 1584. The election of Michael Romanov to the throne Platonov identifies with the victory of the lowest but one of the taxable orders, after the failure of the other classes. The old aristocracy had combined with foreigners (the Poles). The military landed caste had been defeated by their allies, the adventurous Cossack masses, whom they hoped to control and who came to power after Lyapunov's assassination on 22 July, 1611.

It is sufficient to read the fifty pages on the patriotic and religious fervour which brought about the fall of that government to realise Platonov's difficulty in accepting as final the enthronement of the Communists, eighteen years after the publication of his *Studies in the History of the Troubles*. In 1928 his lectures and works were prohibited and he was forbidden to publish more. As Director of the Library of the Academy of Sciences, the highest learned body in the country, he was made responsible for the presence in the archives of certain documents relating to the work of other political parties in the period immediately preceding the assumption of power by the Bolsheviks and was imprisoned in 1930; his two daughters were arrested at the same time. He was subsequently expelled from the Academy, exiled to Samara, deprived of all means of maintenance and declared a *lishenets*. His requests to return for a short time to Leningrad to visit his relatives and libraries were refused, and he died in January at the age of 72.

A list of Platonov's writings up to 1911 is to be found in the *Festgabe* published by his friends and pupils (*S. F. Platonovu: ego ucheniki, druzya i pochitateli*). A collection of his works was still incomplete; two volumes had been published, the first containing essays written between 1883 and 1912, the second his Master's Thesis (*Drevnerusskia Skazania i Povesti o Smutnom Vremeni*, second edition). His *Studies in the History of the Troubles*, in a third edition, were published in 1910; *the History of the Regent Senate*, vol. ii, covering the 18th century, in 1911. His short monographs on John the Terrible (Berlin, 1924), Boris Godunov (Prague, 1924), and Peter the Great (Paris, 1927) contain pertinent remarks on the novelist and "literary" historians who have dealt, not without profit to themselves, with those historical personalities.

The *History of Russia*, translated by E. Aronsberg in 1925, as

the late Professor Golder writes in his Foreword, embodies "the lessons which the grandson of a serf taught to the grandchildren of the Tsar Emancipator." It is but a short outline. Much more complete is the French translation, published by Payot in Paris in 1929 (pp. 991 and maps), and authorised by the writer (*Histoire de la Russie des Origènes à 1918*).

Platonov was among those who gave their time and knowledge to educational work both at the university and in the academic courses for women. Among his pupils, Pavlov-Silvansky, though he died very young, made a name for himself in Russian medieval history.

A. F. MEYENDORFF.

### FEDOR RODICHEV.

It is impossible to let pass now the death of Fedor Ismailovich Rodichev, who died in exile at Lausanne on 28 February, though we hope to print in our next number a more extended account of his life and times taken from the memoirs which are being prepared by Professor Peter Struve.

Rodichev was very dear to the writer of these lines. He was the very flower of Russian liberalism in its highest and broadest sense. With him, liberalism meant the plea for liberty, and especially for liberty for others than himself. That terrible scourge of Russian politics, the instinct which turns any cause, even that of liberty, into a kind of dogma of which the professor claims to be the sole true exponent, could have found no place whatsoever in him. He was absolutely fearless in the cause of others; and he over and over again showed absolute courage when a cry of protest against injustice was in itself a deed and a public event.

A country gentleman of Tver, the province with the finest tradition of sturdy liberalism in Russia, dating even from the days of the first brave and hopeless attempt to throw off the Tartar yoke, Rodichev was also one of the most distinguished barristers in Russia and one of the two most eloquent orators ever produced by the Duma which, whatever its defaults in political ability and wisdom, could show in its record a whole galaxy of really good speakers. As a barrister, he was always ready to spring to the defence of anyone attacked for his political opinions. As an orator in the Duma, he has been described by Harold Williams as like a rocket that soared up and then broke in a shower of sparks. As he has sat beside me in the tea-room of the Duma, bathed in perspiration after one of his great speeches, he has seemed to me like a

high-mettled racehorse. But for all the apparent improvisation of his oratory, his inspiration was such that his speeches read as the cleanest Russian, better than anything that he might sit down and compose at his writing desk.

The public protests in which he was concerned show up like a series of landmarks in the history of Russian liberty. Rodichev had fought for the Serbs in their hopeless and courageous campaign of 1876 and, some few years later, came from his zemstvo of Tver the clever and convincing plea to Alexander II, "to give to his loyal subjects what he had given to Bulgaria," namely, a constitution. In 1895, his was the appeal from the same zemstvo to Nicholas II on his accession, asking that "the law will henceforward be respected and obeyed not only by the nation, but also by the representatives of the authority that rules it, and that the voice of the people and the expression of its desires would be listened to." Nicholas appears to have seen no particular harm in this appeal until coached by his reactionary mentor Pobedonostsev, but, under this direction, met it with a futile burst of anger asking the zemstva to abstain from "senseless dreams," an historic phrase which marks one of the downward steps towards his deposition; Rodichev was forbidden for several years to live in St. Petersburg.

At the famous congress of members of all zemstva in July, 1905, which was one of the main events leading up to the First Duma, Rodichev was entrusted with the presenting of a kind of Grand Remonstrance which pointed out the chief examples of violations of the existing laws by the Government itself. In the First Duma, his was the principal speech demanding an amnesty for all who had suffered for their political opinions. He was happily not involved in the events that led to the first dissolution and the fiasco of the Viborg manifesto, because he was at that time attending the Inter-parliamentary Congress in London as a delegate of the Duma; and, by this accident, he escaped the fate that fell on all those who had signed the manifesto, which meant their exclusion from public life till the Revolution. He was, therefore, one of the very few persons who served as a member of all the four Dumas. When the lead had passed from his Party to the Octobrists, his was the voice that boldly impugned the field court-martials of Stolypin, and for the culminating phrase in his brilliant protest, in which he described the halter as the "Stolypin necktie," he suffered the maximum of temporary exclusion from the debates.

After the March Revolution, he accepted the thorny appoint-

ment of Russian Minister for Finland, where his fellow liberal of a like high temper, Michael Stakhovich, was appointed Governor. He was one of the very few men who could have held this post with any honour, for his plea for Finnish and Polish liberties had always been as sincere as his plea for Russian.

This was his last appearance in public life. That Rodichev should have had to spend all his last years in exile is the surest index of the fate of liberty under the Communist régime. Like all the best Russians, he could feel no personal grievance amid the misfortunes of his country. He never lost his judgment and objectivity and never despaired of the ultimate future. He was an honoured Corresponding Member of this School, and he wrote for this *Review* what no one else could have written with the same authority, the record of the life of his great fellow-paladin of liberalism, Ivan Petrunkevich. As with so many of the best liberals in other countries, his was throughout a wonderfully natural and vital personality; and he will have left with numberless others the memory of one who still seems to us alive, and the whole of whose career was a realisation of the gospel of freedom which so penetrated all his thought and works.

BERNARD PARES.

### ALEXANDER KIESEWETTER

KIESEWETTER has passed away; this robust and learned mind has passed into history and become finally part of the process which it sought to understand.

The story of the man is simple. The lad from Orenburg, who entered Moscow University in 1884, fell for ever captive to his new environment. When his turn came to write memoirs, they were not, he tells us, "personal memoirs in the real sense of the term," but "a short survey of those moods through which Russian society passed before my eyes during my conscious life." Then follow page after page about Klyuchevsky and the university, Muscovite expansiveness, theatres and liberalism, education and the constitutional movement, selfless social-workers and selfish reactionaries; there is neither time nor space for "the autobiographical element." Honestly and thoroughly, he had absorbed himself into the predominant academic liberalism of the day. For him there was only one question, the prevalence of that bright light of the new social consciousness over the darkness and shadows that were to him the background of his country's political life. When Plehve was murdered, Kiesewetter heard the news sitting at table in Switzerland—"during

the general dinner *table d'hôte*." "The whole of the big table occupied by Russian tourists in a moment buzzed like a disturbed hive. The remaining non-Russian public looked on us with astonishment, not understanding why . . ." It is a picture of the whole, a Russian heart and a Western head, excitement, astonishment, and at the end a constitution. There beyond, on the background of "Asia," Tsar, priests and peasants, reactionaries and revolutionaries, here liberalism and light and Western Europe served "*table d'hôte*."

A Marxist critic<sup>1</sup> assigns Kiesewetter to that group of historians who, in their preoccupation with the political theme, in their faith in the inevitability of a social-constitutional system in Russia, with their legalistic and sociological methods, sought to give the *bourgeoisie* an ideology and a justification. This characteristic, which is intended as a self-evident condemnation, may yet be the ground of a higher appreciation. Nevertheless, the question must be asked whether Kiesewetter had an adequate conception of the historic process on which he engaged. Piontkovsky insists, not without justification, that, as compared with the dialectical method of Boris Chicherin, the sociological method represented a step backwards, and he sees in this the sign of an ideological failure. Certainly, Kiesewetter had no conception of dialectic; but did he adequately comprehend social forces in their organic unity, did he understand the meaning behind the hatred of the dominant European system which found, for him, a diverse and sinister expression in "reaction" and "revolution"? It cannot be asserted that he did; Pobedonostsev and Pokrovsky were to him equally unintelligible phenomena. Yet here was the point where his studies and his politics met, and his character determined both. For his was not an original mind; he followed the beaten track of Western enlightenment.

Nevertheless, whatever his limitations, here was a devoted scholar and an enthusiastic educationist. His death in exile reminds us yet again of honourable and faithful services lost to Russia in the changes and chances of revolution.

A. F. DOBBIE-BATEMAN.

### AINO MALMBERG.

AINO MALMBERG's life was inspired by two ideas: by her love for her own country and her love for England. She never hesitated to

<sup>1</sup> S. A. Piontkovsky. *Burzhnaznaya Istoricheskaya Nauka v Rossii*. Molodaya Gvardia, 1931.

make use of any means that would benefit her country—means, which her fellow-countrymen did not always approve of or understand. Her love for her country forced her to operate in two different directions: to struggle for the independence of Finland, together with the Russian revolutionists, as she thought the only way to deliver Finland from oppression, would be by a revolution in Russia, and to give lectures on Finland in order to make it known abroad.

During her many years' sojourn in London she became so familiar with the life and spirit of England that England became her second home. Although her love for her own country was the key-note of her life, at this time she became estranged personally from Finland and more and more absorbed in England. She needed the busy life as well as the isolation of a large city in order to be able to work and to be at ease. The humble circumstances at home oppressed her; to her they seemed even poorer when seen from afar, and the people narrow-minded and almost hostile. She loved her country, but wished to keep away from it, because she thought she was misunderstood there. England offered her everything she could not get at home. She had intimate friends there, she was loved and understood. She loved her small den in Ashchurch Grove, where she acted as a hospitable hostess to her friends and was at her best. Her house was open not only to people of all nationalities, but also to her own fellow-countrymen; it was the centre of reunion to all Finnish people living in or visiting London.

Mrs. Malmberg was a woman of many contrasts; she was both warm and cold, loving and hating. Her temperament was a combination of great extremes; she was like fire, either warming or destroying, but never inert. This was the reason why she had so many friends and so many foes. Toward the end of her life, however, she had many more friends, friends who felt admiration, love, respect and gratitude towards her.

Mrs. Malmberg's character was many-sided. Her conversation was brilliant and impetuous and she had power to influence others. Her pen was sparkling. Her essays on famous men and women, mostly British, whose acquaintance she had personally made, were clever, characteristic and often spiced with humour, and it was this sense of humour that made her feel at home in England. She was broadminded, quick-witted and elastic. Her sharp little eyes used to flash when she became interested in anything, whether she was for or against it. She was charming as a friend, but dangerous as an enemy. She once said: "No easy thing for a man to have an enemy in me."

She was always making new plans, was always brewing something. She wanted to turn the world upside down. When she sometimes visited Finland, her friends knew that she had not come to see them, but that she had some special task to carry out. "Who are you going to do for this time?" a friend of hers once asked her. She could not help fighting, if not against people, then against windmills.

She hoped to live and die in England, but fate forced her to return home. Her health broke and her spirit was no longer glowing and eager to fight. Her last fight was a hard struggle against disease; but her body had to fight alone, as her spirit was already at rest. "All's well, nothing can disturb or harm me any more, every one is kind and good to me," she said with a tired gesture while passing into peace and harmony.

HELMI KROHN.

MRS. AINO MALMBERG was a firm friend to me in the work of East European studies for over twenty years. She knew this country so well, with its ignorances, its interests and its prejudices, that she understood as well as one of ourselves what could be done to that end and what it was folly to attempt. From an English point of view, she was undoubtedly wise in associating the cause of Finland with that of the Russian revolutionaries and co-operating with them; for they alone of all East Europeans had a strong and broad grip on public interest here. But for an Englishman she was much more easy to talk to than they were. She made big allowances, fully realising that it was through the interest felt in things Russian that she could engage our active sympathies for Finland; this forbearance she extended to me for many years and, indeed, till, with the results of the Great War and the Russian Revolution, it was no longer needed. She was full of spirited and workable plans which grew and developed in the atmosphere of her bright and lively hospitality. Latterly all these centred round the grounding of Finnish studies in England. On this side her lamented death is the greatest loss which we could have suffered. May we complete the work which she began.

BERNARD PARES.

#### JOSEF BAUDIŠ: TWO PERSONAL APPRECIATIONS.

THE first news I had of Josef Baudiš was in one of the Slav reviews published in Germany, where I saw a short notice on a group of Sanskrit roots of the type of *dadāu* and *jajñāu*<sup>1</sup>, by "a brilliant

<sup>1</sup> *Studie o perfeklech typu skr. dadāu a jajñāu* (1910), 72 pages.

young Czech scholar," which had been submitted to the august Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences and which I promptly marked for the British Museum in the bibliography. Next I was asked to see a reader whose name my informant could not utter. It was Baudiš, with a suggestion that there ought to be a record of Josef Kubín's tales from Kladno in the Catalogue. I explained why it was not yet possible, but said that I had analysed one or two in *Folklore*. From this time on my acquaintance with him became more cordial and our intimacy grew in the war years.

At this time he was discussing with me how to start what ultimately became *Philologica*. Although I had to defend the interests of the Philological Society against the danger of an external rivalry, I yet sympathised with him and pointed out the practical difficulties of the matter.

About then I nominated him for the Philological Society, for which, besides bringing in many new British and Czech members, he published such important contributions as his summaries of Irish, and again of Slavonic, Phonology, that I shall always regard it as the greatest honour that I ever received, to be his colleague in founding *Philologica*.

It should also be noted here that, besides being a philologist with extraordinary powers of apprehension, Baudiš was also a folklorist of the same scientific type as Polívka, and belonged to the same school. The breadth of his views and capacities may be gauged on the one hand by his work on Czech Folk Tales; while on the other hand we should judge him by his explanation of the amazing series of transformations in the Cuchullain saga. Taken as metamorphoses, they recall Proteus in Greek mythology and the "Tale of the Two Brothers of the Tree-Soul" in Egyptian legendary lore. Here he is the pure, scientific folklorist, but is able to drive his argument home by his command of the Celtic material, both linguistic and folklorist.

With all my high appreciation of the work of the present Honorary Secretary, of Dr. Wright and of Miss Burny, I still cannot help thinking that Baudiš rendered nearly as much service to the Folklore Society as he did to the Philological Society.

Baudiš in the years immediately preceding the war had been Professor on the staff of a Gymnasium at Prague. He told me that his family had for some generations belonged to Prague, where he was born in 1883, and that the members of it held an independent official position which allowed them to retain their national character and independence in spite of the slight Germanising of their name.



Knowing the *devanāgarī* script well, he took up a language written in it, and started to study its structure and learn it by simple inspection, by looking at it continuously. He was about 25 when he presented his Sanskrit study to the Bohemian Society, and the war years were not very favourable to his studies, as he had to turn to more or less uncongenial war work, only made tolerable by the fact that it was for the national cause. He was a man capable of regarding that and other things very externally and critically. Perhaps this was helped by his possessing a sense of humour rare in one who is also a sincere, if undemonstrative, agnostic.

I would like to mention that he had a fine taste for and understanding of good craftsmanship in such things as furniture and clocks. Although his senior, I definitely looked up to him.

L. C. WHARTON.

It was immediately before the war that I acquired any practical knowledge of Czech, the first modern Slavonic language I learnt and, as might be expected, the one for which I retain a somewhat special sympathy. That was in Prague, and I was not destined to hear Czech spoken again for more than four years—in London! Soon after the war was over, I was having dinner one evening at Mme. Béguinot's cosmopolitan restaurant and found myself eavesdropper of an earnest and rather furtive conversation at a neighbouring table. The language was Czech and the speakers, three or four in number, obviously were not British. Not feeling sure of my atrophied conversational powers, I ventured to compose a note in Czech and got it passed over by a waiter to the man whom I took to be the leading spirit of the company. Baudiš at once read it and insisted, vociferously insisted, that I should join a now demonstratively jubilant party.

The man I met so casually proved to be a great scholar, a philologist and an altogether delightful, unaffected companion. A slight uncouthness of manner and speech tended to disappear when he was fully launched among friends and could expound his views on the merits of philology and the advantages of Scotch whiskey as a background for philosophical discussion. One luncheon party at the Isola Bella restaurant at which my friend Fraser, Professor of Celtic at Oxford, was host, lingers very pleasantly in my mind. By five o'clock the waiters were becoming restive and Mrs. Baudiš, with graceful tact, had left us to go ahead to their flat in Hampstead and make preparations to enable us to continue our talk. It was only after midnight that that party came to an end!

This is a purely personal note and I leave to others the assessment of his scientific achievements. But he will assuredly be shown to have brought much credit to a country which seems to have a specially warm corner in its heart for Celtic scholarship. Baudiš was almost wholly interested in Celtic, Zubatý combined it with his Indian and Baltic pursuits, and my friend and former colleague Otakar Vočadlo, who is now acting professor in Baudiš's place, has some Celtic arrows in his linguistic quiver.

To me personally Baudiš was the kindest of friends and his loss touches me deeply.

N. B. JOPSON.

### OSWALD BALZER.

PROFESSOR OSWALD BALZER (1858-1933), one of the greatest scholars among the last generation in Poland, was a foremost student of Polish law and juridical institutions.

The greater part of his research was concerned with the Middle Ages, and resulted, apart from a number of monographs, in a monumental editorial work, *Corpus Juris Polonici*, of which the first three volumes were compiled by himself (1906-1910). He was predominantly interested in the problem of origins. His studies threw a new light on primordial native elements in the legal structure of Poland as well as its early dependence on certain principles of Roman law. His conclusions have therefore a bearing on a far wider area than that of his immediate subject: investigating legal usages which linked Poland with kindred peoples, he contributed to the general history of primitive Slavonic civilisation; his research on Polish loans from Roman law extended the knowledge of the cultural connections between Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

But more widely known were his studies on the social and political reforms of the Poland of the 18th century and their fundamental expression, the "May constitution" of 1791. In his young days a firm partisan of the so-called "Cracow school of history," which saw the chief cause of Poland's fall as a State in the weakness of her legal structure and the internal disorder resulting thereof, Balzer subsequently changed his attitude, stressing principally the sound genuine forces which in spite of most unpropitious circumstances came to prevail in the nation. The summary of his views has been made accessible to Western students by a German translation of his *Constitutional problems of Poland* (1916). A German translation has also been made of the synopsis of his university lectures on Poland's

constitutional history which, however, he never thought complete enough for publication in their entirety.

Legal studies had with Balzer numerous side-branches which used to produce an amazingly rich crop of essays and surveys, some of which have become indispensable for any student of Polish history. As an instance among many, may be quoted his huge and minute work on *The Genealogy of the Dynasty of the Piasts* (1895).

His deep knowledge as a specialist did not hinder him from having an interest and understanding in general issues. He raised his voice many a time when such issues were at stake. When, for instance, in 1897, Theodore Mommsen published his remarks on the Slavs, denying to their historical achievements any general importance for civilisation, Balzer answered him in an open letter which stirred public opinion in practically all Slavonic countries.

But he was predominantly a scholar, and his fundamental pursuits were of a scholarly character. A member of many learned societies, he was most closely connected with Lwów, where he went to school, made his first studies, and for forty-eight years lectured at the university. His activities as a professor are best mirrored in the collection entitled *Studies in the history of Polish Law* (begun in 1899), in which numerous works of his students have been published under his editorship. He ardently upheld the traditions of Lwów as a centre of scholarship, and devoted much of his energy to fostering the Lwów Learned Society, of which he was president for thirteen years.

Professor Balzer was a corresponding member of the School of Slavonic Studies from the year 1923.

W. BOROWY.

## SOVIET LEGISLATION (VII).

*(Selection of Decrees and Documents)*

*Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR regarding the Responsibility of the Employees of State Institutions and Undertakings for Acts of Sabotage.*

Facts which have been recently discovered, testify that some of the State employees have been engaged in counter-revolutionary and wrecking activities. Owing to their official position and the authority vested in them, these employees must have assumed a specially honest and conscientious attitude towards the State of workers and peasants.

In connexion with this, the Central Executive Committee of the USSR instructs that the powers granted to the OGPU by the Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR of 15 November, 1923, to try, at the special judicial sessions of the Collegium of the OGPU, criminal offences in respect of diversions, arsons, explosions, wrecking of industrial equipment at the State undertakings and other kinds of sabotage, with the authority to apply all reprisals in correspondence with the character of such offences, should be exercised with special severity in respect of the employees of state institutions and undertakings found guilty of such offences.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,  
M. KALININ.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,  
A. ENUKIDZE.

Moscow, Kremlin, 14 March, 1933.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 15 March, 1933, No. 72-5003.)

*Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR regarding the Right of the Members of the Kolhozy to leave Kolhozy for outside employment in industry or elsewhere.*

The Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR resolve :—

1. To cancel the Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR of 30 June, 1931, regarding the right of the members of the kolhozy to leave kolhozy for outside employment in industry or elsewhere.

2. To establish that the advantages granted to the members of the kolhozy by law, should be enjoyed in future by only those members who leave their kolhozy for outside employment upon special contracts with State economic organisations, which contracts should be registered with the managements of kolhozy.

3. To instruct the managements of kolhozy that work for the able-bodied members of families of those members who have left their kolhozy for outside employment upon contracts concluded with State economic organisations, should be given on the same terms and conditions as for other members of kolhozy.

4. To instruct the managements of kolhozy that those members who leave their kolhozy at their own discretion, without contracts concluded with State economic organisations and registered with the managements of kolhozy, should be expelled from kolhozy, the "flyers" who leave kolhozy at the beginning of sowing and return during the harvest and threshing periods in order to pilfer kolhoz goods and property, should be deprived of the right to participate in the distribution of the kolhoz assets.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,  
M. KALININ.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,  
V. MOLOTOV (SKRYABIN)

Assistant-Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,

A. MEDVEDEV.

Moscow, Kremlin, 17 March, 1933.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 18 March, 1933, No. 75-5006.)

*Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR regarding the Issue of Passports to the Citizens of the USSR on the territory of the USSR.*

With reference to Article 3 of the Decree of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR of 27 December, 1932, regarding the introduction of the uniform passport system in the USSR and regarding the obligatory registration of passports,<sup>1</sup> the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR resolves —

1. To introduce the passport system for all the population of towns, workers' settlements, places where the district centres are situated, and also in all the settlements situated round the newly-constructed factories, industrial and transport undertakings, in sovhozy, in places where the Machine-and-Tractor Stations are situated, and in the inhabited places in the confines of a 100 kilometres zone along the West European frontiers of the USSR.

2. The citizens permanently residing in the villages (except those who live in the districts enumerated in Article 1 of the present Decree and in the zones round Moscow, Leningrad and Kharkov), are not to be given passports. The statistics of population in these localities are to be collated

<sup>1</sup> See *Slavonic Review*, Vol. XI, No. 33, p. 696.

by the village soviets in accordance with the village rolls and under supervision of the District Departments of the Workers' and Peasants' Police.

3. When persons residing in the villages leave them for prolonged or permanent sojourn in the localities where the passport system has been introduced, they must obtain passports, for the term of one year, in the District or in the Town Departments of the Workers' and Peasants' Police in correspondence with their permanent residence. After the expiration of one year such persons are to be considered as permanent residents in the places to which they have migrated and must obtain passports under the usual regulations.

4. The issue of passports to citizens of the USSR is to be made on the basis of Articles 3-10 of the Instructions regarding the Issue of Passports to citizens of the USSR in Moscow, Leningrad and Kharkov, in 100 kilometres zones round Moscow and Leningrad and in a 50-kilometres zone round Kharkov,<sup>2</sup> as approved by the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR on 14 January, 1933. The establishment of offices for the issue of passports in the localities where the passport system is introduced, is to be carried out by the corresponding town soviets and district executive committees upon the representations of the town and district departments of the Workers' and Peasants' Police.

5. The registration of passports issued and of temporary certificates is to be made in accordance with instructions to be issued by the Chief Board of the Workers' and Peasants' Police attached to the OGPU. The registration fee for each passport or temporary certificate is one rouble.

6. The registration of persons arriving from the localities where the passport system has not been introduced, on business, on leave, for medical treatment, etc., is to be made on the basis of documents certifying the purpose of their visit.

7. Passport branches are to be organised in the provincial Departments of the Workers' and Peasants' Police and passport bureaux in the town and district departments of the Workers' and Peasants' Police.

8. In all places numbering a population over 10,000 where the passport system has been introduced, special address bureaux, attached to the corresponding departments of the Workers' and Peasants' Police, are to be organised.

9. The structure and work of the passport departments and bureaux and also of the address bureaux are to be determined by the Chief Board of the Workers' and Peasants' Police attached to the OGPU.

10. The issue of passports in Kiev, Odessa, Rostov-on-Don, Stalingrad, Stalinsk, Baku, Gorky, Sormovo, Magnitogorsk, Chelyabinsk, Grozny, Sevastopol, Stalino, Perm, Dnepropetrovsk, Sverdlovsk, Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Nikolsk-Ussuriysk, Spassk, Blagoveshchensk, Anzhero-Sudzhensk, Prokopyevsk, Leninsk, and also in towns and villages

<sup>2</sup> See *Slavonic Review*, Vol. XI, No. 33, p. 699.

situated in the 100 kilometres zone along the West European frontier of the USSR, is to be made on the same conditions as in Moscow, Leningrad and Kharkov, in the 100 kilometres zones round Moscow and Leningrad and in the 50 kilometres zone round Kharkov (in accordance with the special instructions issued by the Chief Board of the Workers' and Peasants' Police attached to the OGPU and confirmed by the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR).

11. Persons who are refused passports or registration in one of the towns and villages enumerated in Article 10 of the present Decree, are not allowed to reside in the places enumerated in Article 10, as well as in Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkov, the 100 kilometres zones round Moscow and Leningrad and the 50 kilometres zone round Kharkov. Persons who are refused passports, are to be ordered by the Workers' and Peasants' Police to leave the place of their habitation within 10 days; and newly arrived persons, who have been refused the registration, within 24 hours.

12. In all other places where the passport system has been introduced, passports are issued to all citizens in the places of their permanent residence, irrespective of their social status.

13. Citizens who are deprived of the right to reside in the places enumerated in Article 10 of the present Decree, have a right to live in all other places of the USSR and to obtain passports in their new places of residence in accordance with Article 12 of the present Decree

14. In the localities where the passport system has been introduced, undertakings and establishments must request all citizens whom they employ, to produce passports or temporary certificates and to enter the dates on which they were employed on the passports or temporary certificates.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,  
V. MOLOTOV (SKRYABIN).

Secretary of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,  
I. MIROSHNIKOV.

Moscow, Kremlin, 28 April, 1933, No. 861.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 29 April, 1933, No. 112-5043.)

#### ON THE PURGING OF THE PARTY.

*Resolution of the Central Committee and of the Central Control Commission of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).*

##### I. *The Necessity of the Purge.*

The fulfilment of the Five Year Plan in four years, the victory of the industrialisation in the USSR, the success of the kolhoz movement and the colossal numerical growth of the proletariat have resulted in a fresh impetus to political activity of the proletariat and peasantry.

On the basis of this impetus the Party, during the last two and a half years, has increased its strength by 1,400,000; the total membership now being 3,200,000 (2,400,000 members and 1,200,000 candidates).

But under the conditions of mass-recruiting which, very often, was carried out by local organisations in a wholesale manner, without carefully ascertaining the quality of the recruits, some alien elements have wormed their way into the ranks of the Party, who have made use of their membership for careerist and selfish purposes; there are also many double-faced persons who swear true allegiance to the Party but, actually, try to undermine its policy.

On the other hand, owing to the unsatisfactory state of Marxist-Leninist education of the Party members, there are a considerable number of comrades who, though honest and ready to defend the Soviet Government, are either not sufficiently stable and not enough versed in the spirit and requirements of the Party discipline, or politically poorly educated, not knowing the programme, statutes and principal decisions of the Party and, owing to this, incapable of pursuing the policy of the Party actively.

Having these circumstances in view, the joint plenary session of the Central Committee and of the Central Control Commission of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) held in January last, resolved to arrange for the purging of the Party in 1933 and "to organise the business of the purging in such manner as to secure iron proletarian discipline in the Party and to expel from the Party all unreliable, unstable and selfish elements."

In passing this decision, the Party was guided by the resolution of the Communist International of 30 July, 1920, according to which "the Communist Parties of all countries where the Communists conduct their work openly, must make periodical purges (re-registrations) of the personnel of the party organisations, in order systematically to purge the Party of petty-bourgeois elements which inevitably worm their way into a Communist Party."

Following the directions of the Communist International, our Party has arranged a re-registration of Party membership in 1920, a Party purge in 1921, a purging of non-industrial cells in 1924, a re-registration of members in the village cells in 1925, and a purge of the Party in 1929-1930. These purges and re-registrations, as everybody knows, resulted in strengthening the ranks of our Party, in raising its fighting spirit, in a growing sense of the responsibility of every Party member for the work done by the Party.

## II. *Aims and Purposes of the Purge.*

The purpose of the Party purge is to achieve a higher ideological standard of Party members, to strengthen the Party organisation politically, to secure further confidence in the Party on the part of millions of non-party men and women.



This purpose will be attained, during the purge, in the following manner : (a) by carrying out open and honest self-criticism of the Party members and Party organisations ; (b) by checking the activities of each Party cell from the point of view of the execution of the decisions and directions of the Party ; (c) by participation in the Party purge of the toiling non-party masses ; and (d) by expulsion from the Party of such persons as are not worthy of the highly honourable rank of a party member.

The following elements must be expelled : (1) Alien and hostile elements which have wormed their way into the Party by fraudulent means and which remain there in order to corrupt members of the Party ; (2) double-faced persons who deceive the Party, hide their real intentions from the Party and try to undermine the policy of the Party under the screen of a fraudulent allegiance to the Party ; (3) open and secret breakers of the iron discipline of the Party who do not carry out the decisions of the Party and of the Government, who express doubts in the wisdom of the Party decisions and the plans marked out by the Party, who discredit these decisions and plans by empty talk about their " impossibility " and " futility " ; (4) degenerate persons who fall under the influence of capitalist elements, who do not wish to fight class enemies, who do not fight the kulaks, unscrupulous egotists, loafers, thieves and pilferers of public property ; (5) careerist, selfish and bureaucratic elements which make use of their membership and their positions in the Soviet administration for their own selfish interests, which have broken away from the masses, which neglect the needs and requirements of the workers and peasants ; (6) morally corrupt persons who, by their indecent behaviour, damage the authority of the Party and smear the Party banner.

Taking into consideration the fact that there are among the Party members who have joined the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) within the last few years, a certain number of comrades who are devoted to the cause of the proletariat and who have proved their devotion by their work in the factories and kolhozy, but who do not possess the most elementary political knowledge necessary for a member of the Communist Party—programme, statutes and the most important decisions of the Party—the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Party recommend to deprive such persons of full membership and transfer them to the category of candidates, not as a punishment, but for their political education and better training ; in a year's time the question may be raised of conferring full membership upon such persons, if during this period they improve their political education, necessary for a Party member.

In view of the fact that owing to the same circumstances there are among the candidates a considerable number of comrades who not only do not possess the elementary political education necessary for candidates, but are unstable and show symptoms of absence of reliability from the point of view of Party discipline, the Central Committee and the Central

Control Commission of the Party recommend the transfer of such comrades to the category of sympathisers; if, after the expiration of one year, they prove that they have attained the necessary qualifications, the question may be raised of transferring them to the rank of candidates or granting them full membership of the Party.

### III. *Methods of the Purge.*

The purge is a manifestation of the Bolshevik self-criticism of our Party. It must be carried out without any favouritism, and be guided by the following considerations: the fulfilment of the most important Party decisions by members and candidates, their participation in Socialist competition and shock-brigades, active efforts for the fulfilment of the financial and industrial programmes and of other important economic tasks, combating absenteeism from work, combating the pilfering of Socialist property.

The purging commissions must request that every member should know the Party programme, its statutes and its most important decisions. There must not be a single Communist who does not know the programme and statutes of the Party and its most important political and other decisions. But the purging commissions must not, while examining the political knowledge of members, put complicated, "catchy," and litigious questions. They must take into account the general cultural standard of the members examined and not put outside the Party pale such comrades as have proved their unconditional allegiance to the Party and their zeal in socialist reconstruction, but who could not attain the necessary standard of political education. This especially refers to industrial workers and to members of kolhozy.

The purge must by no means be considered either by examiners or by examined as a general distrust of the Party towards the members of the given cell. The purging commissions must take all steps in order to create, during the purge, an atmosphere of comradeship, so as to make every Party member feel that the purge is not a punitive measure, but a means of revealing and correcting all the shortcomings of the Party organisation.

The purging commissions and all Party members must resolutely resist those who would attempt to make use of the purge in order to settle their private accounts and differences between various groups, they must resist all quarrelsome and pettifogging members and also those who would try to compromise a Communist on account of his strict obedience to the Party in the struggle for maintaining the Party discipline, for the regime of economy, for fulfilment of the industrial and financial programmes, for the accurate fulfilment of grain deliveries, for correct preparations of the sowing campaigns, harvesting and distribution of the income in the kolhozy, and, generally, for his firmness as to good and conscientious work of the Party members subordinated to him as director or chief. At the same time, not less resistance should be shown towards

those who would slander as quarrelsome and pettifogging all those who honestly try to help the Party to disclose, during the purge, alien, unstable and unreliable elements in the Party ranks, or to establish actual negligence, shortcomings, mistakes and misdeeds of any comrade or of a Party organisation.

While fighting moral corruption and bad behaviour of Party members (drunkenness, dissoluteness, connections with alien elements, anti-semitism and similar phenomena inconsistent with the dignity of a Communist), the purging commissions must in no case permit petty and cavilling interference in the way in which a Party member carries on the duties entrusted to him by the Party and fights for the realisation and fulfilment of the decisions of the Party.

The purge must be carried out at open meetings of the cells with the participation of non-party men and women (large cells are to be subdivided for the purpose of the purge in accordance with the departments, shifts, kolhozy, sovhozy, etc.); these meetings should hear and discuss preliminary reports of the purging commissions on the aims and purposes of the purge, and also the reports of the cell-bureaux on the state of their organisations. All members and candidates must go through the purge with the exception of members and candidates of the Central Committee and of the Central Control Commission and members of the Committee of Inspection of the Central Committee, as having been elected by the Party Congress, and also the chiefs of the Political Departments of the Machine-and-Tractor Stations and of the sovhozy, because these men have already been examined by the Party at the time of their appointment to their posts. But if a detailed application should be made by a Party meeting or by a group of Party members requesting the examination of a member of the Central Committee, the Central Control Commission, the Commission of Inspection or a head of a Political Department of a Machine-and-Tractor Station or sovhoz, these members must also be subjected to the purge.

#### *IV. Direction of the Purge.*

The general direction of the purge in the whole of the USSR is to be in the hands of the Central Purging Commission composed of the following comrades: Rudzutak (Chairman), Kaganovich, Kirov, Yaroslavsky, Shkiryatov, Ezhov, Stasova and Pyatnitsky.

The Central Purging Commission appoints corresponding purging commissions for the direction of the purge in provincial and republican organisations.

The provincial and republican purging commissions organise district purging commissions.

Provincial and district purging commissions are to be composed of authoritative Communists ideologically stable and politically educated and tried, who have never belonged either to other political parties or to any group within the Party; they must all have a record of membership

of not less than ten years. The lists of members of the purging commissions must be published in the local press, in order to enable the Central Purging Commission, in case there are objections against these comrades or if requests are made as to the necessity of their examination, to consider these applications and requests.

Members and candidates of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) who are not content with the decision of the purging commissions, may lodge appeals against these decisions with the higher commissions up to the Central Purging Commission and the Party Congress, as the highest authority of the Party.

The work of the purging commissions must proceed under the control of the whole Party, including the organisations which are undertaking the purge, and, especially, under the control of the Party Press. Any cell may, at its general meeting, criticise any decision of a purging commission and lodge an appeal against such decisions, but may not cancel them. The members of the purging commissions must remember that they themselves are liable to prosecution for any infringement of Party democracy, for rudeness and tactlessness during the purge, as persons who compromise the purge.

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The purge must be begun as from 1 June in Moscow, Leningrad, the Urals, Donetsk, Odessa, Kiev, Vinnitsa, Eastern Siberia, the Far East and White Russia, and completed not later than by the end of November of the current year.

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The Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Party are convinced that all Party members and honest toiling non-party men and women will take an active part in the purging of the Party ranks from all bad and alien elements, that the purge will unite the masses of workers and members of the kolhozy round the Party, and will make the Party organisations stronger and able to fight better for the realisation of the tasks of the second Five Year Plan.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

The Central Control Commission of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

28 April, 1933.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 29 April, 1933, No. 112-5043.)

## CHRONICLE

### RUSSIA. (UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.)

#### *The Metro-Vickers Trial.*

THE outstanding event of the period was the arrest early in March by the OGPU and the subsequent trial before the supreme court of the USSR of six British engineers of the "Metropolitan-Vickers" Co. and eleven Russian electrical engineers and employees of the firm on the charges of "wrecking" plant in the big electrical power stations of the Union, "economic and political espionage" and bribery. Two days after the arrests an official statement was published that the OGPU had discovered and established the existence of a plot to wreck the big electrical power stations in order to destroy the Soviet electrical industry, and that besides Russian State employees "certain employees of the English firm of Metropolitan-Vickers were involved." At the preliminary examination in the famous Lubyanka prison (of the OGPU), two of the arrested British and all the Russians "confessed" to the crimes attributed to them, and the subsequent act of indictment was based entirely on these depositions, some entries of various sums paid out for overtime, loans, and bonuses, and the depositions of a few outside witnesses, none of whom, with one or two exceptions, were called upon to give evidence at the trial. One of the British engineers was kept in prison, while five were released on bail. None were allowed access to legal advice during the preliminary investigation, and obtained counsel for the defence only a few days before the trial from among the members of the State Collegium of Defending Lawyers. The trial took place in the middle of April on the usual lines of "wreckers'" trials, though for some reason or other the public demonstrations, demands for death sentence, etc., were lacking. One of the accused British engineers, when released on bail, repudiated the depositions made in gaol, which, he said, he had signed in a state of "depression and fear." The one who remained in prison tried once during the trial to deny his own "confession," but after an adjournment of the court, again confirmed them and alone of the British accused pleaded "guilty" to the end. The sentences on the British, accused and "convicted" of the gravest crimes, were singularly mild: two of them were sentenced to two and three years' imprisonment, respectively, three to banishment from the USSR, and one was acquitted. The Russians, who all pleaded "guilty," got from ten to 1½ years' imprisonment. From the outset the British Government and Parliament took a firm stand in the matter, and when the Foreign Office's representations to the Soviet Government had no effect, a Bill was passed "as an enabling measure" to deal with Russian imports and prohibit the same by Royal Proclamation should the need for such a step arise. Negotiations for a new Trade Agreement with the USSR then in progress, were suspended. The existing

A new decree—one of a long series—has been published ordering the reorganisation of the Donets mining basin in view of the unsatisfactory state of the coal industry. Progressive piece-rates are being introduced for the miners, and the engineers' salaries are to be increased by 30-40 per cent.

The issue of a new internal 10 per cent. State Loan of the "Second Five Year Plan" has been announced for the sum of 3,000,000,000 roubles, redeemable in ten years. The bonds will be of two classes, interest-bearing and lottery, every bond of the latter winning a prize during the ten years. Though the loan is to be raised by "voluntary" contributions, every worker is expected to subscribe at least one month's wages.

## REVIEWS

*A History of the Georgian People from the beginning down to the Russian Conquest in the Nineteenth Century.* By W. E. D. Allen, with an Introduction by Sir Denison Ross, Director of the School of Oriental Studies, London (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd.), 1932. Pp. xxiv + 429. With 32 plates, 3 folding maps and 43 text illustrations.

THIS book, brilliantly written and rich in contents, no doubt fills in a gap in existing literature, enabling all who read English to become familiar with the history of Georgia.

Until now, in spite of the awakening of interest in that country in connection with the events of the recent past, an ordinary curious reader was deprived of such a possibility. The importance of Mr. Allen's work in this respect is justly pointed out by Sir Denison Ross in his introduction. He compares it with the well-known description of H. F. B. Lynch: *Armenia: Travels and Studies*, published about thirty years ago. Mr. Allen's work may also be compared to the book of the late French scholar, J. de Morgan: *Histoire du peuple arménien*, which appeared in 1919, at the time of the Paris Peace Conference. That work, however, written, as it was, in 1915-17 at the request of a group of Armenian politicians and their French friends, naturally bears the imprint of a definite political purpose. It leaves, for instance, completely in the shadow, the history of Georgia and the significant relations which not a small portion of the Armenian people had, in the course of ages, with that country. In this respect, Mr. Allen's work, free from any political tendency, imbued with the spirit of free criticism and alien to any topical politics, presents a marked difference from the book of the eminent French archæologist.

Indeed, one of the chief merits of Mr. Allen's work is precisely his desire to present Georgia's past in its real and living connection with the destinies of her neighbours—the Armenians, the Caucasian Mountaineers and the Mussulmans of Eastern Transcaucasia. This is the

easier and the more necessary to him as he realises the cosmopolitan, Pan-Caucasian, nature of the Georgian medieval monarchy itself (*see*, e.g. p. 107), and he points out the existence of a similar tendency even in such a territorially limited State as was Eastern Georgia under Irakli II, i.e. in the second half of the 18th century, on the eve of her incorporation into the Russian Empire. We have, for instance, the following curious political appreciation of that last period of independence in the history of Georgia—if one discounts the experiment of 1918-21. “Psychologically, Irakli’s kingdom was an interesting experiment in Middle Eastern politics, for it demonstrated the capacity of Georgian, Tartar and Armenian elements to beat out a common political life, so long as they had a breathing period free of foreign interference” (p. 205).

The author’s broad view of the history of Georgia, and of the Caucasus in general, is naturally supplemented by his constant care not to detach that history from the general perspective of cultural and historical processes throughout the Near East, Eastern Europe and Middle Asia, during all the periods studied by him, beginning with the most ancient.

Mr. Allen’s *History* consists of five parts, or “books,” divided into 30 chapters. By way of introduction to the documentary history of Georgia the author gives in Book I (*The Background*, pp. 3-66), consisting of five chapters, a general picture of the country, its, so to speak, historico-geographical landscape against the background of the Caucasian mountains; a survey of pre- or proto-historical data concerning metallic cultures; a sketch of the historical ethnology of the Caucasian tribes under a characteristic title “The Swarming and the Mingling” (Ch. 3); a study of Paganism and of the earliest social and political life of Georgia; and, finally, in the last chapter of this book, we are shown Strabo’s Transcaucasia—Colchis, Iberia and Albania—and its further transformations.

The two parts that follow—Book II (*The Mediæval Kingdom*) and Book III (*Revolutions of the Georgian Kingdom*)—represent a consecutive survey of the political history of Georgia up to her annexation by Russia early in the 19th century. Here, particular attention is paid to the circumstances under which was formed the united monarchy of the Georgian Bagratids, on the borderline of the 10th and 11th centuries; to Georgia’s struggle against Byzantium and the Seldjuk Turks; to the rise and strengthening of Georgia in the conditions that sprang up in connection with the first Crusade and the disintegration of the Empire of the Seldjuk Sultans. Following in the wake of others, Mr. Allen quite rightly symbolises this stage of Georgian history in the heroic and creative figure of David II the Builder (c. 1125), in the author’s opinion “the greatest native figure of Little Asia since Mithradates Eupator” (p. 97).

Following upon a flourishing period (*see* Ch. 8, “Heyday of the

Georgian Kings, David II to Tamara "<sup>1</sup>) we have the Mongol domination of the 13th century (Ch. 9), and the twice repeated restoration of the united independent monarchy in the 14th and 15th centuries, with Tamerlan's destructive wars in the interval (Ch. 10).

Beginning with the second half of the 15th century, the dismemberment of Georgia into separate kingdoms and principalities (Ch. 11, "Wars of the Division and Aftermath"), with the simultaneous formation, next door, of the powerful Ottoman Empire, and, later on, the restoration of Persia under the Safavids (Ch. 12, "The Revival of Islamic Imperialism"), created very peculiar conditions, in which, as the degradation of the whole structure of public and social life slowly went on, alongside with the attempts at struggle (*see* Ch. 13, "Clash of Empires: The Epic of King Simon, 1576-1600") and vain search for help from outside (Ch. 14, "The Peregrination of Taymuraz I, 1586-1663"), room was left for half-way solutions which, for instance, reconciled, at the cost of renegation, the independence of the Georgian dynasts with their subservience to the objects of Persian or Turkish policy (Ch. 15).

The repercussion in Georgia of the unsuccessful Persian campaign of Peter the Great in 1722 and of the short-lived dictatorship of Nadir-Shah in Persia (1736-1747) is treated in Chapter 16. Under the title "Indian Summer of the Bagratids," the author introduces his readers to the age of Taymuraz II and Irakli II (1744-1798) when, for the last time, the vital forces of Georgia shot forth in an original way and almost with a real outburst (Ch. 17). Finally, the loss of Georgian independence and the consolidation of the Russian rule in the country form the subject of Chapter 18.

Book IV (*The People and the Power*) is devoted to the tribal customs of ancient Georgia, but mainly to her social and political structure in the Middle Ages. Particular attention is paid here to Georgian feudalism, to the ruling classes, the condition of peasants and other classes, the organisation of the government and Court of the Georgian kings, with a list of offices and corresponding Georgian terms in English transcription. The Georgian Church, justice in ancient Georgia, and the slave trade in the period of decline, have each a chapter devoted to them in this part of the book.

In the concluding part (Book V: *The Life of Georgia*)<sup>2</sup> Mr. Allen

<sup>1</sup> Why not *Tamar* according to the transcription of this name in the English Bible and in accordance with the Georgian *Thamar*? Incomprehensible. It is equally inadmissible to retain in the English transcription of proper names the Georgian ending of the nominative in *i*, owing to which Mr. Allen's text is full of all sorts of names like Bagrati, Wakhtangi, etc., instead of the long-accepted and familiar Bagrat, Wakhtang, etc.

<sup>2</sup> This is M. F. Brosset's *Histoire de la Géorgie* in five volumes, well familiar to all Orientalists, Byzantinists, etc., published in 1849-57 by the Russian Academy of Sciences. The translation of the chronicles is accompanied by notes and comments of the editor-translator.



gives his readers a short account of the art of medieval Georgia (Ch. 27), and of Georgian literature (Ch. 28), and then passes on to a fleeting survey (one of the best parts of the book) of the past trading relations between Georgia, and the Caucasus in general, and the rest of the world, as well as of the material welfare of the country in the past (Ch. 29), and then describes its condition in the 15th–18th centuries as it appears in the reports of the Venetians, such as Josaphat Barbaro or Ambrogio Contarini (15th century), of the Muscovite diplomats of the 17th century, such as Prince Myshetsky or Tolochanov, of the Turkish traveller of the same period, Evliya Chelebi, of the Frenchmen, Chardin and Tournefort, and others (Ch. 30, “Dog-days of the Georgians”).

Such is the bare scheme of the contents of Mr. Allen's book, which is based not only on the study of the principal sources, i.e. of a series of chronicles translated into French in the middle of the 19th century, and on the vast, and partly recent, literature, but also on a direct knowledge of Georgia which the author visited only a few years ago. In fact, Mr. Allen combines in his person an attentive historian with a keen-sighted traveller, and his artistic instinct often helps him to grasp the essence of things and the real causes of changes; it is not for nothing that he chose as one of his mottoes Oswald Spengler's aphorism from *The Decline of the West*: “Poetry and historical study are akin.” Finally, the well-informed biographer of the chosen country, if one may say so, is supplemented in him by the political essayist who avoids neither clear-cut aphorisms of a general nature, nor literary portraits, nor philosophy of history. As a specimen of his writing, I will quote only one extract from a very interesting chapter (11), where is pointed out the parallel between the formation of strong national monarchies in the West (e.g. in Spain) and the decline of the Georgian State in the 15th century, a prelude to its further disintegration. The author, himself apparently not a stranger to the spirit of activism of the Elizabethan age, says (pp. 133–35):

“The Georgian rivals fought like chivalrous boys; they did not kill like kings. The House of Bagratids<sup>3</sup> spawned far and wide its handsome knightly claimants, but not one of them grew cunning, mean and watchful—to scotch the rest. Here were no cold, wary Tudors whetting the axe for their distant cousins, but a pack of Christian gentlemen wasting the land in chivalrous fracas. In this period the gallantry of one claimant towards another is as amazing as the futility of their plots and combinations. From which let us remember that it is not Black Princes that have built the nations, but black livers,” etc.

It seems to me that the history of Georgia, treated as it is in Mr. Allen's book, ought to appeal not only to those who are interested in

<sup>3</sup> Here the text, as in many another place, has, for no reason whatever, “Bagrationi.”

the past of the peoples of the Caucasus, but in general to all readers and students of the history of the countries with which Georgia has been bound up, whether it be Byzantium, Turkey, Persia or Russia. In view of this last connection, and generally speaking, too, this book cannot leave indifferent those engaged in Slavonic studies; and this not only from the point of view of the links uniting the un-Slavonic Georgia and the un-Slavonic Caucasus to the Russian Empire in the recent past, and to the USSR in the present, but also in view of the fact that the community of certain historical factors has influenced the life both of Georgia and of some Slavonic peoples. Thus, for instance, together with Georgia, the Russia of Kiev and Bulgaria and Serbia stood in cultural and political proximity to Byzantium. The burden of Turkey's neighbourhood was felt by Georgia just as by the Balkan Slavs, and there is a similarity between the islamisation of Bosnia and of the Georgian provinces in the Upper Kura and Chorokh basins.

There seems to be no particular need to lay stress on the interest of such a book for everyone who is interested in the national problem in general and especially in the problem of the mutual relations or "symbiosis" of the so-called "small nations" and "empires," a problem so topical and with such a long history behind it. It is quite natural that Mr. Allen's work, though it does not set itself this task, unravels in a particularly striking way the roots of the modern Georgian problem, and shows that the independence of Georgia, in various forms, was the object of national aspirations and struggle for a very long time.

In a work like this which embraces various periods, deals with different cultures and gives in a concise form a summary of the information drawn from all kinds of sources and from a greatly variegated literature in many languages, inexactitudes and accidental errors are unavoidable. Here is not the place to point them out. Some gaps of a more general nature are due sometimes to the author's general attitude. His sceptical attitude to the Church as a historical factor accounts, for instance, for his having left in the shadow its rôle in the history of the formation of the Georgian nation and of its national self-consciousness. He throws, therefore, no light on the struggle for and against the resolutions of the Chalcedonian Council which led, early in the 7th century, to a breach of relations between the Georgian and the Armenian churches, nor on the importance of that confessional (religious) differentiation for the national differentiation between the Georgians who accepted and the Armenians who rejected those resolutions, over nearly the whole of the Southern border of Georgia, from Kachetia in the East to the Chorokh in the West, which has a certain analogy with the contrast between Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy in the Polish-Russian and Polish-Ukrainian national differentiation.

In general, the book bears but few traces of the recent achievements in the study of the history of the Georgian Church and of ecclesiastical

literature, both in Georgia and abroad.<sup>4</sup> Yet in the works of Marr, Kekelidze, Djavakhishvili and others in this domain, in the existing data about the Georgian monasteries in Palestine and elsewhere, the author could have easily found enough material to enable him to enlarge his general sketch of Georgian culture. Similarly, the chapter dealing with the history of literature is far from being on a level with the best parts of the book.

In the interesting sketch of the history of art in Georgia the works of Professor Chubinashvili in Georgian, Russian and German have been completely omitted. Yet even the short survey published by that writer in the catalogue of the exhibition of Georgian art held in 1930 in various towns of Germany under the title "Georgische Kunst. Ihre Entwicklung vom 4 zum 18. Jahrhundert" (1930, Ost-Europa Verlag. Berlin) would have supplied our author with many new facts and interesting illustrations.

It would, however, have been unfair to expect or demand from the author an even treatment of such different subjects. The principal part of his work is an essay on the political history of Georgia, and the merits of that essay are obvious. The rest serves only as a complement.

As regards chapters 19-23, it is necessary to point out that everything in these chapters, all the information which they contain on the social and political life of medieval Georgia, all the quotations from the sources—chronicles, charters, etc.—all special terms and their explanations (pp. 221-261) have been borrowed entirely from the *History of Georgian Law* of Prof. Ivané Javakhishvili, published in Tiflis, in three volumes, in 1928-29, and unfortunately borrowed without any reference to the source, evidently owing to an oversight on the part of the collaborator mentioned in the preface as having supplied the author with special material for this part of the book. But, of course, it was better in this case to resort to the inexhaustible erudition of the above-mentioned Georgian scholar, from whom—of course with certain changes and curtailments as compared with the original<sup>5</sup>—has thus been drawn the material of those "illuminating chapters on the social organisation of Medieval Georgia, a subject hitherto quite inaccessible to the comparative sociologist in Europe," which have rightly called forth Sir Denison Ross's approval (*see* his Introduction, p. xviii). Let us only add that Mr. Javakhishvili, who is, among other things, the author of a work entitled, like this, *History of the Georgian People*, and, in addition, of a number of special treatises and monographs, is

<sup>4</sup> Thus, for instance, the works of the Belgian Orientalist, P. Peeters, published in *Analecta Bollandiana*, of Prof. Robert P. Blake of Harvard, in the domain of the study of ancient Georgian versions of the Bible, etc., have been left without mention.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Javakhishvili, o. 1, I, p. 146 sqq.; II 1. I, pp. 32-40; 71-78; 202-212; 40-50; 50-56; 64-69, 78-88; 93; 108-112, 139-140; 117; 120-123, etc.

at present the most authoritative specialist on Georgian history, so that Mr. Allen's work can only profit by this involuntary collaboration.

The book is accompanied by several supplementary notes and bibliographical references, distributed over different chapters (pp. 359-393), including many books published recently in Soviet Russia. A great number of out-of-date works might have been struck out from this section. There are, in addition, a detailed index (pp. 395-429), an interesting diagram of Georgia's cultural and historical environment and two detailed historical maps. Of the numerous and varied illustrations (32 plates and 43 illustrations in the text) the greater part reproduce the drawings of Castelli, a Catholic priest who lived in Georgia towards the middle of the 17th century, preserved in the Biblioteca comunale of Palermo. Some of them are perhaps a little over-conventional and erring on the side of mannerism to have the value of real documents; but the portraits and sketches of village scenes, landscapes and buildings, skilfully used here and there as vignettes and *culs-de-lampe*, are very interesting. Generally speaking, the book is excellently got up and does honour both to the author and to the publisher.

Z. AVALOV.

*Russia and Asia.* By Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky, Assistant Professor of History in the University of Columbia at Los Angeles. Macmillan (New York). \$2.50.

PRINCE LOBANOV-ROSTOVSKY has Russia's foreign policy in his blood: a relative was Foreign Minister to Nicholas II, and his father was Consul-General in the Far East. It is also fortunate that the author is able to convey his knowledge direct to us in the English language. For the book throws much-needed light on the spread of Russian influence into Asia, in particular, in relation to other European Powers striving for markets there. In the past, and at the present time, too much pure description has been written of both Russia and Asia. At last we have a book devoted to the forces and motives which shaped Russia's Eastern policy.

In his long introduction, perhaps the most lucid and concise treatment of the emergence of the Slav tribes as a national entity ever written, Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky rightly stresses the influence which geographical features have had on Russia's expansion. Her natural border to the north is the Arctic Ocean; in the south, a mighty chain of obstacles stretches from the Caspian to the Pacific. The Eurasian plain, practically unbroken from the Baltic to Eastern Siberia, is clearly divided in two: the northern wooded belt, and the southern steppes. The remarkable fact about the history of this plain is that Asiatic races were able to dominate it from south of the mountains for eighteen centuries. In fact, the Slav tribes were forced into the wooded belt to escape from the Tartar yoke. But after the 13th century the Slavs had become something of a military force; from that time onwards the tide had definitely turned,

and the Russians advanced steadily into Asia. This advance became the one settled factor in Russia's foreign policy, whatever the ambitions in the West entertained by her autocratic rulers, and whatever the result of struggles there. This pre-occupation had one curious and beneficial result: as the outposts of the Empire became more distant from the capital, so the Viceroy's were given greater power, and, above all, the authority to conduct their own foreign relations with neighbouring States.

Peter the Great had, however, in addition to his primary interest in Europe and its mechanical progress, considerable plans in the Far East. The aggressive imperialism of the Chinese caused him to inaugurate a policy of commercial infiltration into Central Asia as an antidote; his example was followed by succeeding rulers. Peter himself was also stirred by the accounts given by certain adventurous merchants of India's wealth; he heard of the riches which England and Holland were drawing from there. From now on, the interests of Russia and England began to clash; the prize was the purchasing power of half the world's population. Nevertheless, a conquest of India was only envisaged by a few hot-heads, on account of the natural obstacles and the vulnerability of India from the sea, which rendered Russian domination of India impracticable. "From the Russian point of view, the main line of activity was in the direction of Constantinople and the Dardanelles: Constantinople because of sentimental motives based on the Byzantine tradition, and the Dardanelles because of the necessity of securing an outlet from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. Persia and Central Asia were to Russia of secondary importance; but meeting with British resistance in Turkey, Russia increased her pressure farther East to frighten Great Britain and oblige her to release her diplomatic resistance in Turkey." But "the energetic Russian advance in Asia was storing up a cumulative explosive in Europe," since Great Britain viewed each advance in Turkestan as a potential threat to India. Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky sums up at least the Russian Foreign Office opinion on the conquest of Central Asia as a prelude to a general attack on India: "Viewed as a side scheme fitting into the general conduct of a war and to be carried out to divert England, but not for the sake of India, such an operation acquires an element of plausibility and reasonableness."

The author deals at some length with Russian activities in Afghanistan and Persia, and with her more remote ventures in Abyssinia and Tibet. This account makes interesting reading. The point which emerges is that Russia's interest was only incidental to the insurance of her frontiers on the geographical barriers of the Eurasian plain. Adventures beyond these limits, unless dictated by diplomatic reasons, were purely imperialist, advocated by powerful merchants and executed by ambitious officers. For such missions the Slav temperament was unsuited, and the plans failed because the mass of thinking people in Russia were opposed to any advance beyond the plain.

Russia's policy in the Far East was actuated by the ideas of Peter the Great, who had fostered exploration schemes and allotted money for their prosecution. But the interest of Russia as a whole in Far Eastern affairs was proportionate to its distance from the capital until the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway was undertaken. The far-seeing merchants saw, however, that a railway of such length scarcely offered commercial possibilities for the export of Russian raw material in bulk. It therefore fell into the hands of those anxious to exploit Mongolia and Manchuria as markets for cheap manufactured goods; the railway thus only became another lever for use as a diplomatic bargaining weapon in the West. Only the friendship which persisted between the rulers of Russia and China, despite annexations and the military struggles which resulted from them, prevented a serious outbreak of national and international rivalries in the Far East at the close of the last century.

The Anglo-Russian rapprochement of 1907 settled outstanding points between Russia and England. Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky attributes this change in what had become an almost traditional attitude to the emergence of Germany as a serious rival to both, not only in the Middle and Far East but also in the more important Balkans. He says: "The Anglo-Russian rivalry had become obsolete in such circumstances, and the only way for an understanding lay in the clear delimitation of mutual zones of interest."

In dealing with the Great War and the Revolution, Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky is less certain and co-ordinated in his treatment of the facts. He says that: "the most striking outcome of the troubled decade after 1914 was the practically total obliteration of the borderline between Asiatic Russia and the bordering countries." That is so. But he does not mention a still more remarkable fact: with the sole exception of the Baltic seaboard, the frontiers of the Empire and those of the Soviet Union are identical. The Soviet sought to maintain its frontiers in this fluid state; but both the principles and the methods of the Bolsheviks are distasteful to the rulers and races of the East. Though the Great Russians, by reason of their numerical preponderance, can maintain the geographical entity of their country, they are unable to make themselves dominant in neighbouring countries where they have no such preponderance. It is the change of expansionist policy that is in part responsible for its failure: the Empire depended on ownership, enforced by military power; the Union depends upon the infiltration of revolutionary ideas, which is facilitated by the adjacent position of Communist and non-Communist territory. Countries which have a settled rule are opposed to this latter principle, and consequently frontiers are closed. Thus the Soviet policy in Asia has, in the last few years, undergone a fundamental change, with which, unfortunately, Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky does not deal. Also, the internal situation in the Union has altered its foreign policy. The failure of the Five Year Plan—now openly acknowledged—the fall of commodity prices and the ever-increasing tariff and quota restrictions

imposed by those nations who were the Union's export market, have to a certain extent convinced the Soviet Government that it will be necessary to proceed more slowly with industrialisation, independent of outside advice and machinery. Since he takes no account of these factors, Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky's concluding chapters lack the value of the earlier ones. The fallacy of his view is shown by his attitude to the Chinese Eastern Railway, which he considers indispensable to Russia's position in Asia. But the new aspect of internal affairs has made the Soviet Government willing to sell the railway to Japan without the struggle which Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky foresees. Therefore it may be concluded that Russia's influence in Asia as a whole will decrease, at least until the internal situation has been remedied.

Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky has treated events in the earlier history of Russia with an impartiality rare to an historian of his own country. For the reader accustomed to anecdote and sensation, this academic treatment is somewhat tedious; the author's reward will be rather the appreciation of serious students than the fat cheques earned by a best seller.

BOSWORTH GOLDMAN.

*Hammer and Sickle.* By Mark Patrick, M.P. Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Sir Austen Chamberlain. (Elkin Mathews and Marrot.) Price 7s. 6d.

THE existence of Communist rule over a large portion of the earth has evoked from the West a volume of published opinion proportionate to the novelty of the subject. The inaccuracy of much that is written is evident from the disparity between the facts offered by the protagonists and detractors of the Russian Communist regime. This partisanship, Mr. Patrick rightly thinks, has now reached a point dangerous to the public interest, since much modern political and economic thought invokes the Russian contrast or example. Mr. Patrick does not need Sir Austen Chamberlain to lend weight to his opinions, which are evidently the outcome of a study of Russian history and shrewd first-hand observation of the Communist epoch. After the flood of emotionalism by which most writers on the Soviet Union have been submerged, Mr. Patrick's precise arguments are, indeed, a much-needed tonic. He points out what should be obvious, but is, in fact, generally lost sight of: "What matters to us in this country is whether Russia is going to affect our own fortunes, political or economic." In order to understand what these effects might be, a clear perspective of what has happened and is happening in the Soviet Union is essential. This is what Mr. Patrick sets out to give.

In the first chapter about the Russian character, two important points are made. First, that the Russians now lead an entirely humourless life; it is grim, indeed, to think that during my journeys in the Soviet Union—embracing European Russia, Siberia, and Central Asia—I never heard a single person laugh spontaneously or by themselves. This is in part the

outcome of the second point: "With us (in this country), a 'mass' is from most points of view the given number of individuals who comprise it. In Russia, the 'masses' are really a mass in consequence of their passivity and susceptibility to suggestion . . . the individual does not feel the same impulse to assert himself as does the average Western European or North American." These factors largely explain why the vagaries and cruelties of Communist policy since 1917 have been tolerated. The disintegration of true Marxian economy Mr. Patrick divides into four periods: but in them all he finds dominant the same unpleasing materialism. Only in the initial period of War Communism had the policy of the Soviet Union even a semblance of Marxian background; then, technical experts were displaced in favour of "true proletarians." The ruin which resulted had to be corrected by the New Economic Policy (NEP); but under this scheme, private enterprise became too prosperous and powerful, and the peasantry too independent. The hold of the Government and the Party was therefore reasserted during the Five Year Plan by the OGPU and virulent propaganda. The industrial advance was to dazzle the town workers; from the industrial advance a corresponding agricultural movement was inseparable. But the peasantry were and are sullenly opposed to collectivisation; there comes a time when it is no longer possible for five (or eight) million disciples to terrorise one hundred and thirty-five million peasants. And in the towns, too, though new machinery is installed, it is badly managed and operated. Disillusion, Mr. Patrick thinks, is spreading, and the fourth period has begun. A swing to the Right, involving new concessions to individuals, will follow. Further, he maintains there will be nothing with which to supply the clamouring millions. This shortage Mr. Patrick ascribes to the additional exports made necessary by the world fall in commodity prices in order to obtain the requisite foreign credits for industrialisation. A further fall, or an embargo on Soviet imports by Great Britain, would completely ruin the present Government. Here I disagree with him; for surely if export became unprofitable or impossible, supplies would be more readily available to the Union's population. Thus, since food supplies are the standard by which a Russian measures his prosperity, there would be a recrudescence of feeling in favour of the ruling clique in the Kremlin. The clique realises that this potential additional supply might be used in an extremity to save its position. It is therefore more likely to retreat from its uncompromising policy of industrial advance than to undertake the war Mr. Patrick fears. Also, if the army were as powerful as he thinks, surely a military dictatorship would long ago have displaced the civilians who now deny the generals any voice in the councils of the Union.

As a whole, Mr. Patrick draws attention to the many unattractive features of Soviet life. The book should be treated by the eager inquirer as a typical educated Englishman's attitude towards that of which he fundamentally disapproves. Nevertheless, Mr. Patrick is surprisingly impartial, and the book is therefore a valuable guide to a proper perspective



of Russian Communism. The author's presentation of the facts fully justifies his conclusion that Great Britain has nothing to learn, at least, from the Russian example. But once or twice, Mr. Patrick is irritatingly obscure. Since the author is unduly modest about himself, the reviewer must explain that he was Secretary to the Embassy in Moscow, and has since revisited the country. He says that the third period of Soviet rule ended with Stalin's speech known as that of the "Six Points," but omits (perhaps assuming too much knowledge in the lay reader to whom he wishes the book to appeal), to tell us what these points were. Once he is inaccurate when he says that the Empire was never able to win a war. But during the whole period of Russia's expansion in Asia until the Russo-Japanese War, no defeat there ever went unavenged. This was perhaps the key to its success in Asia. These matters are, however, small compared with the general standard attained by the book. Everyone who wishes to escape from both unreasonable prejudice and uncritical enthusiasm about the Soviet Union should therefore read *Hammer and Sickle*.

BOSWORTH GOLDMAN.

*The Ukrainian Canadians.* A Study in Assimilation by Charles H. Young, M.A., Edited by Helen R. Y. Reid, B.A., LL.D., Immigration Division, Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene, Toronto. Thomas Nelson and Sons, Limited, 1931. Pp. xiv, 327.

THE fact that the Ukrainians in Canada form one of the largest non-Anglo-Saxon groups there is of importance to Canadians and of considerable interest to all those who have followed the tortuous history of the Ukrainian people in Eastern Europe during the last thousand years. It is indeed a strange turn of fortune that tore a part of this group from its ancient rooting north and east of the Carpathians and transplanted it chiefly in the prairie region of Western Canada. The Canadians themselves were slow to realise the significance of this group in their midst. A confusion of designations, "Galicians," "Ruthenians," "Austrians," "Little Russians," "Ukrainians," beclouded the governmental as well as the popular mind and served to obscure the fact that these people belonged to a single ethnic group. Names which seemed difficult for English tongues to pronounce and looked so unfamiliar to eyes long accustomed to "Smiths" and "Browns" began to appear in newspapers, on pay-rolls and in governmental records of all kinds. Whole districts in Western Canada were settled by folk whose language, religion and customs differentiated them at first from the surrounding population. Then, too, the political lightning of Europe began to be reflected in this far-off Western Canadian horizon. The Ukrainian Canadians attracted increasing interest. An evidence of this interest is the appearance of the book under review.

This work is a general survey including a short historical introduction, a chapter on the settlement and distribution of the population illustrated by a map, a summary of the development in rural and urban areas and a discussion of various aspects of Ukrainian life in Canada, such as religious organisation, education, health, political affiliations, and social and fraternal groupings. The author is to be congratulated on presenting in clear outline a broad and variegated picture. As an initial attempt it is eminently successful, and anyone who wishes to obtain a general idea of the situation of the Ukrainian Canadians cannot do better than read this book. There are, however, certain aspects of the subject which await further investigation and elucidation. Thus, for example, no one has made an exhaustive study of the question of the exact number of Ukrainians who have come to Canada. The problem of religious affiliations and organisations deserves further investigation by one who is familiar with the Ukrainian language. The study of the political sympathies in connection with the European situation is of the very greatest interest. In this respect certain sections of Young's books are already somewhat out-of-date. There are also certain sociological aspects which ought to be further elaborated. The Ukrainian Canadians themselves are beginning to study more closely their past history and present situation, and we may hope in the future to have also the results of their studies published.

*University of Saskatchewan.*

GEORGE W. SIMPSON.

*Raggle Taggle: Adventures with a Fiddle in Hungary and Roumania.*

By Walter Starkie, Litt.D. London (John Murray), 1933.

10s. 6d. net. 399 pp. Frontispiece by Arthur Rackham.

THERE has been nothing quite like this book since Borrow, but Borrow would, perhaps, have looked a little askance at some of the adventures of this Irish professor—though he would, we shrewdly suspect, soon have reached the conclusion that the soup was not always quite as hot as it is served to us. Mr. Starkie, who is Professor of Spanish at Trinity College, Dublin, and a director of the Irish National Theatre, and who has an intimate knowledge of the Latin countries and also of their gypsies, started to wander on foot through the Danubian countries with nothing but a rucksack and a fiddle, often earning a meal or a night's lodging by his playing. He set himself the aim "to shun that hiking world and try to meet outcasts, picaresque knaves, gypsy vagrants, who would be ready to pillage the khaki gentlemen if they thought it worth while." The result is a long series of unconventional surprises, based on the assumption that "music is the only true international language," and that the gypsy is "the salvation of those countries, because his music is the antithesis to machine-made sound."

Unlike so many foreign visitors, he does not take sides in modern controversies, but is almost equally attracted by Hungary and Roumania.

Hungary and Spain he calls "the last bulwarks in the modern standardised world": but he can watch with fascination the post-war "conflict of cultures" in the Transylvanian capital and finds Bucarest not less interesting and original than Budapest. The book is full of word pictures of life on the Puszta, the fata morgana, the funeral of a Gypsy Primas, the ways of bear tamers and the cure effected by a Romany witch. And, as Mr. Starkie has a penchant for gypsy encampments and shoddy inns, the flea plays his due part and makes his bow as "the Devil's horse, on which Satan rode when he started his war with God." Intermingled with all this are many enlightening passages about Gypsy, Hungarian and Roumanian music, the work of Bartok and Kodály, of Brediceanu and Enescu, tags of music or folksong to rub in many a point, and quite a learned musical bibliography. But in the end more than one reader will re-echo the words, "Alas, O Borrow, where are your theories . . . ?"

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

*Hamlet, Kraljević danski.* By V. Krišković. Zagreb, Matica hrvatska, 1926. Pp. 208.

THIS translation is very conscientiously done. Misunderstandings of the text seem to be entirely absent, for it is evident that Dr. Krišković has carefully studied the available commentaries and has striven to give a rendering free from blemishes and preserving as closely as possible the succinct pithiness of the original. How far the grandeur of Shakespeare's language and its poetry are reproduced, is a question not easy for a foreigner to answer, particularly when his knowledge of Croatian is more theoretical and philological than practical. For this reason I feel that it would be presumptuous to attempt any adjudication of the literary and poetical merit of the version under review and shall therefore limit this notice to a few points which a comparison of the greater part of the English and Croatian texts has suggested.

From beginning to end the rendering is exceedingly faithful and yet avoids being pedantically accurate or forced. Although Dr. Krišković does not push his zeal for being literal so far as to attempt really close translations of sporting or, indeed, any technical terms, yet he has obviously aimed at a well-nigh line for line equivalence, and it must be confessed that the exact agreement searched for is usually neatly contrived. To some extent the translator is no doubt helped, as every Slav must be, by the synthetic character and the free word order of his native language, which enable adequate reproduction of the compact Shakespearean diction, but to a greater extent he must himself receive the credit. Examples of his neat skill are numerous. Two may here suffice:

With witchcraft of his wit, with traitorous gifts	becomes
Svog duha čarom, darom izdajničkim.	

The internal rhyme and alliteration are cleverly done.	For
--	-----

A little more than kin, and less than kind	we have
the effective and natural line	

Od svojte više, a od svoga manje.

Occasionally resort is had to paraphrases, but when that happens the English text itself usually requires elucidation for all but the professed Shakespeare scholar. Without a glossary no one, I imagine, would make much of

Unhousel'd, disappointed, unanel'd  
and even if the Croatian text

Bez pričesti i zadnjeg pomazanja  
is watered down, it is no more so than the literal translation of the words (without sacrament and last anointing) which is roughly how a commentary will render the adjectives of the original. The rhyming couplets and short lines are efficiently rendered. Compare

foul deeds will rise,

Though all the earth o'erwhelm them, to men's eyes  
with

Pa ih krila zemlja c'jela

Na vidjelo će izbit prijeka djela

or

As by lot, God wot

with

Kocka pade, to Bog znade.

Not always is the translation equally felicitous. I am inclined to think that

jer je kratkost duša bistra suda

with its numerous long vowels and succession of three disyllables ending in *a* has little of the lightness and force of "Brevity is the soul of wit." Again there is a weakness about

Ti mali ovaj nauk dobro pamti

as a rendering of

And these few precepts in thy memory

Look thou character.

The vigour of the verb character is ineffectually rendered by pamti (remember). For once, too, the line division is not followed. I wonder if Dr. Krišković is not just a little too literal when he gives us

Gle, kako jadnik tužan iduć čita

for

Just look, where sadly the poor wretch comes reading.

The conjunction of present participle and finite verb seems somewhat unnatural, or is this a cavil of mine (Shakespeare has the same conjunction), and has the translator intentionally linked the two words together in order to emphasise Hamlet's gloomy, dragging gait? In that event Dr. Krišković may well have gone one better than Shakespeare—whose line seems to me sprightly rather than gloomy—and chosen on purpose four successive disyllables, each having a long unaccented vowel following on a short rising accented vowel.

Many of the familiar but strange phrases of the original are kept in

the Croat: "a sea of troubles" remains (*more muka*), though "shuffled off his mortal coil" is, naturally enough, cold-shouldered and replaced by the equivalent of thrust off his mortal garb. Puns again, those puns at least where the poet is in his less happy vein, are not reproduced. Thus the clumsy play on the words effect and defect, and on remain and remainder in Act II, Scene 2, is imitated but half-heartedly, while the pun on air, meaning both draught and life, is neglected entirely, *promaja*, literally draught, being used on both occasions. For what reason, however, was the repetition of sting (A serpent stung me . . . and . . . The serpent that did sting thy father's life) avoided, and two verbs (*ujesti* and *upeći*) used?

Occasional liberties are taken by Dr. Krišković with the spelling of the words he chooses, but they are all recognised as legitimate and are characteristic of normal rapid conversation. Examples are the omission of unaccented *i* in the short words *ali*, *ih*, and in imperatives (*ustav*, *nes'te*); contractions of *-ije-* words to *-je-* (*c'jela*), of *njegovo* to *njegvo*, of *možeš* to *moš*.

The vocabulary of the translation is interesting. For the most part it appears to be entirely normal Serbo-Croat with a predilection for some words which may, however, evoke definitely poetical associations. Is "zboriti" (to speak)—which is frequently used—such a word? Neither Turkish words (e.g. *jok*, *lakrdija*, *ugursuz*) nor German ones (e.g. *frajla*) are eschewed, though their use is rather restricted, and consequently whenever they do occur they seem distinctly effective. I do not remember to have noted any words of obviously recent Italian importation nor—fortunately—any of the Latin formations which are now so dreadfully plentiful in the Serbo-Croat press and threaten, like weeds, to choke the fair flowers of the lovely Serbo-Croat garden.

A last reflexion. Now that the Bible has been translated into what is claimed to be colloquial English, is it too much to hope that Shakespeare, too, may be made intelligible to his own countrymen? This is rank heresy, no doubt, but there are signs that not all educated persons are beginning to think it a heresy. If Shakespeare were made easy to us, he might become more popular on our stages, as popular even as he is among the Slavs, who can understand his meaning thanks to such translations as the present one, or the fine versions which Župančić is making for the Slovenes.

Prefixed to Dr. Krišković's translation is an essay on Shakespeare's art and on Hamlet, his character and the portrayal of his emotions by the dramatist. Although there is naturally nothing new for the English Shakespeare student in Dr. Krišković's views, he has done well to give his Croat countrymen a clear and pleasantly written account of the present-day attitude to the Hamlet problem.

N. B. JOPSON.

*Comenius in England.* By R. Fitzgibbon Young. (Oxford University Press, 1932.) 100 pages, 12 illustrations.

AFTER several monographs dealing either with Bohemian students at English universities or with cultural relations between England and Bohemia, Mr. Young has now published the above-named book on Comenius, which he has dedicated "Thomae Garrigue Masaryk Moraviae decori patriae patri pansopho." In it he tries to describe Comenius's visits to London in 1641-2 and to explain its bearing on the origins of the Royal Society, on the development of the encyclopædia and on plans for the higher education of the Indians in New England and Virginia. Mr. Young has not chosen to give a detailed description of Comenius's experiences in London, his conferences with the supporters of higher education and, finally, his failure and preparations for departure, but instead he reproduces the documents relating to the matter, either in the original, or in English translation if they were written in Latin. He has compiled a table of dates illustrating the life of Comenius, and a second table tracing the development of scientific societies and the evolution of encyclopædic ideas between 1470 and 1784—the latter being the date of the foundation of the "Societas Regia Scientiarum Bohemica" at Prague. In the introduction he calls attention to the decline of European universities at the beginning of the Reformation period and shows in particular that new methods in science only penetrated with great difficulty into the old seats of learning. It was natural that scientific societies should have been gradually founded in various countries. They were not bound by the old tradition and could more easily develop these new methods.

The introduction which is written with a thorough knowledge of the subject enables us better to understand the published documents. Of these, the first five and the tenth are by Comenius. First comes a translation of several chapters of his *Continuatio admonitionis fraternae* (1669), containing many references to his pansophic studies and his visit to England. These chapters, which are of the greatest interest to the English reader, may be compared with three other passages: an extract from Comenius's preface to the second part of his *Opera Didactica Omnia* (1657); his allusions to his visit in his *Pansophiae Diatyposis* (1643), and, finally, the contents of a letter which he wrote to the Royal Society, dedicating the *Via Lucis* to the Society. Soon after his arrival on 18 October, 1641, he set down his impressions of London for those of his Bohemian and Moravian friends, who, like himself, had found a refuge in Leszno in Poland when compelled to leave their country on account of their faith. Mr. Young has included a translation of this as number 5. Number 10 is Comenius's description of the function of an universal college in his *Didactica Magna* (chapter xxxi, §15). The other passages are by his friends and supporters. There is an excerpt from Samuel Hartlib's *Macaria* (1641), with a not very clear allusion to Comenius; the preface by Jeremy Collier, a master at Ipswich Free School, to his translation of

*Pansophiae Diatyposis* (which appeared in 1651 with the title *A Patterne of Universal Knowledge*). I drew attention to this foreword in *The Times Literary Supplement* (in June, 1927) because it contains an account of how Comenius came to be invited to London. The author of documents 8 and 9 is the Scottish clergyman John Dury, whose connection with Comenius I discussed in an article, "Comenius and Christian Unity" in this *Review* (No. 25). They are excerpts from his *Motion tending to the Publick Good* . . . and from his two letters to Sir Cheney Culpeper (1642). I referred to both in my study *Komenský a anglický parlament* (Comenius and the English Parliament), published in Prague in 1929 in a collection of essays *Českou minulostí* (The Past of Bohemia).

From the material collected and published by Mr. Young it will be possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of Comenius's efforts to unite human knowledge and his activities in London, which were interrupted by the Irish rising and political complications. The introduction and numerous footnotes accompanying the texts contain the fruits of Mr. Young's careful study of Comenius's educational work and of the manner in which his ideas were subsequently carried forward, especially by G. W. Leibniz. In particular, Mr. Young has studied Leibniz's numerous memoranda on the foundation of learned societies and thus gained a broad foundation for his estimation of Comenius. It should be emphasised that he has consulted not only English but also Czech and German literature on the subject, so that hardly anything referred to in the texts is left unexplained. The book contains two supplementary chapters, the first with the title "Archbishop Williams as a patron of Learning" and the second "Plans for the higher education of the Indians in Virginia and New England." The latter corresponds closely to the author's earlier study *Comenius and the Indians of New England* (1929; see No. 23 of this *Review*, pp. 455-6).

The book is accompanied by 12 illustrations and, not only for its outward appearance, but also for its wealth of material on Comenius's life and the cultural efforts of his time, will find a prominent place among English works on this subject.

O. ODLOŽILÍK.

*De Engel des Vredes*. By Jan Amos Comenius. Translated into Dutch by Dr. R. A. B. Oosterhuis. Utrecht (Kemink & Zoon) 1932.

THIS work consists of an admirable Dutch translation of the Latin text of *Angelus Pacis* (1667)—a plea for a Peace League of the Christian States of Europe, addressed by Comenius in May, 1667 to the English and Dutch envoys at the Conference of Breda. Dr. Oosterhuis is the leading Dutch authority on Comenius and his rendering of this famous tractate is at once accurate and elegant.

Appended to the translation is an excellent and most scholarly essay on Comenius and World Peace written by Dr. Oesterhuis and Professor J. Hendrich of Prague, and arranged in four sections. Section I discusses the relation of Comenius to other advocates of peace schemes in the 17th century such as Hugo Grotius, Robert Barclay, Leibniz and the Abbé de Saint-Pierre. Section II traces the sources of Comenius' pacifist ideas; Section III deals with the second Trade War between England and Holland and the Peace Conference of Breda in 1667; Section IV discusses the context and significance of the *Angelus Pacis*. The book is beautifully printed, and embellished with a facsimile of the Latin title page of the unique copy of the original edition of the tractate preserved in the Museum at Brno.

R. FITZGIBBON YOUNG.

## SLAVIC COURSES AT AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

It is not easy to keep from doing too much or too little in chronicling these courses. The undersigned had decided to pursue a strictly negative policy this year, so far as canvassing is concerned. It was felt that the time was hardly ripe for a new and detailed study of the Slavic work such as appeared in these columns three years ago. But voluntary reports have been coming in and these need to be recognised and encouraged. In themselves they are encouraging as showing a very strong undercurrent of interest in Slavic studies despite the world depression, an interest by no means generally realised.

One conclusion can safely be drawn. Two of the supposedly weakest sisters in the group of Eastern European languages are apparently more than holding their own: Albanian at Columbia, Roumanian at Harvard and at Johns Hopkins.

The course in Roumanian introduced at Harvard University by Mr. Maxwell I. Raphael (now on a European Travel Fellowship for study in Roumania) is being given by Mr. Louis F. Solano.

At Johns Hopkins University a similar course has been instituted under the charge of Professor Gustaf Gruenbaum.

Columbia also announces work in *Advanced Albanian* in charge of Mr. Nelo Drizari. No other institution in America has so far reported such a course.

The following courses, now being given for the first time at Columbia University and offered also for 1933-34, have been called to our attention, and as each is significant of a trend in Slavic studies in America, they are here given practically in full.

History 361-362.—Russia in the 20th century; the Old Regime and the Revolution. During the current year: a study of certain conditions antecedent to the Revolution of 1917, and especially of late pre-revolutionary economic developments; collections of official documents recently



acquired by the Library will be employed. Students who wish to work in certain other fields may, however, be admitted by special arrangement. For an introduction to the Russian language, (*see* Russian 99-10), a special course in the reading of historical prose. Students admitted only with the instructor's permission. Professor G. T. Robinson.

Economics 151.—The economic institutions of pre-revolutionary Russia. A study of the rise of modern capitalism in Russia before the Bolshevik revolution. The peasant problem, the growth of industry and the financial progress of the country will be discussed. The course is planned as an economic explanation of the revolutionary events of 1917. Dr. M. T. Florinsky.

Economics 152.—The economic institutions of Soviet Russia. An historical survey of the development of the Soviet economic institutions from 1917 to the present day, from War Communism to planned economy. The various aspects of the economic life of the country and the effects of the Five Year Plan upon Russia and the world will be discussed. Dr. M. T. Florinsky.

Columbia University has also announced a decidedly less common course on *Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, to be given to graduates in the Summer School by Professor Nathaniel Schmidt. Of course, Professor Schmidt's work in this field is well known on both sides of the Atlantic.

The return of Professor John Dyneley Prince to Columbia University from the American Legation at Belgrade brings with it changes at that university.

Courses in the *Cultural History of the Slavs*, in Comparative Slavonic and a Slavonic Seminar, are probably to be given by Professor Prince.

Harvard University has been giving this year, for the first time, a course in Serbo-Croatian, and at Radcliffe Slavic 4, a survey course in Russian literature with readings in English has been in progress. This latter course will be offered at Harvard itself in 1933-34. Next year, also, Professor Samuel H. Cross will give, for the first time, a course in Russian literature of the 19th century, wholly in Russian for advanced students who handle the language with facility. Another new Harvard course of decided interest will be *Balto-Slavic Philology* based on a study of Lithuanian, and this will alternate with the two half-courses on *Old Bulgarian*. In the cycle of the minor Slavic languages, Czech will have its turn in 1933-34.

Dr. Stephen P. Mizwa of the Kosziusko Foundation is undertaking a canvas this year of the courses being given in the United States on Polish history or Polish literature. Such special canvasses are very welcome, as the data secured are most decidedly helpful in the periodical reviews of the whole Slavic and Eastern European field. Anyone in a position to aid Dr. Mizwa might well communicate with him at the Kosziusko Foundation, New York City.

A. I. ANDREWS.

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## NEW POEMS IN PROSE

BY IVAN TURGENEV

*Translated from the Russian by* GEORGE Z. PATRICK *and*  
GEORGE R. NOYES

[A very special interest attaches to these "literary remains" of Turgenev, which are now published in English for the first time.—ED.]

### I

#### THE MEETING (A DREAM)

I had a dream. I was walking over a broad, desolate plain, strewn with large, jagged rocks, beneath a low, black sky.

Among the rocks wound a path. . . . I followed it, myself not knowing whither or why. . . .

Suddenly before me, on the narrow line of the path, there appeared something like a thin cloud. . . . I began to watch it. The small cloud became a woman, slender and tall, in a white garment, with a bright, narrow girdle around her waist. . . . She hurried away from me with quick steps.

I did not see her face, I did not see even her hair: that was

*Translators' Note.*—During his last years Turgenev wrote a series of *Poems in Prose*—*Seniha* was his term for them—on which he continued to work even during his fatal illness, and in which he gave final expression to the pessimism that had constantly deepened within him. Some of these he published; others, among them some of the most striking and the most intimate, were recently discovered among the papers of the French singer, Madame Viardot-Garcia, Turgenev's dearest friend, to whom on his death in 1883 he bequeathed all his literary remains. These have been published in Russian (together with a parallel French version by M. Charles Salomon. Paris: 1930) by Professor André Mazon, who has authorised the present translation of them.

concealed by an undulating veil; but all my heart yearned towards her. She seemed to me beautiful, lovely, and charming. . . . I longed fervently to overtake her, longed to glance at her face . . . into her eyes. . . . I longed to see, I must see those eyes.

But, no matter how I hastened, she moved still more swiftly than I, and I could not reach her.

And then across the path appeared a broad, flat slab of stone. . . . It barred her way. The woman paused before it . . . and I darted towards her, trembling with joy and expectation, although not without fear.

I uttered no word. . . . But she slowly turned towards me. . . .

And still I did not see her eyes. They were closed.

Her face was white . . . white as her raiment; her bare arms hung motionless. She seemed to have become stone; in her entire body, in every feature of her face the woman was like a marble statue.

Slowly, without bending a single limb, she swayed backward and sank down upon that flat stone. And suddenly it seemed to me that I was lying beside her, lying on my back, stretched out at full length like a piece of sepulchral sculpture, with my hands folded in prayer upon my breast; and I felt that I too had become stone.

A few moments passed. . . . The woman suddenly rose and walked away.

I longed to rush after her, but I could not stir, could not unclasp my folded hands, and I only gazed after her, with unspeakable anguish.

Suddenly the woman turned, and I saw bright, radiant eyes in an expressive and mobile face. She fixed them upon me, and laughed with her lips alone . . . without a sound: "Arise, arise and come to me."

But still I could not stir.

Then she laughed once more, and swiftly moved away, gaily nodding her head, upon which there suddenly glowed a wreath of tiny crimson roses.

And I remained motionless and mute upon my tombstone.

*February, 1878.*

## II

### I PITY . . .

I pity myself and others, all men, and beasts, and birds . . . everything that lives.

I pity children and old men, the unfortunate and the happy . . . the happy more than the unfortunate.

I pity victorious, triumphant generals, great artists, thinkers, poets.

I pity the murderer and his victim, ugliness and beauty, the oppressed and the oppressors.

How shall I free myself from this pity? It will not let me live. . . . Pity, and then too the weariness of life.

O weariness of life, weariness, entirely dissolved in pity! A man can sink no lower.

I should do better to envy, in very truth! But I do envy—the stones.

*February, 1878.*

### III

#### THE CURSE

I was reading Byron's *Manfred*. . . . When I came to the place where the spirit of the woman ruined by Manfred pronounces over him her mysterious incantation, I had a sense of terror.

You remember: "May thy nights be without sleep, may thine evil soul eternally feel my invisible, inescapable presence, may thy soul become its own hell!"

But here I recalled something else. . . . Once in Russia I witnessed a furious quarrel between two peasants, a father and a son.

The son ended by inflicting on his father an unbearable insult.

"Curse him, Vasilych! Curse him, the wretch!" cried the old man's wife.

"Very well, Petrovna," the old man answered in a choked voice, and made a sweeping sign of the cross. "Let him also live to have a son who before the eyes of his mother shall spit upon his father's grey beard!"

This curse seemed to me more terrible than that directed against Manfred.

The son opened his lips to answer, but he staggered, turned pale, and went out.

*February, 1878.*

### IV

#### TWINS

I once witnessed a quarrel between two twins. They were as like each other as two drops of water: in their features, their

expression, the colour of their hair, their stature, the shape of their bodies. And they hated each other with implacable hatred.

Trembling with rage they made the same grimaces. Their faces, thrust close to each other and bearing a strange likeness, burned with the same passion; their eyes, so peculiarly alike, flashed and threatened in the same way; the same words of abuse, pronounced in identical voices, poured forth from lips that were distorted in the same way.

I could not endure it. I took one of them by the hand, led him to a mirror and said to him: "You will do better to vent your rage here in front of this mirror. . . . For you it will be all the same . . . but for me it will not be so painful."

*February, 1878.*

## V

### THE BLACKBIRD (I)

I was lying in bed, but could not sleep. Care gnawed me; heavy, tediously monotonous thoughts slowly passed through my mind, like an interminable chain of murky clouds, incessantly crawling over the summits of bleak hills on a gloomy day.

Ah! I was then in love; I loved with a hopeless love, full of bitterness, such as one may experience only under the snow and frost of years, when one's heart, spared by life, has remained—not young! No, but futilely and vainly youthful.

Like a whitish patch the phantom of a window loomed before me; all the objects in the room were vaguely outlined: they seemed still more motionless and silent in the misty twilight of the early summer morning. I looked at my watch: it was a quarter to three. And outside the walls of the house one sensed the same immobility. . . . And the dew, a veritable sea of dew!

And in this dew, in the garden, under my very window, a blackbird was already singing, whistling, trilling—incessantly, loudly, confidently. The quavering sound penetrated into my silenced room, filled it entirely, filled my ears, my head, heavy with feverish insomnia, with the bitterness of morbid thoughts.

There was a breath of eternity in those sounds—of all the freshness, all the indifference, all the strength of eternity. In them I heard the voice of nature itself, that beautiful, unconscious voice, which never had a beginning—and will never end.

It sang, it warbled confidently, that blackbird; it knew that soon, in its due course, the unchanging sun would shine forth; in its song there was nothing of its own, subjective feeling; it was

the very same blackbird that a thousand years ago greeted that same sun and that will greet it after other thousands of years, when all that remains of me will perchance whirl in invisible notes of dust around its living, sonorous body, along the current of air disturbed by its singing.

And I, a poor, ludicrous, lovelorn, subjective man, say to thee :  
“ Thanks, little bird, thanks for thy strong, free song that so unexpectedly resounded under my window at that sad hour

“ Thy song did not console me, nor indeed was I seeking consolation. . . . But my eyes became wet with tears, and the motionless, dead burden stirred in my breast and was lifted for an instant. Ah ! And my beloved, is she not just as young and fresh as thine exultant notes, thou singer of the coming dawn !

“ And why should I grieve and languish and think of mine own self, when around me, on all sides, there already extend those cold waves that either today or tomorrow will sweep me away into the shoreless ocean ? ”

My tears streamed . . . but my dear blackbird, as if nothing mattered, continued its dispassionate, its happy, its eternal song !

Oh, what tears upon my flushed cheeks were illumined by the sun when it at last arose !

But I was smiling as before.

*July 8, 1877.*

## VI

### THE BLACKBIRD (II)<sup>1</sup>

Again I lie in bed . . . again I am sleepless. The same early summer morning envelops me on all sides ; and again, under my window, the blackbird sings, and in my heart burns the same wound.

But the bird's song brings me no relief, and I do not think of my wound. Countless other gaping wounds torture me : from them in purple streams flows blood that is near and dear to me ; it flows ceaselessly, senselessly, as the rain water pours from lofty roofs upon the mud and filth of the street.

Thousands of my brothers, of my kindred, are perishing there far away, under the impregnable walls of fortresses ; thousands of brothers cast into the yawning jaws of death by their incompetent leaders.

<sup>1</sup> Probably inspired by a visit to Tolstoy in August 1878, just after the Russo-Turkish War.

They perish without a murmur; men send them ruthlessly to their doom; they do not pity themselves, nor do even those incompetent leaders pity them.

Here there are no righteous and no guilty men: the flail does but lash the sheaves—whether they be empty or full of grain, time will show. What matter my own wounds? What matter my sufferings? I dare not even weep. But my head burns and my soul grows faint—and like a criminal I bury my head in those odious pillows.

Hot, heavy drops creep, roll down my cheeks . . . roll down to my lips. . . . What are they? Tears . . . or blood?

*August, 1878.*

## VII

### WITHOUT A NEST

Whither shall I go? What shall I do? I am like a lonely bird without a nest. Its feathers ruffled, it perches on a bare, dry twig. To remain there is tedious . . . but whither can it fly?

And now it unfolds its wings—and darts impetuously straight into the distance, like a dove that has been frightened by a hawk. Will there not someone open before it a green, cosy nook? Will it not be possible to build a nest somewhere, even for a short time?

The bird flies on, flies on, and looks downward attentively.

Under it stretches a yellow desert, silent, motionless, dead. . . .

The bird hastens on; it flies across the desert, and still looks downward, attentively and yearningly.

Below it is a sea, yellow and dead as the desert. To be sure, it roars and surges, but in the ceaseless rumble, in the monotonous heaving of its billows there is also no life, and it too offers no shelter.

The poor bird has grown weary. . . . The beating of its wings weakens; the bird dips in its flight. It would have soared to the sky . . . but how could it make a nest in that bottomless emptiness?

At last it folds its wings . . . and with a prolonged wail it drops into the sea.

The sea swallows it up . . . and rolls on, roaring senselessly just as before.

Whither shall I go? Is it not time that I too plunge into the sea?

*January, 1878.*



## VIII

## THE CUP

I am amused . . . and I am surprised at myself.

My sadness is not feigned, life is indeed a burden to me, bitter and joyless are my feelings. And yet I endeavour to give them a touch of glamour and beauty, I search for images and comparisons; I round my sentences, I delight in the cadence and harmony of words.

Like a sculptor, like a goldsmith, I painstakingly model and engrave and in every way adorn the cup wherein I raise the poison to my own lips.

## IX

## WHOSE OFFENCE?

She held out to me her delicate white hand . . . and I pushed it away with brutal rudeness. Perplexity was evident in her charming young face; her kind young eyes gazed at me with reproach; her pure young soul did not understand me.

"What is my offence?" her lips whisper.

"Your offence? The brightest angel in the deepest azure of the skies is more prone to guilt than yourself.

"And yet your offence against me is great. Would you learn of it, that grievous offence, which you cannot comprehend, and which I am powerless to explain to you?

"This is the offence: you are youth, and I am old age."

## X

## A RULE OF LIFE

Would you be calm? Keep in touch with men, but live alone; undertake nothing and regret nothing.

Would you be happy? First learn to suffer.

*April, 1878.*

## XI

## A REPTILE

I once saw a reptile that had been cut in two. Covered with sanies and with the slime of its own excretions, it still wriggled and, convulsively raising its head, put forth its sting. . . . It still threatened . . . threatened impotently.

I read a feuilleton by a disgraced scribbler.

Choking with his own saliva, wallowing in the pus of his own filth, he too writhed and wriggled. . . . He mentioned a "combat"—by a duel he offered to clear his honour . . . his honour!

I recalled that reptile, cut in two, with its inglorious sting.

*May, 1878.*

## XII

### AUTHOR AND CRITIC

An author was sitting in his room at his desk. Suddenly a critic came in.

"What!" he exclaimed. "You are still scribbling, still composing, after all that I have written against you; after all those long articles, notes, and open letters, in which I have proved, as surely as twice two is four, that you have no talent and have never had any, that you have even forgotten your mother tongue, that you have always been notorious for your ignorance, and that now you have grown quite stale and out of date, that you have turned into a mere rag!"

The author calmly addressed the critic.

"You have written against me a huge number of articles and feuilletons," he answered; "that is beyond dispute. But do you know the fable of the fox and the cat? The fox knew many tricks, but still she got caught; the cat knew only one, how to climb a tree . . . and the dogs could not reach her. So it is with me: in reply to all your articles I have drawn a full-length portrait of you in but one book. I have put on your wise head a fool's cap—and you will parade in it before posterity."

"Before posterity!"—the critic burst out laughing. "As if your books would ever reach posterity! In forty years, or fifty years at most, nobody will even read them."

"I agree with you," answered the author, "but for me even that will suffice. Homer created his Thersites for all eternity, but for your sort a half-century is more than enough. You do not deserve even a fool's immortality. Good-bye, sir . . . . Would you have me mention your name? That is hardly necessary. . . . All men will pronounce it without my aid."

*July, 1878.*

## XIII

"OH, MY YOUTH! OH, MY FRESHNESS!<sup>2</sup>

"Oh, my youth! Oh, my freshness!" I too used to exclaim in days gone by. But when I uttered that exclamation I myself was still young and fresh.

Then I merely wished to amuse myself with a feeling of sadness—to pity myself in public, while in secret I rejoiced.

Now I am silent and do not lament aloud over those losses. . . . Even so they ceaselessly gnaw me with a dull pain.

"Ah, it is better not to think!"—as the peasants would say.

*June, 1878.*

## XIV

TO . . .

Not the twittering swallow, not the playful fledgeling has with its thin, strong beak hollowed out a nest for itself in the hard crag.

To a harsh family of strangers you have gradually become wonted and have made a home for yourself among them, my patient and wise little girl.

*July, 1878.*

## XV

I WALKED AMID LOFTY MOUNTAINS<sup>3</sup>

I walked amid lofty mountains, along bright rivers and through fair vales. . . . And all that met my gaze spoke to me of but one thing: I was loved; yes, I was loved! I forgot all else!

Above me shone the sky, the leaves rustled, the birds sang. . . . And little clouds in rapid file floated merrily into the distance. . . . All about me breathed of happiness, but my heart needed it not.

I was borne on, borne by a wave vast as the waves of the sea! In my soul reigned a silence superior to joy and grief. . . . Scarcely did I recognize myself: the whole world belonged to me!

Why did I not die then? Why did we both live on? Years came . . . years passed—and they brought nothing that was sweeter and more radiant than those foolish and blissful days.

*November, 1878.*

<sup>2</sup> A quotation from Gogol.

<sup>3</sup> In verse in the original.

## XVI

WHEN I SHALL CEASE TO BE . . .<sup>4</sup>

When I shall cease to be, when all that once was I shall be scattered into dust—O thou, my only friend, O thou whom I have loved so deeply and so tenderly, thou who wilt surely survive me—come not to my grave. . . . Nothing will call thee there.

Forget me not . . . yet call me not to mind amid thy daily cares, pleasures and needs. . . . I would not disturb thy life, I would not impede its quiet course. But in hours of solitude, when there descends on thee that shy and causeless sadness, so well known to kind hearts, take one of our favourite books and find in it those pages, those lines, those words which in former days—dost thou remember?—caused us both, as we read them together, to shed sweet and silent tears.

Read them, close thine eyes and stretch forth thy hand to me. . . . To thine absent friend stretch forth thy hand.

I shall be unable to press it with my hands that will lie motionless beneath the earth. But even now it brings me joy to think that, perchance, thou wilt feel on thy hand a gentle touch.

And my image will appear to thee, and from under thy closed eyelids tears will flow, like those tears which, when moved by Beauty, we used to shed together, O thou, my only friend, O thou whom I have loved so deeply and so tenderly.

*December, 1878.*

## XVII

## THE SANDGLASS

Day after day goes by without leaving a trace, monotonously and swiftly.

With awful speed life has rushed by, quickly and noiselessly, like the stream of a river approaching a waterfall.

It runs out evenly and smoothly, like sand in the glass that the figure of Death holds in its bony hand.

When I lie in bed and darkness envelops me on all sides, I am constantly haunted by that faint and ceaseless rustle of fleeting life.

I regret it not. I regret not what I might still have done . . . I am terrified.

It seems to me that beside my bed stands that motionless figure. . . . In one hand it bears the sandglass, the other it holds above my heart.

<sup>4</sup> Obviously addressed to Madame Viardot-Garcia.

And my heart trembles and pounds against my breast, as though hastening to beat its last strokes.

*December, 1878.*

## XVIII

## ONE NIGHT I AROSE . . .

One night I arose from my bed . . . It seemed to me that some one had called me by name . . . outside, beyond the dark window.

I pressed my face to the pane, listened, gazed—and waited.

But outside, beyond the window, there was only the rustling of the trees—monotonous and vague—and the heavy, smoky clouds, though ever moving and ever changing, remained always the same, the very same. . . . There was not a star in the sky, not a light upon the earth. It was tedious and gloomy outside, just as it was within my own heart.

But suddenly, somewhere in the distance, rose a plaintive sound, which, gradually gaining volume and approaching, rang out like a human voice, and then, subsiding and dying away, rushed past me.

“Farewell! farewell! farewell!” I seemed to hear in those dying sounds.

Ah! It was my entire past, all my happiness, all, all that I had ever loved and cherished, bidding me farewell irrevocably and for ever.

I bowed to that life of mine that had flown away, and went back to my bed . . . as to a tomb.

Ah! Would that it had indeed been a tomb!

*June, 1879.*

## XIX

## WHEN I AM ALONE . . . (THE DOUBLE)

When I am alone, quite alone and for a long time, I suddenly begin to fancy that some one else is in the same room with me, sitting beside me or standing behind my back.

When I turn round, or suddenly glance in the direction where that other man seems to be, of course I see no one. The very sensation of his nearness vanishes . . . but in a few moments it returns again.

Sometimes I press my head with both my hands and begin to think about him.

Who is he? What is he? He is not a stranger to me . . . he knows me—and I know him. . . . He seems akin to me . . . but between us is an abyss.

Not a sound, not a word do I await from him. . . . He is as mute as he is immobile. . . . And yet he speaks to me . . . he says something vague, incomprehensible—though familiar. He knows all my secrets.

I fear him not. . . . Yet he embarrasses me and I would rather not have such a witness of my inward life. . . . And at the same time I feel in him no separate, alien existence. Are you not my double? Are you not my ego of times gone by? And in very truth, is there not between the man whom I remember myself to have been, and my present self, a veritable abyss?

But he comes not at my bidding; he seems to have a will of his own.

Neither you nor I, my friend, are happy in the odious silence of solitude.

But wait! . . . When I die, we shall fuse together—my past and my present self—and we shall speed away to dwell for ever in the realm of irrevocable shades.

*November, 1879.*

## XX

### THE ROAD TO LOVE

All feelings may lead to love, to passion—all: hatred, pity, indifference, reverence, friendship, fear—even contempt. Yes, all feelings . . . with but one exception: gratitude.

Gratitude is a debt; every man pays his debts . . . but love is not money.

*June, 1881.*

## XXI

### THE PHRASE

I fear, I avoid the phrase; but dread of the phrase is in itself a pretence.

Thus our complex life rolls on and vacillates between these two words not native to Russia, between pretence and phrase.

*June, 1881.*

XXII  
SIMPLICITY

Simplicity ! simplicity ! They call thee saintly. But sanctity is not a human trait.

Humility is a different thing. It tramples down, it triumphs over pride. But forget not : in the very sense of victory there is a touch of pride.

*June, 1881.*

XXIII  
THE BRAHMIN

The Brahmin gazes at his navel and repeats the word *om*, and thereby he draws near divinity.

But is there in the entire human body anything less divine, anything that reminds one more of the bonds of human frailty, than that very navel ?

*June, 1881.*

XXIV  
YOU WEPT . . .

You wept over my grief, and I wept from sympathy with your pity for me.

But yet you wept also over your own grief : only you beheld it in myself.

*June, 1881*

XXV  
LOVE

Every one says : " Love is the most lofty, the most unearthly of feelings. An alien self has penetrated thine own : thou art expanded, thou art infringed upon ; only now thou art distant, and thy self is slain. . . ."<sup>5</sup>

*June, 1881.*

XXVI  
TRUTH AND JUSTICE

" Why do you set such store by the immortality of the soul ? " I asked.

" Why ? Because I shall then possess truth that is eternal and indubitable . . . . And therein, I think, consists supreme bliss ! "

<sup>5</sup> Unfinished : the concluding words in the manuscript are illegible

"In the possession of Truth?"

"Of course."

"Tell me: Are you capable of imagining the following scene? Several young men have gathered together and are conversing . . . And suddenly one of their friends rushes in: his eyes sparkle with an unwonted fire, he is breathless with ecstasy, he can hardly utter a word. 'What is it? What is it?'—'My friends, listen to what I have learned! What a truth! The angle of incidence is equal to the angle of reflection. And here is another: A straight line is the shortest distance between two points!'—'Really! Oh, what bliss!' exclaim all the young men, and with a feeling of tender affection they rush into one another's embraces!"

"I too am incapable of imagining such a scene!"

"You laugh. . . . That is the point. Truth cannot give us bliss. . . . But justice—*that* is human, that concerns us on this earth. . . . For justice I am willing to die. Upon it all life is built. But how can one 'possess it'? And moreover, how can one find supreme bliss in it?"

*June, 1882.*

## XXVII

### PARTRIDGES

Lying in bed, tortured by a prolonged and hopeless illness, I thought: "How have I deserved this? Why am I punished, I above all others? This is unjust, unjust!"

A whole flock of young partridges—about a score—are huddled together in the thick stubble. They press close to one another, they scratch the soft soil, they are happy. Suddenly a dog frightens them: they rise at once, all together; a shot resounds, and one of the partridges, its wing broken, all shot through, falls, and dragging with difficulty its tiny legs it hides under a cluster of wormwood.

While the dog is searching for it, the unfortunate partridge, perchance, also thinks: "There were twenty of us, all like myself . . . Why should I, I above all others, be shot and be fated to die? How have I deserved this more than my sisters who remain? This is unjust!"

Lie still, suffering creature, until death overtakes thee!

*June, 1882.*



## XXVIII

NESSUN MAGGIOR DOLORE<sup>6</sup>

The blue sky, clouds light as down, the fragrance of flowers, the sweet sounds of a young voice, the radiant beauty of great works of art, the smile of happiness on a charming woman's face, and those bewitching eyes . . . Of what use, what use is all that?

A spoonful of nasty, useless medicine every two hours—that is all that is necessary.

*June, 1882.*

## XXIX

## CAUGHT UNDER A WHEEL

“What is the meaning of those groans?”

“I am suffering, suffering extremely.”

“Have you ever heard the plashing of a brook as it breaks against the stones?”

“I have heard it. . . . But why this question?”

“Because that plashing and these groans of yours are all mere sounds, and nothing more. Only there may be this difference: the plashing of the brook may give joy to some one's sense of hearing, but your groans will move no man to pity. Check them not—but remember: They are only sounds, sounds like the creaking of a broken tree . . . sounds—and nothing more.

*June, 1882.*

## XXX

## WAH! . . . WAH! . . .

I was then living in Switzerland; I was very young, very self-centred, and very lonely. I lived an unhappy, cheerless life. Although I had as yet experienced nothing, I was already bored, despondent, and morose. Everything on earth seemed to me trivial and vulgar—and, as often happens with very young men, with a secret malice I cherished the thought . . . of suicide. “I will show them . . . I will avenge myself . . .”—such were my thoughts. . . . But what should I show? For what should I avenge myself? That I did not know myself. It was simply that my blood was working like wine in a sealed vessel . . . and it seemed to me that I must let that wine overflow, that it was time to break the

<sup>6</sup> An allusion to the lines of Dante.—

Nessun maggior dolore  
Che ricordarsi del tempo felice  
Nella miseria.

“There is no greater grief than in misery to remember happy times.”

vessel that restrained it. . . . Byron was my idol, Manfred was my hero.

One evening, like Manfred, I decided to go yonder, to the mountain peak, above the glaciers, far away from men, to a region that lacks even the life of vegetation, where only dead crags tower one above another, where every sound is stilled, where not even the roar of the waterfalls can be heard !

What I intended to do there . . . I do not know. . . . Perchance to put an end to myself. . . .

I set forth. . . .

I walked for a long time, first along a road, then along a trail; I rose ever higher . . . ever higher.— I had already long since passed the huts, the last trees. . . . Around me were rocks, nothing but rocks.—I felt the sharp, cold breath of the snow, which was near by, but still unseen.— From all sides in black coils the shadows of night advanced upon me.

I stopped at last.

What an awful stillness !

It was the realm of Death.

And I was there alone, the single living man, with all my haughty grief and despair and contempt. . . . A living, conscious man, who had renounced life and who had no desire to live. A secret horror chilled me, but I imagined myself to be great ! . . .

A Manfred—in very truth !

“ Alone ! I am alone ! ” I repeated, “ alone face to face with death. Is it not time ? Yes . . . it is time. Farewell, worthless world ! I spurn thee with my foot ! ”

And suddenly, at that very moment, there was wafted towards me a strange sound, which I did not at once understand ; but it was a living . . . a human sound. . . . I shuddered, I hearkened. . . . The sound was repeated. . . . Yes, this . . . this was the cry of a babe, of an infant at the breast ! . . . Amid these desolate, wild heights, where all life, it seemed, had died away long ago and for ever, the cry of a babe ! . . .

My amazement suddenly gave way to another feeling, a feeling of breathless joy. . . . And I ran headlong, heedless of my path, straight towards that feeble, pitiful, and life-saving cry !

Soon a flickering light began to twinkle before me. I ran still faster—and in a few moments I caught sight of a low cabin. Built of stones, with flat, squat roofs, such cabins offer shelter for weeks at a time to the Alpine shepherds.

I pushed the half-open door and simply burst into the cabin, as if death were pursuing me at my heels.

On a bench sat a young woman, suckling an infant. . . . A shepherd, probably her husband, sat beside her. They both stared at me. But I could say nothing . . . I only smiled and nodded my head. . . .

Byron, Manfred, dreams of suicide, my pride and my greatness, whither have you all vanished? . . .

The babe continued to cry—and I blessed it, and its mother, and her husband. . . .

O warm human cry, cry of new-born life, thou hast saved me, thou hast healed me !

*November, 1882.*

### XXXI

#### MY TREES

I received a letter from a former university friend, a wealthy landowner, an aristocrat. He invited me to visit him on his estate.

I knew that he had long been ill, had lost his sight, was shattered by paralysis, could hardly walk. . . . I went to him.

I found him in one of the avenues of his spacious park. Wrapped in a fur coat—although it was summer time—puny and bent, with a green shade over his eyes, he was sitting in a small carriage that two footmen in rich liveries pushed from behind.

“ I welcome you,” he said in a sepulchral voice, “ to the domain of my ancestors, under the shade of my immemorial trees ! ”

Above his head there spread like a canopy a mighty oak, a thousand years old.

And I thought : “ O giant of a thousand years, dost thou hear ? A half-dead worm, crawling at thy roots, calls thee his tree ! ”

But then a breeze sprang up and played with a light rustle amid the dense foliage of the giant. . . . And it seemed to me that the old oak answered with good-humoured laughter both my thought—and the boast of the sick man.

*November, 1882.*

# RUSLAN AND LYUDMILA<sup>1</sup>

*Translated from the Russian of ALEXANDER PUSHKIN by*  
OLIVER ELTON

## THE WEDDING

I tell you deeds of days gone by ;  
From far tradition comes the story :—

In thronging audience-chamber high  
Vladimir, like the sun in glory,  
With friends and stout heirs held carouse,  
His youngest daughter to espouse  
To valiant Prince Ruslan ; he swallowed  
Mead in a ponderous bowl, and followed  
With healths to them and all the house.

Our good forefathers dined at leisure ;  
The ladles, at their leisure too,  
And wine in silver cups, full measure,  
Went round, and beer in bubbling brew.  
All hearts were flooded with enjoyment  
As the foam fizzed upon the brim ;  
The bearers, in their grave employment,  
Serving each guest, bowed low to him.

But now the talk was all confounded  
Into one buzz, by that gay ring ;  
When hark ! a pleasing voice resounded  
To the loud psaltery's flying string ;  
All hushed, and now were celebrated  
By a melodious Bayan<sup>2</sup>  
The marriage wreath, by Lel created,  
Charming Lyudmila, and Ruslan.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Elton has chosen for translation the principal movements of this charming sketch of the old Russia of Kiev, connecting them with short notes. Vladimir was Grand Prince of Kiev from 980 to 1015.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> A kind of Kievan Homer, who sang to a stringed instrument called "gusli."—ED.

But he, enamoured, sick with yearning,  
Ate not nor drank, with passion burning;  
Watched his beloved sitting by,  
And glowed, and heaved an angry sigh;  
Bit his moustachios, and reckoned  
Impatiently, each tardy second.

There, by the boisterous nuptial board,  
With brows all glum, with never a word,  
Sat three young champions dejected.  
The ladles unreplenished stood  
And the round goblets passed neglected.  
They had no relish for their food;  
Were downcast, discomposed and jealous,  
Nor heeded soothsaying Bayan.

Hid in their souls the poison ran  
Of love and hate; these luckless fellows,  
All three, were rivals of Ruslan.  
One was Rogday, a dashing sworder,  
Whose blade had shifted back the border  
Of Kiev's rich and rolling plain;  
The next, unrivalled as an eater,  
But mid the clash of steel discreeter,  
Farlaf, a brawler proud and vain;  
The last, a man of fire and passion,<sup>3</sup>  
The young Khazarian khan, Ratmir;  
And all, in pale and sullen fashion,  
Sate cheerless, over that good cheer.

The feast is done; and in due muster  
They rise, and shout, and throng and cluster;  
All scan the youthful pair; the bride  
Casts down her gaze, as one who wholly  
Is out of heart and melancholy;  
The bridegroom beams with joy and pride.

But darkness all the world is wrapping;  
The dead of night is nearly come;  
The warriors, o'er the mead-cup napping,  
Bow their farewells, and make for home.  
Ruslan, in joy and exultation,

<sup>3</sup> The Khazars were the most settled and peaceful of the Asiatic neighbours of Kiev and Byzantium.—Ed.

Caresses in imagination  
The beauties of the bashful maid ;  
While the great duke, on both bestowing  
The benediction that is owing,  
Is full of sadness unbetrayed.

And now the young Lyudmila, plighted,  
Is taken to the marriage bed ;  
And now the evening lamp is lighted  
By Lel ; the fires are quencht and dead  
Ruslan's dear hopes are nigh repayment ;  
Love's gifts are soon to make him glad ;  
And downward falls the jealous raiment  
On woven carpets of Tsargrad  
Hear ye the passionate words low-spoken  
And the sweet kisses ? do ye hear  
The interrupted murmurs broken,  
The last shy plaint ? And now comes near  
The moment, and the happy groom  
Foreknows . . . when, suddenly, from under  
A flashing cloud, a clap of thunder !  
The lamp goes out, there whirls a fume,  
And all is quaking, all is gloom ;  
Ruslan is faint with fear and wonder.  
Twice, through a dreadful hush, there sounded  
A stranger-voice, and Someone flew  
Upward, with thickest smoke surrounded,  
And murkier than the mist that blew.  
The empty room once more is still ;  
The bridegroom rises, and in rivers  
Cold sweat pours down his face ; he shivers  
In fear ; his questing fingers chill  
In the dumb dark have vainly sought her,  
" My love is gone ! ah, misery, where ? "  
The mirk is dense ; she is not there ;  
Some power unknown away hath caught her.

[Vladimir promises Lyudmila to the man who shall find her. Ruslan and the three rivals ride off to seek her, but soon part company, and have sundry adventures. Ruslan meets an old man, Finn, who after telling his own story informs him that the thief is the wizard Chernomor, but that he, Ruslan, shall win his wife in the end. She is now in Chernomor's castle.]

## LYUDMILA CAPTIVE

All night the young princess was laden  
With deep oblivion, and fast  
Locked in a dreadful dream ; at last  
With hot and troubled soul the maiden  
Woke in dim terror ; and she cast  
Her mind again to thoughts of rapture,  
Joyously hoping to recapture  
Someone—but whom ? “ Where is my dear,  
My lord ? ” she murmurs ; “ is he here ? ”  
Then glances round, half-dead with fear.  
Where, hapless lady, art thou banished ?  
Where has thy own dear chamber vanished ?  
—She lies on down, and overhead  
By a proud canopy is shaded ;  
The curtains and the sumptuous bed  
Are tassel-hung and costly-braided ;  
All round are precious webs, brocaded ;  
All round, like flames the jewels gleam ;  
The perfume rises in a steam  
From golden censers :—but I need not  
Describe a wizard’s palace ; no,  
Scheherazade long ago  
Forestalled me there, and I proceed not.  
And yet a room, however bright,  
Is joyless, with no friend in sight.

Three girls, all prodigies of beauty,  
In lightsome and alluring dress,  
Appear, and draw to the princess,  
And bow to earth, to pay their duty.  
And then the first approaches, pacing  
With noiseless step, and soon is lacing  
In one gold tress Lyudmila’s hair.  
She plaits with fingers light as air,  
—An art we know today—and winding  
A coronal of pearls, is binding  
Therewith the forehead pale and fair.  
The next demurely down is gazing ;  
And now the graceful form is blazing,  
Invested with a sarafan,

Magnificent, cerulean.  
A veil like a transparent cloud  
The youthful shoulders now doth shroud,  
The bosom, and the yellow tresses  
—A jealous garment that caresses  
Charms worthy among gods to dwell !  
A pair of sandals lightly presses  
The feet—a perfect miracle.

And the third handmaid now is bringing  
A girdle all bepearled ; and near,  
The voice of one unseen is singing  
A song of happiness and cheer.  
But ah ! no necklet's jewelled treasure,  
No flattering, gay, melodious voice,  
No sarafan, no pearls, give pleasure  
Or make Lyudmila's heart rejoice.  
And vainly in the mirror shining  
Are the fair form and gorgeous dress ;  
With eyes bent low and motionless  
She speaks not, heartsick and repining.

Now all true lover-folk, the dark  
Recesses of the heart perusing,  
—I mean, their own—will surely mark  
That when a weeping woman, musing  
In sorrow, does not steal askance  
Her wonted and judicious glance  
Into the mirror, her affliction  
No longer is a jest, or fiction.

They leave her ; now, alone again  
And all perplexed, behold her straying  
Up to the latticed window-pane,  
With melancholy eye surveying  
A dismal, endless, deathly plain.  
Over the level land there stretches  
A snowy carpet clear and bright ;  
Further, a range of summits reaches,  
Sullen, monotonously white,  
Asleep for ever, mute. No sight  
Of cottage smoke or traveller going



Across the snows ! no huntsman blowing  
A cheery horn, whose echo fills  
The desert of those empty hills !  
At times a whistling wind flies sadly  
O'er the bare plain, and riots madly,  
And on the edge of the gray skies  
The naked forest quivering lies.

Lyudmila, desperate and tearful,  
Just hid her face ; the scene was fearful.  
Alas !—but what was now in store ?  
She hurried to a silver door ;  
And it flew open to a sound  
Of music, and Lyudmila found  
She stood within a garden fairer,  
More charming than Armida's, rarer  
Than all the Taurid prince could own,  
Or that great emperor, Solomon.  
Before her rising now she sees  
A noble coppice of oaktrees  
That rustle in the wind and waver ;  
A row of myrtles of sweet savour ;  
A laurel thicket ; by them nested  
Gold oranges, and proudly-crested  
Cedars, palm-alleys,—and all these  
Glassed in the waters. Every copse,  
The valleys, and the low hill-tops  
Now feel the fires of spring renew them.  
The meadow-lands enchanted stay  
Under the sorcery of May,  
Whose cool fresh airs are wafted through them.  
The nightingale of China now  
Trills on the shadowy, quivering bough ;  
The diamond spray from fountains flashes  
And gaily to the heavens plashes ;  
The statues that below them gleam  
Might be alive,—or do we dream ?  
And would not Phidias, fosterling  
Of Pallas and of Phœbus, fling  
His magic chisel in vexation  
And gaze on these with admiration ?  
Here in a fiery pearly bow

The waterfalls come down and spatter  
And on the marble edges shatter ;  
Here, in the woodland shade, below,  
The sleepy streamlets hardly flow ;  
And, for a shelter cool and quiet,  
Here, through the never-fading green,  
Bright arbours glimmer, barely seen.  
The paths breathe fragrance, with a riot  
Of roses, in their living sheen.  
But she, unseeing, only ponders,  
And inconsolably she wanders.

[Lyudmila is spirited back to her bed. Negroes enter, carrying a long beard, at the end of which is Chernomor ; and while he wears it, nothing can subdue him. He also wears a magic cap. Lyudmila seizes him by the beard ; he tumbles down and is removed, leaving the cap. (Ruslan, meantime, has been attacked by Rogday and has cast him into the water ; where he is taken down by a water sprite, or *rusalka*.) Lyudmila, trying on the cap before the glass, turns it wrong side forward, and becomes invisible and safe. Ruslan wanders on to]

### THE VALLEY OF THE DEAD

Now, as the morning clouds gleam bright,  
A spacious valley comes in sight.  
Against his will, our hero shivers ;  
Behold, an ancient battle-field  
In a blank country ! Here revealed,  
Men's bones lie yellowing ; and quivers,  
Corslets, and many a rusted shield,  
And harness, strew the mounds ; the bone  
Of a dead hand still clasps the sabre ;  
A tufted helmet, grass-o'ergrown,  
Has an old rotting skull for neighbour ;  
A warrior's skeleton, complete,  
With charger prostrate at his feet,  
Lies moveless ; arrows, too, and lances  
Are pinned into the swampy ground,  
And peaceful ivy wraps them round,  
And nothing ever comes, or chances  
To vex that desert hush profound.

The sun, high up in heaven and bright,  
On this Dead Vale pours down his light.

[Musing on the chances of mortality, Ruslan picks up a helmet and armour; and a pike, for he finds no sword that is worthy of him.]

Already the wide earth is sleeping;  
The rose of sunset pales and dies;  
Blue vaporous mists around are creeping;  
A golden moon begins to rise.  
And musing, as the steppe grows dimmer,  
Ruslan rides down the darkening track,  
And sees, beyond the night-fog's glimmer,  
A monstrous hummock looming black.  
—What fearful thing is yonder, snoring?  
Ruslan comes close, and closer still,  
And seems to hear, as he waits poring,  
A breathing from that wondrous hill.  
Calm and unfaltering is he,  
While his horse trembles and stands pricking  
Its ears in panic; jibbing, kicking,  
Its head it tosses stubbornly,  
And all its mane on end is sticking.

The hillock, in pale vapour shrouded,  
Illumined by a moon unclouded,  
Clears quickly; and a prodigy  
Confronts the brave Ruslan (but see,  
My words are pale, my colours dim !)  
A living Head is facing him !  
The two huge eyes are shut and sleeping;  
And, as it snores, the plumes that curl  
Upon the helmet waver, sweeping,  
And there on the dark crest unfurl,  
Like shades that pass and flit and whirl.  
There, in its dreadful beauty lowering,  
There, on the sullen steppe uptowering,  
Guarding that nameless empty land,  
Begirt with silence, doth it stand,  
Vast, threatening, in its misty curtain,  
Before the prince. And he, uncertain  
In mind, is eager to dispel  
That strange mysterious sleep, and seeking

To scrutinise the miracle,  
 Draws near the head, and never speaking  
 Rides round it, pauses at the nose,  
 Tickling the nostrils, as he goes,  
 With point of pike; and at the thrust  
 The eyes are opened in a twinkling,  
 The mouth yawns wide, the brows are wrinkling,  
 And the head—sneezes; and a dust  
 Flies up, and all the steppe is shaking;  
 A whirlwind rises in a gust;  
 A flight of owls comes whirring now  
 From eyelash and moustache and brow;  
 The silent thickets are awaking  
 And echo back the sneeze; and snorting,  
 The restive horse darts off, cavorting;  
 The warrior is all but flung.  
 A resonant voice behind him rung:  
 “Insensate warrior, whither questing?  
 Turn, shameless man! I am not jesting;  
 Or I will make one gulp of thee!”  
 Ruslan looked round, and scornfully  
 Reined in his steed as though to wait,  
 And only smiled in answer, proudly.  
 And the head frowned, and bellowed loudly,  
 “What wouldst thou have with me? what fate  
 Sends such a visitor, so late?  
 Listen: ’tis night, and I am minded  
 To have my sleep, and thou wilt find it  
 Best to begone; so, stay not here!”  
 When this rude language strikes the ear  
 Of our illustrious cavalier,  
 With dignity sore ruffled by it  
 He shouts, “Thou empty sconce, be quiet!  
 I’ve heard a saying old and true,  
 ‘The forehead’s big, the brains are few!’  
 So, touch me, if thou darest to!”<sup>1</sup>

And then, aflame and dumb with passion  
 And stifled spite and indignation,  
 The head blows out its cheeks; there flies

<sup>1</sup> The sense of a proverbial couplet, with no English equivalent, which runs literally, “I come, I come, I won’t whistle; but when I catch you I’ll not let you go.”

A sparkle from the bloodshot eyes ;  
 The lips are quivering and foaming,  
 From mouth and ears a steam is coming ;  
 And suddenly, with all its might,  
 It puffs a blast against the knight.  
 In vain the steed,—his eyes are blinking,  
 His chest strains hard, his head is sinking,—  
 Still hurries, blind, through whirl and rain  
 In terror, and through night that thickens.  
 In one last spurt his pace he quickens,  
 To rest, exhausted, on the plain.

[Ruslan overcomes the Head and finds the fateful sword underneath it. The Head gives in, and tells his story. He is, it proves, the brother of Chernomor ; and the wizard, by a trick, has planted him here ; the sword is to be fatal to them. The Head speeds off Ruslan to punish Chernomor. (The story now follows Ratmir, who comes on a magic castle of luxury and is received by maidens.) Ruslan wanders on ; and the story returns to the]

#### INVISIBLE LYUDMILA

And how meanwhile does she, my rare  
 Lovely princess, Lyudmila, fare ?  
 The magic cap is her salvation,  
 She fears no wizard's molestation ;  
 She walks unseen ; yet, never speaking  
 And downcast, through the garden flits ;  
 And still she sighs, in spirit seeking  
 Her own dear friend ; and she permits  
 Forgetfully her dreams to roam  
 To Kiev and the plains of home.  
 Father and brothers she embraces ;  
 She sees her youthful playmates' faces  
 And her old nurses' ; all forgot  
 Her severance, and her captive lot !  
 But now too swiftly the illusion  
 Fades, and has left our poor princess  
 Once more alone and in distress.

All day, in scurry and confusion,  
 All night, the slaves of that enamoured  
 Misdoing sorcerer did not dare

Once to sit down, but loudly clamoured  
Through castle, gardens everywhere,  
And still the charming prisoner sought.  
But all their trouble went for nought ;  
Lyudmila was amused ; and flying,  
Would flash to view—without the hat—  
Among the groves of faery, crying  
“ This way, this way, this way, not *that* ! ”

Then all the mob rushed out to catch her,  
But suddenly, again unseen,  
With noiseless foot she slipt between  
The greedy hands that sought to snatch her ;  
And every hour, in every place,  
They saw a momentary trace ;  
The gilded fruit upon the bough  
That rustled, lo ! was disappearing ;  
Drops from the wellspring tumbled now  
Out on the trodden grassy clearing ;  
'Twas she, as all the castle knew,  
Who ate and drank ; the thing was true !

And the nights found Lyudmila sleeping,  
Hid in a birch or cedar-tree,  
One instant, if she might ; but she  
Was all the time in floods of weeping,  
Calling for husband, and for rest,  
Tired out, and sorrowing, and yawning ;  
And rarely, just before the dawning,  
With head upon the timber prest,  
She dozed, but lightly at the best.  
And, when the night-fog just was breaking,  
Lyudmila now her way was making  
To wash in the chill waterfall.  
The dwarf, once looking from his hall  
In early morning, saw it spatter  
Upward in spray, and fall and scatter,  
As troubled by some hand unseen.  
But she, as ever sad and yearning,  
Roamed up and down those gardens green,  
And waited for the night returning.  
And often, as the day was closing,

Her sweet voice sounded in their ear ;  
Often they found a wreath, reposing  
Abandoned in a thicket near ;  
Or else a shred of Persian shawl,  
Or tear-stained kerchief, in a ball

[Chernomor produces a phantom Ruslan, thus discovering where she is ; he traps her in a net and throws her into a magic sleep. He is interrupted by the horn of the true Ruslan.]

### THE AIR-FIGHT

Who sounds that trumpet ? Who is scaring  
The sorcerer now, and summons him  
To bloodshed and to battle grim ?  
Ruslan, with wrath and vengeance flaring !  
And near the miscreant's dwelling still  
Our warrior waits, below the hill,  
His horn its stormy challenge sounding.  
The horse grows hot and restive, till  
Its mighty hoofs the snow are pounding.  
Then, as the prince awaits his foe,  
Invisibly a sudden blow  
Much like a thunderbolt comes crashing,  
Down on the stout steel helmet smashing.  
The prince, who dimly upward gazes,  
Sees straight above him high in air  
The dwarfish Chernomor, who raises  
A hideous mace, and hovers there.  
Ruslan, behind his buckler stooping,  
Brandished aloft his blade, to hew ;  
The other in an instant flew  
Into a cloud, was lost to view ,  
Then, with a great noise downward swooping,  
He pounced upon the prince anew.  
Aside the warrior retreated  
Nimbly ; the wizard swung—too late,—  
The stroke that was to seal his fate,  
And fell, and on the snow was seated,  
Ruslan said never a word, but straight  
Dismounted, hurried to him, clipped him,  
And by the long beard fairly gripped him.

The wizard strained and groaned, and lo !  
Flew upward, with Ruslan in tow.  
The good horse pawed, and watched them go.

The wizard mounts, the clouds enwreathe them ;  
The hero dangles at his beard ;  
They fly, with gloomy woods beneath them ;  
They fly, o'er savage hills upreared ;  
They fly o'er oceans never sounded,  
And doggedly Ruslan still grasps  
The villain's beard ; his hand around it  
Grows numb and rigid as he clasps.

Then, weakened by his voyage airy,  
Amazed at that strong Russian arm,  
Said the enchanter, sly and wary,  
To proud Ruslan : " No further harm  
I do thee now, whate'er befall.  
I will forget and pardon all.  
Now hear me, prince ! I love, in truth,  
Thy gallant spirit and thy youth.  
I will come down—but on condition——"

Our prince broke in, would hear no more :  
" Be silent, trickster, rogue, magician !  
It is not for Ruslan, be sure,  
To bargain with a Chernomor,  
My wife's tormentor ; thou mayst wander  
Far as the star of evening yonder,  
Yet this dread sword shall punish thee,  
And, pirate, thou shalt beardless be ! "

Then Chernomor, his heart constricted  
With panic, dumbly vexed, afflicted,  
Wags his long beard, but still in vain,  
A weary dwarf. With might and main  
Ruslan holds ever tighter, tweaking  
Now and again the wizard's hair.  
Thus for two days he doth him bear,  
Then sues for mercy, humbly speaking :  
" Good knight, take pity, be more tender ;  
My breath is short, my strength is gone ;  
Leave me my life, and I surrender ;



I will come down to earth upon  
 Whatever spot thou dost command me."  
 —" Ah, now thou tremblest ! understand me,  
 Thou art my slave ; be pacified ;  
 Bow to a Russian's might ; and land me  
 Near my Lyudmila, near my bride."

[Ruslan shears off the beard, packs the dwarf in his wallet, and finds Lyudmila in her trance. Finn appears and tells him that she shall awake in Kiev. Ruslan takes her and the dwarf, and they revisit the Head, who now dies content, on seeing his brother punished. (They come on Ratmir, now happy with a new lady, and friendly.) Meantime Farlaf the boaster, following the guidance of a cat-witch, comes on Ruslan and Lyudmila sleeping. Ruslan has an ominous dream, and Farlaf pierces him, carries off the lady, and makes for Kiev. He there pretends that he has rescued her, and claims her hand. Stir in the city ; next morning they see an army of besieging Pechenegs. Finn meantime is in]

### THE VALLEY OF DEATH

Where the dry tindery steppes extend  
 Lonely and mute, and past the end  
 Of wild hill-chains, where winds and thunders  
 Keep house and stormily descend,  
 There lies a secret vale of wonders ;  
 And hither, when the hour is late,  
 No witches' gaze dare penetrate.  
 Within that vale two founts are flowing :  
 One, *Living Water*, gaily going  
 And gurgling on its pebbled bed ;  
 The other water is the *Dead*.  
 No cool spring breezes here are blowing ;  
 Here the wind slumbers ; all around  
 Is still ; no bird soars up ; no sound  
 Hums in the secular pines ; in raging  
 Hot summer, never a doe, assuaging  
 Thirst in those hidden streams, is found.  
 Here, since the world was made, are dwelling  
 Two silent Spirits, sentinelling ;  
 And here, in peace embosomed deep,  
 They watch beside those shores of sleep.

[Finn flies to Ruslan, revives and cures him with the magic water, gives him a magic ring, speeds him to Kiev, and vanishes. Ruslan arrives there the day after the first battle, appears among the Pechenegs to rescue the city, and leads the Russians to victory.]

### A BATTLE

The day is here ; at earliest light  
 The foe come thronging from the height.  
 Indomitable squadrons, pouring  
 In from the plain and seething, all  
 Flood to the very city wall ;  
 Within, the trumpets loud are roaring.  
 The ranks in tight array advance,  
 At the bold adversary dashing ;  
 The fight boils up, the hosts are clashing ;  
 The horses scent the dead, and prance ;  
 The swords upon the armour rattle ,  
 The clouds of arrows hiss and fly ;  
 The low grounds drenched in bloodshed lie ;  
 The horsemen rush to join the battle,  
 Their squadrons mingle, friend with foe ;  
 And in a serried wall uniting,  
 Front hews at front, gives blow for blow.  
 Footman and rider here are fighting,  
 And there a charger bolts in fear ;  
 Here falls a Pecheneg, and here  
 A Russian. Thither flee the routed,  
 And yonder is the war-cry shouted.  
 And one drops clubbed to earth, and dies ;  
 A nimble arrow smites another ;  
 One, whom his shield and buckler smother,  
 Hoofed by a maddened war-horse lies.  
 Night darkens, ere the fray is done ;  
 And neither they, nor Ours, have won.

[Later, Ruslan routs the enemy, rides into Kiev, and wakes Lyudmila with the ring. Farlaf is exposed but forgiven ; Chernomor, now beardless and harmless, is taken into the palace. Vladimir resumes and finishes the wedding banquet, and——]

There, in his audience-chamber high,  
 Feasts with his family, in glory.  
 — I tell you deeds of days gone by ;  
 From far tradition comes the story.

## SILENCE

*Translated from the Polish of GUSTAW MORCINEK by MONICA M.  
GARDNER*

*(Gustaw Morcinek is one of Poland's post-war regional writers, his province being that of Polish Silesia. He is the author of two novels, a story for children, and a monograph on Silesia; but he is chiefly known by his short stories. The best of these are laid in the Silesian mines, and have the value of intimate knowledge from the fact that he himself comes from a family of miners.)*

THE loosened stone in the ceiling was awaiting its hour. It came.

The weight of the imperceptibly crumbling coal pounded the last of it that still held together into fragments. It scattered down fine sand from overhead and broke into the silence with a dry rustling. As if someone had lifted a handful of crumbs and suddenly flung them down. After the crumbs, the stone flew down. It flashed in a flat, grey stripe before Krzystek's now awakened eyes, struck obliquely on the roof of the lamp, tore the hook of the lamp off the prop, and rattled on the pane of the glass. The silent light stuttered for terror, and retreated behind the stone.

Krzystek saw a shining streak whip the wall, shiver against the ground, and die. A heavy darkness banged upon his eyeballs, closed violently upon them and flung the man's gaze into the abyss.

Krzystek compressed his eyelids. For a fraction of a minute he looked underneath them at the vision repeating itself of the streak of flying light, and when it had floated into the darkness he opened them again. He felt a faint, painful oppression in the upper edge of his eyeballs.

"Damn!" he hissed out angrily. He closed his notebook, and fumblingly thrust it into his pocket. Then he rose, took two steps, stooped, stretched out his fingers, and began searching. He hit upon the hot shape of the lamp. He drew a breath of relief. His fingers groped over the round glass. He found no fracture.

"Good!" he muttered.

The black, sinister feeling without a name which, with each moment of the descending night had been shooting on him like a dark column of smoke, blew away into the silence. The touch of the cooling lamp was to him the touch of a rough, friendly hand. It would lead him out of a darkness which had no bottom and no bounds. It would bring the boundaries of that darkness within the compass of a short stone's throw. It would lead his eyes into some path he knew.

He twisted the screw under the lamp. As he took hold of the glass a little sheaf of pale sparks burst out, hissed, sent forth a sooty, suffocating smoke, and went out. Krzystek rocked the lamp, in order to drive the smoke out of its net. He tugged again at the screw. A little cluster of fresh sparks streamed out above the wick, and vanished the same second.

"What the devil!" he snarled.

Once more he jerked the screw. The little threads of the lighter slipped on the metal. He tugged at it more violently, once . . . twice . . . three times. The threads clogged with wax could not bite. The faint bark of the instrument at which he was tugging rushed to his ear; while his eyes blindly beheld the stiff coil with its blue sulphureous spots crawling rhythmically out from the heart of the lamp.

"No more there!" he thought aloud, as his fingers felt emptiness beneath the threads. He understood that this was the end of the lamp. At least for today. And he cursed those fellows in the lamp-room for their carelessness.

From force of habit he looked about him. And again he felt as if he were hanging in a dark abyss without bottom and without bounds. The dark bored into his eyes like thick, black needles. It streamed into his heart like a soft, woolly grease. It penetrated his body through and through. The fear of solitude possessed him, as it does a man at midnight in a wood infested by robbers.

He retreated to his former place, and sat down cautiously. He determined to get a clear idea of the way he had lost, which should lead him out of the old works back to men. Unconsciously he closed his eyes. His disordered thoughts began to range themselves in a vague procession. They gradually took reasonable shape. They brought before him a vision of the galleries he had passed through. They ran, seeking for the nearest road. They found it. They led him straight as a die as far as the crossway leading to a slope. Beyond the slope the gallery was barred by a cross, because the gases were there. It was not worth while to go down the declivity, because then he would have to transcribe a circle and wander about for hours before he reached the main cutting in the seventh level. Better mount the slope. In the third gallery, counting from the bottom, he must turn to the right. The greatest difficulty there would be to hit upon it. The passage led round "Casimir." Since the autumn three miners had been lying behind the thick wall. And after that, the journey through the abandoned region where in the autumn the fire had broken out. Anything rather than get into

its ruins or into the side passage full of gas! One . . . two . . . three . . . four . . . five! No! Four galleries at right angles on the road. Yes. Four!

"And why the devil am I condemned to crawl here all alone?" he burst out, speaking loudly, angrily.

He was slightly scared by his own voice. His rough words hurled themselves into the silence, like sharp-edged bricks, and disappeared. The prop above his head softly shot something off. A little pebble rustled, and again—silence. He opened his eyes, and had the impression that he *saw* the silencer: black as a starless night, darkness a hundred times more black. And he heard it! He heard it distinctly! It rushed like the metallic clatter of a million chips of coal, scattering down from very high overhead. From very high.

He rose, hung his lamp on his belt, stretched out his arms, and set out. Slowly, cautiously, step by step. He considered each step beforehand. He kept his left hand with the fingers spread out level with his bent head. In his right he held his pick, turning it to one side, and with its point tapped the props along the right wall.

He was sorry that there was no line of rails on the ground, and that no row of waterpipes ran along the props. He could have dragged his foot along the rails, or guided himself by the pick along the pipe. He knew that he would come across no rails or waterpipes before he reached the slope in "Milan." They had been destroyed at the time of the explosion. They lay in the ruins of the galleries, curled into a ring, and burnt through. He himself had ordered them to be chopped up, loaded on the trucks, and brought to the surface. Beyond the slope there would not even be props. They had been burnt down.

Krzystek's slow steps thundered between the walls. His iron-shod boots rang on the edges of the stones. The pick knocked nervously on the props.

From the moment he had started on his way he had kept his eyes shut. He did not need them. This prevented his feeling any oppression under his upper eyelids. He walked along, absorbed. Each step of his seemed to end in space. Before his outstretched foot touched the ground he had the impression that it stood on the edge of a bottomless well. He knew that this was a delusion; yet he could not resist the dread that at some unlooked for moment he would be hurled down into the darkness. He was wading in it, as though he were at the bottom of an immensely deep black gulf. Fantastic monsters crept out each moment on both sides of him,

over his head, under his feet. Their jaws gaped. They peered beneath his eyelids with staring eyes.

He started.

"Damn it all!" he hissed, enraged. He had struck his head on the knee of a broken piece of ceiling. He sat down, rubbed the injured part, and stretched out his hand for the cap that had been knocked off. He found it, rammed it on his head, and moved on again.

At a certain moment his pick struck into empty space. He crouched violently down over it, thrust it now here, now there, transcribing a deep semicircle. He understood that he was at the crossing of the galleries. He must now twist to the left to the slope, cross by the right wall, pass two side passages, and not turn until he reached the third.

He began mounting. He passed the first side gallery. The smell of burning and of poisonous gas blew out of it. He passed the second gallery. The same there. With the point of his pick he groped out the cross, put together of splinters, that hung on the ceiling support.

"The gases are there!" he whispered. And in that flash of a second he saw in his memory old Kopoczek, whom he had found after the explosion in that gallery. He had lain against the wall. A little curling stream of black clotted blood ran from his shattered bald head, and had stiffened in a small pool round his ear. His face was contorted, mouldering; his yellow teeth were bared, and in his hand flung out behind him he held a twisted, smashed lamp—Krzystek had recoiled, because Kopoczek had looked as if he were smiling malignantly.

"Take him, boys!" He had shown him to the men with his pick. The miners with their domeshaped gas helmets on their heads had stooped down heavily, grasped the stiff hands and feet, and carried him to the main cutting.

It surprised him now that he felt no fear at that recollection. None whatever. The darkness frightened him more than the memory of the corpses he had met with on that terrible day. He went on mounting, calmly, sure of himself. Before his eyes he had the vision of his road up the slope. The third crossway could not be far off now. He would rest there. This groping journey in the dark was tiring him.

For the third time his pick struck into the void. With a trained movement he felt with the pick along the edge of the wall, again transcribed two or three always deeper semicircles, and, now quite

reassured, entered the gallery he had been looking for. Again he rapped the ceiling with the iron point of his pick. The ceiling rang.

"Well, nothing's going to fall on my head," he muttered, contentedly. "I'll sit down for a bit."

He sat down. The silence precipitated itself upon him. Up to now the rustling of his clothes, the breathing of his wearied lungs and the rapping of his ironshod boots had scared it away. Now it returned with its own metallic rattling, with its incomprehensible, rushing sound, immense, beyond the capacity of thought to circumscribe, terrible. No, that was not rattling. Rather it was a high-pitched, incessant, monotonous ringing. No, not that. Rather one single note, isolated, musical, scarcely audible. It must be the rushing of time. What else could it be? He recollected the old hymn they used to sing years ago at school—

"At Thy feet runs the stream of time . . ."

He had always wondered how the stream of time could run. He hadn't understood it. But he understood it now. Time runs through the universe with a rushing sound. And that rushing sound had reached even here. Like the high-pitched swish of a monstrous, whirling wheel, hanging to the stars. It came to the shell of his ear like a far-off echo. It trickled into the dark cave of his ear in a small, black, thin thread, twined itself in between the pellicles of the drum, and rang. Krzystek listened involuntarily to that uncanny music. He felt its presence within him like a shape he could touch with his fingers. He racked his brains to find some word with which he could express it.

"How that cuts! How oddly it cuts!" he said to himself, pleased with the expression he had found.

"Yes, it really does cut," he decided. But the next moment he shuddered because it reminded him of the wailing sound of the church bell at the funeral of his dead mates. He had heard it then at a distance through thick fog.

The rushing sound of the silence fled, because the crash of a pebble breaking off from the wall behind him had hurtled into it.

"Well, let's go on," he muttered. He rose, and for an instant groped with his hands along the walls to find out in which direction his road lay. The tips of his fingers touched the rough, porous surface of the coal. The fire had charred it into coke. Krzystek crouched down violently, because he knew that he was now passing through a low gallery. Before the explosion, used-up winds had blown at its threshold, and travelled wearily to the airway. Today

they were still wandering there, but now with no strength left in them, hot, sweetish to the taste, saturated with the smell of fire. The doors that had been built at the entrance to this region turned off the chief current of air into the new works

He walked with outstretched arms. Slowly, cautiously. He must pass three cross galleries, and at the fourth turn down the declivity. At the bottom he would come upon the waterpipes which would lead him to the main cutting. The point of his pick and the fingers of his left hand groped along the wall. And behind the wall those three were lying! Instinctively he shuddered. Kubiczek, Santarius, and—what was the name of the third?—Luke! The chamber in which they had taken refuge would never now be excavated. The ceiling that had crashed down had hidden them for ever with its ruins. They were sleeping behind that wall.

Krzystek did not believe in ghosts. And yet fear now overtook him. Perhaps in the blackness of that gallery those three were looking at him. Perhaps they would touch his outstretched arm. He opened his eyes, and his gaze fixed the heart of the darkness as if he expected to see their charred faces. This made his eyes smart. He closed them again. He determined to think of something else. He would devote his attention to his steps and to the narrowing walls of the passage.

He passed the first gallery, then the second and in its turn the third. He stopped at the entrance to the fourth. Only it was so low. Could the ceiling have sunk so much? He stooped down violently, bent double, and began dragging himself along the steep ground, heaped with clods. He stumbled. The crown of his head kept rubbing painfully against projecting stones. In places he crawled on all fours over mouldering heaps; he stopped, exhausted; he rested; he started again on his journey; he panted with fatigue; and continually wiped the cold perspiration from his forehead. The shape of the passage puzzled him. He had not been there that way for months, not since a week or so after the fire. At that time it had certainly not been strewn with rubbish. He went on all fours over another heap of stones. He hesitated an instant, and when he had crawled out over the other side of the mound and with his pick had struck on the cross wall in front of him, he was surprised. He felt along it with careful thoroughness. If this were already the bottom of the declivity, then there must be an entrance into the newly-built gallery on the left side. He could therefore pass safely through the burnt-out region. He began searching for the entrance. He felt carefully along it. There was no entrance! . . . Try again!



. . . He mounted a few steps higher, then higher still. There was no entrance! . . . He went down to the bottom again, and turned to the right side. It was there! . . . His hands caught hold of two pieces of wood, fastened in the shape of a cross.

"I've lost my way, damn it!" he whispered.

For an instant he wrestled with growing fear. With a final effort of his will he crushed it, as he would have crushed an obnoxious worm in his hand. He was calm again now. Only that cursed silence! He resolved to turn back, get out into the passage he had come from, and there unearth from his memory the lost clue to his road. It was clear that he had struck the third instead of the fourth gallery. The laborious search for the exit began. All those mounds stood in his way. They deluded him, they duped him into believing that he was near his goal. With him there went the rustle of stones scattering from the ceiling, or the rattle of fragments of coal falling from the charred wall. He knew from these sounds that he was in a place where none of the men ever went. Was it a heap of ruins, or what? And yet, damn it all! he had been here some time or another. He had been everywhere. He could have drawn by heart a sketch in the dust of all these intricate crossings and passages and workings. For, how many times in the course of his guardianship of the men and lives entrusted to him had he not scrupulously measured from end to end that subterranean labyrinth!

He dragged himself exhausted into the passage.

"I'll go on. The exit must be there," he thought aloud, stubbornly.

He went on. The passage was high. He joyfully straightened his painful back. He went some ten or fifteen feet. His pick groped all over the cross wall. That wall barred the road before him. On the left side he groped out the entrance to a slope, running upwards.

For an instant he stood motionless, and tried to make out where he had got to. He struggled to recall to his memory the order of the galleries. He could not. Try again! Where did that slope opening out in front of him go? . . . Done! He'd got it! It must be the slope which led out of the tenth chamber. There was no exit from it. At least there was, but only with a light. He would get out to the third level. So he thought.

And again he turned back. But when another wall barred his passage he understood that he was really lost.

"I must crawl out of these cursed holes!" he shouted. But when he was among men again, later on, he wouldn't tell a soul.

His mates would laugh at him, at him, an experienced miner, who had lost himself in the old works. He, the most experienced of foremen.

He went forward, he turned back, he went round in a circle, he wandered about, he crawled on all fours, he squeezed through narrow little passages, he rolled down steep slopes; and when in the end he reached the conviction that the passages and galleries he had passed through had completely bewildered him, that God only knew how long he would have to wait among them for human help, his strength forsook him. He sat down on the ground.

And again that silence! It rang distinctly now, not on one even note, but on two irregular ones. It closed him in with its black feelers, gnawed at his nerves, stifled within it his desire for life.

Rustling sounds were advancing on him from somewhere. From all sides. Like the featherweight whispering of little kittens' paws. He opened his eyes, staring, and his gaze involuntarily strove to fathom the abyss. The pain under his eyelids roused him. Therefore he closed them again, and listened to those sounds. At moments they ceased. Then again they swelled louder, and came upon him tumultuously. They were imperceptibly dying away, when from some unknown spot the far, far off rhythmic sound of the falling of a heavy hammer came trickling through. The miners used to say that was the ghost Pusteki at his work.<sup>1</sup> Krzystek knew that it was one of the men some fifty yards above him or under him strengthening a prop or pounding at the mound of coal. He listened joyfully to the man. The sound of his work was like that of a faithful friend, come to cheer him in his tribulation. But when it passed into silence, so much the greater was the desolation that descended on him. And together with that desolation came that same silence. Its wailing double note brought him near madness. He wouldn't listen to it! . . . He would not listen!

He started up. He'd go on; if he was damned for it he'd find the lost clue to his road. He'd go on, even if the last vestige of his strength gave out! . . . And when he'd no more strength left in him he'd crawl! Anything rather than listen to that accursed silence!

He went for a minute along a high passage. His fingers continually touched the burnt wall. Suddenly he stopped still. What was that? Was somebody coming? He distinctly heard someone's footsteps. They were coming from somewhere in the depths of the

<sup>1</sup> The benevolent spirit, believed by the Polish miners to haunt the Silesian mines, and to warn the men of sudden accidents in time to save their lives.—(*Translator's note.*)

mine. And behind them, another pair of footsteps—and now a third! What was it? The men were coming for him! The steps were drawing nearer. Two of the walkers planted their feet firmly, the third took small steps and trod lightly. They were coming for him!

Joy surged in his heart.

The footsteps were coming nearer. Always nearer—nearer! But why didn't he see any lights? He rubbed his eyes. They couldn't be so surefooted in the dark

"Who's there?" he shouted.

Silence. Only those footsteps always drawing nearer. They seemed to be within a stone's throw. Strong, firm; bold. Yet he saw no light.

"Who's there?" he shouted, still louder.

And again, silence. Only those footsteps drawing always nearer. He heard them now in front of him. They thundered with their ironshod boots in the burnt-out gallery, travelled all round in a stifled echo, which rang on the stones.

"I say! Who's there?" he shouted, now enraged.

At that same moment the footsteps fell silent. They melted away into the ringing silence. As if those three had simultaneously halted. The clanging resonance of their footsteps was still in his ears. Suddenly a horrible terror swooped down upon him. Those weren't men. It was those three from behind the wall! It was those three!

\* \* \* \* \*

He could not remember where he was. He had lain for a long time in a faint. The sharp gimlets of half a dozen lights bored beneath his eyelashes, levered up his lids, pecked at his eyeballs. Round him miners were standing, stooping over him. Somebody was helping him to rise. He lifted himself up heavily. He cast a glance round, and understood. The black depths of a blind shaft yawned in front of his eyes

"It was those—those three who warned me!" he thought in the joy of his relief.

## A FOOL

*Translated from the Russian of N. S. LESKOV by N. B. JOPSON.*

Who should be called a fool? You would think everybody knew that, but when you begin to ask people for their opinions you find out that opinions vary.

In the dictionary, where the meaning of every word is given, you find the following interpretation: "fool—a half-witted person, a simpleton, a loon, a clown," and in support the following illustration: "He is a born fool." There is, then, no need to look for any more abstruse explanation; but all the same you sometimes come across people who are designated fools but who in fact are not half-witted nor yet simpletons, and in no way clownish. Such persons have an interest of their own and I shall now tell you a story about a fool of this sort.

In our village there was once a lad called Steve who was an orphan and a serf. He belonged to the manor, wore any old clothes that were given him and fed at the common kitchen along with the cow woman and her children. His job was to be "generally useful," which meant that all those who had their appointed tasks in the manor ground were entitled to make Steve do any of their own jobs; and so you can imagine he was kept incessantly busy. I think of him as it might be in winter—and our winters are severe—when we would get out of bed and look out of the windows, and there would Steve be, all doubled up as he toiled along with a great sledge on his back, and on the sledge faggots of hay and straw, and baskets of fodder and other stuff for the cattle and the poultry. By the time we were up he would have done a day's work, and it was a rare thing even to catch him huddled up in the cattle hut eating a crust of bread or having a drink of water out of the wooden pitcher.

Say to him: "Why you never eat anything besides dry bread, Steve?" and he would reply as though it were a joke:

"Do 'ee mean with a sup of fish broth, eh?—nay, pure water for me, Sir."

"Why don't you ask for something to go with it—a bit of cabbage or a gherkin or potatoes."

With a shake of his head he would reply:

"Well now I never did. Why, I've had my fill, and plenty, praised be the Lord."

And then he would gird up his loins and go out again into the yard to lug something else about. His work was never rounded

off properly because everybody got him to help them in whatever they had on hand.

He cleaned out the loose boxes and the pigsties; he fed the cattle and drove the sheep to the drinking troughs, and when it was evening he would plait bast shoes for himself and others, go to bed later than every one else and get up before the dawn, earlier than them all. His clothes were always poor and skimpy and no one ever had a compassionate word for him

"Oh, he's all right"—they would say, "he's just a fool."

"Why a fool?"

"Well, everyway . . ."

"How do you mean?"

"Well, look here now. The cow woman over there gives all the gherkins and potatoes to her children and he, little he cares, never even asks them for anything and never grumbles at them. The fool!"

We children couldn't properly make it out and, though we had never heard Steve talk half-wittedly and had even been kindly treated by him (he had made us our toy mills, you see, and our birch bark boxes), we were like all the rest of them in the house and used to say, as they did, that Steve was loony—a statement that no one ever disputed; and soon after indeed an event happened which didn't allow room for any dispute about it.

We had taken on a strict, a very strict, bailiff who delighted in punishing servants for any mistake they made. He would go round in the farm gig, and he had his eyes all about him peering for any signs of slackness anywhere. If he noticed anything wrong he would at once pull up, call the culprit to him and issue an order: "Off with you right away to the office and tell the overseer from me to give you twenty-five of the best. And if you try to cheat me, I'll see when I am back tonight that you get a double dose."

No one dared to ask for mercy, for that was a thing he couldn't abide and only made him order a still severer flogging. Well, in the summer this bailiff was driving round the grounds and noticed that the foals had been gambolling in the young crops, and had not so much damaged the young shoots as trampled them flat and dragged them out by the very roots with their hoofs. His shouting raised the roof off! Now this year the foals had been committed to the charge of the lad Pete, a son of that very cow woman who grudged Steve his potatoes and gave them all to her own children. This Pete would be about twelve years old at the time and was

nothing like as strong and tough as Steve, for which reason he was nicknamed the "milksoop." He was his mother's spoilt darling, bad at his work and a shirker of his punishment. He had driven the foals out in the early morning "to the dew," as they call it, and then he had begun to feel the cold. So he sat down and wrapped his smock well round him, and when he was warm began to get sleepy, and while he was asleep the foals had got into the corn.

When the bailiff saw what had happened, he flicked Pete with his whip and said :

"Steve is to do your job as well as his own for the time being, and you will go straight to the servants' office and tell the manager to give you twenty of the best; and if you haven't done this by the time I am back I'll have you ordered twenty extra." With these words he drove off, leaving poor Pete weeping his eyes out. He was trembling all over because he had never yet been ordered a flogging, and so he said to Steve :

"Steve, old pal, I'm that scared . . . tell me whatever can I do?" And Steve stroked his head for him and said :

"Ay, I felt all scared like too. But what's to do . . . Christ was scourged."

This only made Pete cry the louder and say :

"I am feared to go and feared not to go. I'd better go and drown myself."

Steve tried his hardest to talk him round, and at last said :

"Do 'ee just stay here now and mind my work as well as your own, and I'll be off and do what I can for you—maybe God will help you. But what a funk you are, to be sure."

"How will you manage it, Stevic?" Pete asked.

"Oh, I've got a plan up my sleeve—I'll but just do my best." And off he ran smartly across the field to the manor house and was back in an hour, all smiling.

"Don't be feared, Peter lad, it's all fixed up. You have no need to go anywhere, you are let off."

"That's all right," Pete thought to himself. "I must believe what he says." And he didn't go. So when the bailiff said to the overseer in the evening :

"Well, and did that young scamp of a shepherd come this morning for his licking?" he got the answer :

"Why of course he came, Sir."

"And did they give a proper drubbing?"

"Ay that they did, Sir, laid it on hard too."

So that was the end of that, and it only came out later that the

shepherd who had had the flogging was not Pete but Steve. The story went all round the manor and the village, and everybody laughed at Steve, and there was Pete scot free. "Well if he was such a fool as to take the job on for him, it wouldn't be fair to punish them both. One man for one crime."

And now wasn't our Steve a real proper fool?

Time passed and he jogged on the same as ever until some years later a war broke out in Crimea and recruits began to be wanted. There was much weeping in the village, for no one wanted, you see, to smart in the war. The mothers above all were afraid for their sons.

Steve was quite grown up by now, and one day he suddenly went off all on his own to the squire and said :

"Would you please give orders, Sir, for me to be taken away to the town and enlisted?"

"You feel you would like to go, then?"

"Yes, Sir, it has come over me sudden like. I'd really like to go, Sir."

"But why, man? Better think it over, hadn't you?"

"No, Sir, I have not time to think it over, Sir."

"What do you mean, no time?"

"Well, Sir, can't you hear them all aweeping and wailing. I am the Lord's beloved, Sir—no one to weep for me, and I'd like to go, Sir."

Every one tried to talk him out of it. "Look what a clumsy fellow you are," they said. "Why they'll all go into fits of laughter at you down there in the war." But his reply was: "All the jollier then. Ain't laughing better fun than quarrelling? If they all get jolly, they'll all be able to make friends together."

And although they told him once more he would do better to be off and away and live at home, he stuck to his guns. "No," he said "it'll be more comfortable my way."

So they comforted him by driving him off to the town and enlisting him, and after the villagers had handed him over they came back to find a hail of questions awaiting them.

"And how did our loony go on there? You didn't see him, I 'spect, after handing him over."

"Why of course we saw him."

"They'll all be laughing at him, I'll be bound—a lubberly chap, to be sure."

"Ay, they laughed right enough at the beginning, but what did Steve do but go to the market and buy the whole lot of them

great big pies filled with peas and groats out of the two roubles bounty they had given him. He handed them out a pie apiece and forgot all about himself! They all shook their heads at that and wanted to go halves with him, but he hung his head and wouldn't have any.

"I am no joker, boys, so lap it up."

"At that the recruits gave him a jovial slap or so, and said he was a real decent chap.

"And next morning he was up and about before them all in barracks and had got everything tidy and had cleaned all the veterans' boots for them. That made him popular, and the old chaps asked us if this was our village idiot.

" 'Not exactly an idiot,' we said, 'but a bit simple like.' "

That then was how Steve joined the army, with his idiocy and all. He spent the whole of the campaign on sanitary fatigue duty, digging trenches for the lot of them in the rear and burying the filth, and when he was demobilised he applied to the Steppe Tartars and took on the job of grazing their studs of horses for them.

He went from Penza to the Tartars and didn't come back for many a long year. He roamed around with them, driving their horses ever so far away, close to the waterless Ryn-sands which were for the time being the central camping ground of Khan-Jangar, an important and rich nomadic Tartar chief. Now whenever this Khan-Jangar came to Sura to sell his horses he behaved meekly enough, but at home in the Steppe he was lord and master, punishing whoever he liked and recompensing whoever he liked.

It was impossible to follow him away into the wild, limitless desert, and so he could act just as he wished. But he was not the only one to exercise authority. There were others, too, who wielded power, and among them was a certain sly thief, by name Habibullah, who began to round up for himself many of Khan-Jangar's best horses. For a long time no one could catch him at his thieving, but one day when there was a brush between some of the Tartars, Habibullah was wounded and captured. And this happened just when Khan-Jangar was in a hurry to get to Penza. So he couldn't stop to try Habibullah and punish him in a way calculated to fill any other thieves with wholesome terror.

In order not to be late getting to the Penza fair and appear with Habibullah in places where the authority of Russia held sway, Khan-Jangar decided to leave Steve behind with one horse and the wounded, heavily shackled thief. He left them by a miserable



little rill of water, with some millet and a leathern water-bottle, and he gave Steve strict orders :

"Look after this man as you would your own soul. Do you understand me? "

"That I do, Sir. I have my orders, Sir, and I shall carry them out to the letter."

When Khan-Jangar and all his encampment had ridden off, Steve said to Habibullah :

"Look, lad, what your thieving ways have brought you to. A fine young fellow like you, and all your youth spent in doing evil, not good. You had best mend your ways."

Habibullah answered him back with :

"If I haven't mended my ways up to the present, it is too late now."

"How too late? Why, it's everything if a man desires in right earnest to mend his ways—the rest comes of itself. You have a soul in you just like any one else. Give up your rotten ways, and God will at once start to help you to do good, and then everything good will come your way."

Habibullah listened and sighed.

"No," he said, "there's no time to think of that now."

"No time? Why not? "

"Because I am chained up and expecting to die."

"But I'll let you loose."

Habibullah couldn't believe his ears, but Steve gave him a kindly smile and said :

"It isn't a joke but sober truth I am telling you. The Khan told me to look after you as I would my own soul, and you know the way to look after that, don't you? It means showing it no mercy, brother, it means making it suffer for other people's souls. And that is just what I need now, because I can't abear to see others in pain. I shall cut you loose and put you on the horse. I'll make you free of the world to find any safe place you can, and if ever again you begin your evildoing—well you won't have cheated me, but God."

He stooped down and smashed the iron chains on Habibullah, put him on the horse and said :

"Ride in peace to the four winds of heaven."

And he stayed there alone waiting for Khan-Jangar to return. He waited and waited until the spring dried up and there was very little water left in the bottle. And at long last Khan-Jangar and his retinue turned up.

The Khan looked round and said :

" Where is Habibullah ? " and Steve answered :

" I let him go."

" Let him go ? What's that you're saying ? "

" My answer is, Sir, that I have faithfully followed your orders and my own desires. You told me to look after him as I would my own soul, and I look after my own soul by wishing to let it suffer pain for my neighbour. You surely intended to make Habibullah suffer pain, and I cannot bear that others be in pain. Take me then and let me suffer for him. Let my soul be happy and free from all fear, because I am not afraid, not the least bit afraid, of you or any one else."

Khan-Jangar's eyes rolled in his head at this, and he set his Tartar cap straight and said to his followers :

" Come nearer to me and I'll tell you what I think."

The Tartars pressed up close, and the Khan said in a quiet tone :

" Steve must not be punished, because there may be an angel within him, I am thinking."

" Yes," all the Tartars answered in the same quiet voice. " We must not do him harm. For years we have not understood him, but now, in a twinkling of the eye, he has become clear to us ; perhaps he is a saint."

## IVAN—THE TRICKSTER

A FOLK TALE, *translated from the Russian by* ELIZABETH HILL *and*  
DORIS MUDIE

IN a certain kingdom, in a certain country, there lived the Tsar Agey. This Tsar had ships that sailed away to fight other countries, and one day a strong enemy fell upon them unawares. At that time Ivan the Hauler was on one of the ships. He saw they could not escape the danger, so he clung hold of the mast and dragged the ship under water. It floated away from the enemy for a mile or so and then it came up to the surface. They reported this to the Tsar, and the Tsar set Ivan free.

The hauler wandered throughout the kingdom. His fame was great enough, but he had not a coin in his pocket. Why speak of money when he had neither house nor home ? He was forced to look for a place where he might hide from the dark night and seek cover from the rain. He found a home for himself with an old soldier, with whom he came to terms.

"I," says he, "will spend only the nights with you. By day I shall be busy earning my bread. And you can mind your own business and collect the money from me : a rouble a night."

The soldier was not rich. He was rejoiced at the thought of the money and the idea came into his head to buy a small chest, to lock it up tight, to cut a narrow slit in the lid and to drop Ivan's roubles into it for safety. And this he did. Each night Ivan gave him a rouble, which he slipped into the box night after night.

"I must have saved a fair sum," the soldier says to himself one day. "A good long time has gone by. I will take a look to see how many roubles are in there now. Is not the hauler a fool, a perfect fool? He neither eats nor drinks, and yet each night he brings me a rouble. Where does he find the money?"

The soldier opened the money box. But inside there was not a trace of the money; only chips of wood.

And there was a proper quarrel between the master of the house and Ivan. One swore that he had paid in pure silver, and the other said :—

"Well, you are a fine fellow ! If I had known you were such a cunning rogue, you would never have come under my roof. And to think that all this time you have lived here for nothing ! What can I get out of you ? And what can I tell the others ? "

The soldier went to court and begged them to settle the matter between him and the hauler. The judges thought and thought, but could not decide. They ordered both of the men to have their hands tied behind their backs and to be taken before the Tsar.

Tsar Agey questioned the soldier. What kind of money had been given to him, and where had he kept it ?

"I received it in good silver coin and put it away in my little chest, that the money should not burn holes in my pocket."

Tsar Agey laughed heartily and at once ordered the little chest to be brought before him. They brought it, unlocked it, and looked inside. There were the roubles as fresh as new silver coins from the Mint.

Tsar Agey raged at the soldier and shouted :—

"Why did you lie to the hauler ? "

Then he told his men to beat the soldier. But Ivan took pity on the soldier and begged the Tsar not to have him beaten.

"Because," he said, "it is I, who have fooled him."

The Tsar then said :—

"Fooled him ? Surely you cannot fool people like that ? "

"I can, your Imperial Majesty," said Ivan.

"Good," said the Tsar, "then you can try to fool me."

"Gladly," said Ivan, "but I am afraid I should catch it from you if I did."

"No," said the Tsar, "you will be safe. I will not punish you. Begin your fooling!"

And suddenly a thick, thick fog spread through the place. Next, Ivan flooded the palace with water.

The State Councillors were terrified. Nobody wants to drown, and these almost cried from fear.

Then up sailed a boat towards the Tsar's throne.

"Tsar Agey," says Ivan the hauler, "come into the boat, and we will go for a sail." They both stepped into the boat and they sailed away.

The wind blew them into the open sea, while out at sea there was such a fierce storm that for a long time they could not feel their own stomachs. Then the storm gradually died down and the boat drew close to an island. The Tsar stepped on land, took two or three steps forward, and then looked back; both the boat and Ivan had vanished.

"What shall I do? What shall I do?" thought the Tsar. And he walked along the sea shore. He walked and he walked until he came to a large town. There he sees a peasant woman carrying some roast mutton to market.

"Kind soul," said the Tsar, "hire me, I will work for you and carry the mutton behind you."

"How much do you want?"

"Nothing," said the Tsar. "Just feed me on bread."

The peasant woman agreed, and the two of them walked through the town. The Tsar carried the mutton until he longed to taste it, so he took a bite and began to eat. At once the people surrounded him and shouted at him:—

"What are you eating?" they cried.

"Roast mutton," he said.

"Roast mutton?" they said. "Why, it is a human arm! See, what a cannibal we have here!"

They seized hold of him, tied up his arms and legs and threw him into prison. When they judged him, they condemned him to death. They took him to the scaffold, they laid his head on the block. The executioner picked up the axe; it flashed in the air.

"Help!" screamed Agey, and woke up.

The Tsar's councillors leapt from their chairs.

"Why does your Majesty shout?"

"Shout?" said the Tsar. "Who would not shout? The executioner has all but chopped off my head."

"What did you say, Your Majesty? What executioner? You are in your own palace and on your own throne, and you called us here to judge Ivan the hauler."

"What? You? You good-for-nothing!" shouted Agey in great anger. "Are you still here? I am sorry I made that promise or I should have had your head chopped off. Out of my kingdom at once! Away! Not a sign of you to be left! Do you hear?"

Then word was at once sent throughout the kingdom that no one was to give house room to Ivan the hauler.

For a long time Ivan wandered without finding refuge. He went from house to house, but no one would allow him to come in.

Now one day he came to a village and begged a peasant to let him rest in his house.

"The Tsar has forbidden it," says the peasant firmly.

"Let me in, kind man," pleads Ivan.

"I have told you, it is forbidden," says the peasant. "If I let you come in, then it is only in return for a tale. I am fond of tales, I am."

"Right," says Ivan. "Even in exchange for a tale."

The peasant opened his door, gave Ivan food and drink. Then they both climbed up on to the sleeping shelf on the top of the stove.

"Now," said the peasant, "you tell me your tale. Go on, tell me your tale."

But Ivan blew on him and said:—

"All right, all right. But just look at yourself. What sort of creature are you?"

The peasant looked down at himself; he had turned into a bear.

"Look at me, too," says Ivan, "I am a bear, too—just like you."

"What can we do?" asked the anxious peasant, "they are sure to come and kill us!"

"No fear," said Ivan.

Now there was a window by that shelf, and Ivan pushed his host out of the window and tumbled out after him. They both ran into the forest, where the hunters caught sight of them and set chase.

"What shall we do?" asked the peasant.

"You jump into that hollow oak," said Ivan "and I will sit close by. When the hunters come up, they will kill me and rip off my skin. Then you can jump out of the hollow, somersault over my skin, and you will turn into a man again."

No sooner had he said this than the hunters came up, killed the

bear, ripped off its skin and went down to the stream to wash their hands. The peasant saw that they had moved away. He jumped out of the hollow oak tree, turned a somersault and fell off the shelf on to the floor. He hurt himself.

"That trickster Ivan," he grumbled to himself. "The Tsar knew what he was about when he told people not to give him shelter."

While Ivan shouted down from the shelf :—

"What is it, my host? Have you had a good sleep?"

"Where are you, you devil?" shouted the peasant. "I thought you had been killed and the skin ripped from your back."

"Oh, that," said Ivan, "that was only in a dream. But outside the dream, I am alive and my skin is quite whole."

At this, the peasant ran him out of the house.

Ivan the hauler roamed from place to place, and at last he wandered away into another kingdom

## POLAND SINCE THE GREAT WAR<sup>1</sup>

THE subject of my address today—Poland since the Great War—brings up a number of reflections the detailed analysis of which should be rather the task of specialists in the domain of history. Did the World War really end on 11 November, 1918, when suddenly the trumpet call of "Cease fire" was heard in the trenches? Did the World War end with the gigantic battle of the Marne and did Europe commence a new era beginning with that date? Are we to seek the source of Poland's re-birth in the paragraphs of the Treaty of Versailles or should we go farther afield and seek it perhaps amid a number of other political events?

Article 12 of the Armistice terms concluded on the Western front envisaged that "all German troops, at present to be found on territories belonging to Russia before the War, shall return within the frontiers of Germany, as they were on 1 August, 1914, as soon as the Allies determine that the time for such action has come in view of the internal situation on such territories."

In the same month, the Council of Soviet Delegates at Voronezh decided to concentrate the fire of its revolutionary activities on the West. The German armies occupying the enormous areas along the former Eastern front of the Great War were gradually withdrawn towards the West, but, as General Hoffmann, the head of the German Eastern Occupation Zone (Oberost), stated, every position evacuated by the Germans was immediately taken over by Soviet detachments, which thus formed the rapidly advancing front of the coming Polish-Bolshevik War. At the time when Europe, after four years of bloodshed, was returning to a state of peace, Poland, according to the ideas of the Bolshevik Army Command, was to be the gateway through which the forces of the revolution were to pass on their way to world-wide supremacy. As the west of Europe was settling down to peace, Poland was faced by a war which was to decide more than her own fate and very existence.

The country had been ruthlessly devastated and quite exhausted; both industry and agriculture were lying in ruins. Out of 151,000 square miles of area, 134,000, i.e. 87 per cent. had been the scene of fighting during the Great War. Over 1,800,000 dwelling-houses had been destroyed, churches, schools and farm buildings. On the area of the former Russian occupation, agriculture had lost 32 per cent. of its draught horses and in the eastern provinces

<sup>1</sup> This lecture was the first of a series of lectures on "Modern Poland," delivered for the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, at King's College, on 18 October, 1933.—ED.

to the action of communist propaganda." And further he states: "In many historical situations, Poland has been the bulwark of Europe . . . at no time, however, were Poland's services greater, at no time was the danger more threatening."

I refer to these events of 1920, in order to point out that a period of convalescence and peace did not ensue for all the countries of Europe on 11 November, 1918. In the case of Poland, though it also had been the scene of military operations since 1914, peace did not come until 18 March, 1921, when the Treaty of Riga was signed. Poland's re-appearance on the political map of Europe was therefore, in these circumstances, not only a result of the defeat of Germany, Austria and Russia, but also and primarily the outcome of her own supreme and desperate efforts on the field of battle. The newly reborn Polish State was then faced by the necessity of settling all the many complicated affairs and problems of internal structure, economic and political which present themselves in a modern State.

At this point it is necessary to bear in mind that the economic unity of Poland, so distinctly acknowledged by the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, had undergone far-reaching structural changes during the century preceding the War. To this we must add the heterogeneous character of legislation and indeed in every field of effort (let me cite that of communications, as an instance taken at random), and it is only then that we can realise the enormous task confronting the new Republic.

A great effort to achieve unification was undertaken and has been continued, until today it can be stated that in a great measure success has been attained. The division of public effort to which I allude is, however, so far-reaching, so all-embracing and so comprehensive, that any more detailed examination of its nature and development would rather be the object of special studies and research.

But before passing on to other matters, I should like to draw attention to a fact too little realised, namely, that Poland, a country with a thousand years of culture and history behind it, really had no nineteenth century in her history. The period during which the democracies of the west were amassing cultural and material riches, was for us Poles, a century of structural and armed conflicts having as their only aim the retention of the bare right to exist as a nation.

It would be a mistake, however, to consider that post-War Poland is clinging stubbornly to memories of the recent past. In the history of a nation with ten centuries of independent existence as a State behind it, one century of absence from the map of Europe



is to be considered merely as a single rung missing in the ladder of development.

I will not enlarge on the wider problems of Poland's foreign policy; for this will be dealt with by my distinguished colleague and friend, Count Adam Tarnowski.<sup>2</sup>

I should like, however, to emphasise one fact as affording undeniable proof of the great political moderation of the re-constituted Polish State. Before the dismemberment of Poland the area embraced by her frontiers was nearly 300,000 square miles. Today, as a result of the stipulations of the Treaties of Versailles and Riga, the area of Poland is barely a half of her historical soil, yet territorial claims are conspicuous by their absence in the programme of Poland's foreign policy and in the platforms of her political parties.

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It is probable that never before in history have economic matters been so closely bound up with problems of foreign policy as today. With this in view, I shall now permit myself to give a picture, rather sketchy in detail but true to life, of the trends of Poland's present political aims.

History has left us Poles a number of sorely-bought experiences and practical indications for the future. One fundamental political commandment which must be obeyed relates to Poland's maritime policy. The clear-cut determination to have and to retain access to the sea has appeared with great force in post-War Poland and only at rare periods in our past history has it been marked with such force as today.

Contemporary Poland has 3,415 miles of land-frontier and only 88 miles of sea-coast, of which barely 44 miles are accessible for navigation. Yet, Poland is a maritime country. In 1924, less than 11 per cent. of her foreign trade passed through Polish ports. In 1932, over 67 per cent. of our total exports and imports were shipped through Poland's two ports—Gdynia and Danzig. The fact that in these circumstances maritime affairs have assumed the nature of a symbol of economic and political independence should not be regarded as the outcome of post-War relations only. Poland's attitude today consists solely in a reversion to the lessons taught us by the bitter experience of the past.

It is true, that a proper understanding of the importance of Poland having her own merchant marine and navy had been in

<sup>2</sup> Count Tarnowski's lecture in the same series, delivered on 25 October, has been published in the *Contemporary Review* for December 1933.—ED.

past centuries made difficult owing to the existence of two political trends : one of the land and the other of the sea, the former, however, dominating over the latter as a whole. Thus it was that Poland's maritime policy only assumed concrete form as late as the sixteenth century. This took place at the time when the problem of Danzig arose in connection with the demands of the Polish country-gentry that their products should pass freely through Poland's own port.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were marked by the struggle for naval supremacy on the Baltic ; it passed from hand to hand—from Denmark to Poland, from Poland to Sweden and from Sweden to Muscovy

It is certainly of interest to note that the first person to advise Poland as to the necessity of having her own navy, was Albrecht of Hohenzollern, Duke of Prussia, then a vassal of the Polish Crown. Writing to King Sigismund Augustus in 1556, he suggested chartering privateers to harass and paralyse Russian navigation through Narva. It will be remembered that this method of warfare was also at times adopted by Queen Elizabeth against Phillip II of Spain. The Polish naval ensign, still used today, appeared on the seas for the first time in 1561, and in 1568 Sigismund Augustus convoked the "*Commissio Maritima*" as a board of maritime defence.

Danzig, at that time, possessing as it did, a virtual monopoly of Poland's sea-borne trade, regarded the struggle for the "*dominium maris baltici*" as dangerous and restrictive to its free commerce ; and the result was a great deal of friction. There were times when Danzig, the only Polish port, suddenly declared its neutrality or applied pressure on the Polish king to transfer his naval base elsewhere, and on more than one occasion Poland did actually transfer her fleet to Puck or have ships of war built in the yards of Elbing. During the reign of King Stephen Batory an attempt was made to divert Polish foreign trade through Elbing, and under Ladislas IV the Commonwealth undertook to construct an independent port on the Baltic to work concurrently with Danzig. The traditions of that port have now, as we know, arisen again in present-day Poland, after the passage of many centuries.

In the building up of her merchant marine and navy, Poland benefited by the experience and services of British seamen, the most notable of whom was a Scotsman, Captain J. Murray, in the service of Sigismund III. Thus, the utilisation of Poland's ports and the organisation of her marine, the structure of port and customs dues—problems which are now being settled by contemporary Poland

—find their origin in the dim past of history, and what is now being done is but the further evolution of events from three and four centuries ago.

It has already been pointed out that in 1932, 67 per cent. of Poland's foreign trade was shipped through Gdynia and Danzig. This simple percentage is, however, more than the expression of a mathematical ratio. When Poland was cut off from the sea in the middle of the eighteenth century, that act was the first step towards her fall and subsequent dismemberment. It is for this reason that present-day Poland has been exerting every effort properly to benefit by, develop and assure that heritage of the sea, which, combined with a wise maritime policy, contributed to build up the most splendid periods of our political power. But the most convincing evidence that the Polish nation comprehends and properly values its right to free access to the sea is afforded by the new Port of Gdynia. Ten years ago, Gdynia was only a tiny fishers' village; today it has become a large, prosperous and rapidly developing port—one of the largest on the Baltic Sea. Modern Poland, under the force of numerous geographical and economic factors, has succeeded in taking up the work commenced in the sixteenth century. The strikingly maritime aspect of her foreign trade today has all the features of stability and plannedness. The continued development of her ports affords incontrovertible proof of this.

There is one more point which cannot pass unmentioned, in view of the eloquent testimony it furnishes. In 1920, when the decisive phases of the Polish-Bolshevik War were being fought out on the plains before Warsaw, transports of ammunition coming to Poland from abroad were held up in Danzig by the dockers, who, moreover, threatened to evoke a general strike should workers be brought in from Poland. Nothing could be done, and General Haking, the commander of the small inter-Allied forces occupying Danzig, was forced to order the soldiers of a British battalion stationed there to unload the munitions for which the Polish army was waiting. This incident, I believe, explains many things.

Let us now turn to quite another subject, namely, the unification of the country accomplished during the past few years. When the reborn Polish State arose, three different legislations were in force: there were three different civil and penal codes, different commercial usage and regulations, industry was governed by three distinct systems, and social welfare work was conducted on three, widely divergent lines. In the years under review, all this heterogeneous mass of systems and legislation has been unified, consolidated and

revised into a single whole. The same can be stated about every other domain of public activity.

As regards communications, it should be borne in mind that Germany, Russia and Austria, each maintained in that domain their separate and individual economic and military policy, the divergence of which had to be removed during the post-War years. They are still inadequate for our needs, but what has been done in improving and developing them is far from inconsiderable. Over fifteen hundred miles of roads and about six hundred miles of railway-track represent the fruits of the reborn Republic's efforts in this domain. The legislative activity of the Polish Government affords further eloquent proof of the great labour expended on consolidating and developing the public life of the State; for example, in the years 1926-28 over four hundred decrees of the President of the Republic were issued with force of law. There was hardly a single branch of public activity in which we did not have to build from the bottom upwards, the most striking example being that of the Polish currency and of national finance.

Owing to the direct results of war operations and the changes on the political map of Europe, Poland found herself after the Great War faced by complete financial chaos, not only amid the countries surrounding her, but also primarily on her own territory. The destruction of her own capital by the total depreciation of the currencies of the three partitioning States following unrestricted inflation and by the loss of sums deposited in Russian banks, is strikingly brought out by the fact that even after some years had passed, Poland had in 1925 only about 11 per cent. of her pre-War capital. As late as 1927, the total deposits in State-owned and private banks amounted to only one-third of the pre-War figure.

The chaos in currency matters was, it must be remembered, not only due to the depreciation of German, Austrian and Russian currency, but was further aggravated by the circulation of special supplementary currency issued by the authorities of occupation.

Without entering into the details of Polish currency reform or of the financial policy of the government, thanks to which the rate of the zloty is today one of the most stable, it may be affirmed that the results indicated have been almost entirely due to the efforts of the Polish public, with the help of Polish emigrants overseas. After the first reform of 1924 and the later weakening of the currency, we finally stabilised the zloty, accepting the support of a foreign loan in the last phase of the operation, i.e. after stabilisation had become an accomplished fact. Since 1927, Polish currency policy

has followed a rational plan, designed to prevent any such situation arising as could threaten the collective economic life of the State.

In the domain of national budgetary finance we have aimed at absolute equilibrium being maintained, and in face of the world economic crisis this is no easy task. We are, however, trying to foresee any coming difficulties, and that is why the Government issued last month its first internal loan. This loan of 120 million zlotys has been covered nearly three times and has been a success from every point of view, as apart from its financial necessity, it has shown that the population of Poland, both farming and industrial, approves the policy of the Government and is ready to do all in its power to overcome the difficulties of this crisis. The various Cabinets since 1926 have represented the ideal of continuity and stability in the work of government, alike in the fields of legislation, economic effort and finance. As regards the last-named, it can be affirmed that the maintenance of budgetary equilibrium and the stabilisation of the currency have become accepted as unassailable principles.

In this brief survey I have naturally been obliged to limit myself to certain outstanding points. But it is necessary to add a few other observations which would appear essential for a proper understanding of present-day Poland.

Poland is principally an agricultural country; 70 per cent. of the population is engaged in farming. In these conditions, her economic life is dependent to a large extent on the situation of the world market for agricultural produce. As the costs of industrial production are not based on corn but on gold ratios, the divergence in the fluctuations of both these factors is inevitably bound up with the development of consumption on the home market and also with the development of industry. It is for this reason that Poland is applying as much attention to agriculture as to industry. We have over two million hectares of marsh land which is for the most part unproductive. We are at present preparing a land-improvement scheme to reclaim this land and expect ultimately to devote 1,850,000 acres for the development of small-holdings, while the remaining 3,700,000 acres will assure work and existence to many more thousands of small-holders with their families. Meanwhile, Poland is one of the richest countries on the Continent as regards mineral wealth and sources of energy. She has great deposits not only of coal, but also of lignite, to say nothing of big supplies of earth-gas and un-utilised water-power reserves. We also have in our soil petroleum, coking coal, potassium salts, iron, lead and zinc ores, raw materials for building, etc. Our forest wealth is also great.

The industrial transformation of all this raw material must of

necessity constitute one of the chief aims of our collective effort, whereby the State assures the prosperity of its citizens.

I already spoke of the great losses and devastation caused by the War. During the period under review, we have made good nearly all the damage. Out of 547 railway stations destroyed during the Great War, 499 had been rebuilt by 1930; out of 2,400 destroyed bridges, 1,868 have already been rebuilt. In 1918, we had 1,750 locomotives, today we have 5,400. We had only 3,043 passenger railway carriages, now we have over 12,000. The War left us with only 33,000 goods trucks; today we have 156,000 of which 25,000 were constructed by our own factories.

This does not mean that we consider the results attained so far as sufficient. Poland is a country of great investment works, and we have enough work in this respect for at least one generation if not more. But let figures speak for themselves.

We have built, it is true, a number of new railway lines (e.g. the Silesia-Gdynia line), but we still have only 3.2 miles of railway track per square kilometre of area, the ratio in France being 5 miles, 8.7 in Great Britain and 20 miles in Belgium. The recently concluded transaction whereby English capital will finance the electrification of the Warsaw railway junction is closely connected with this problem. Poland's water-power reserves have been estimated at 3,700,000 H.P., but so far we have utilised only about 100,000 H.P. We still lack investment capital, though we have by our own efforts and internal capitalisation done much to build it up. In 1926, the total deposits in banks, communal and co-operative savings-banks amounted to 272 million zlotys; by 1931, the total rose to over 2 milliards zlotys.

Poland has one of the largest rates of natural increase of population in Europe. Compared with the corresponding figure for our nearest neighbour, Germany, the figures are specially striking. There are 65 million people in Germany and 32 million in Poland. In 1930, the rate of increase in the Reich was 6.4, but in Poland 16.7 per thousand. Our population rises half a million every year.

Schooling must be assured to this young generation. This apparently simple statement must, however, be appraised in the light of the truth, that prior to 1918 there was no Polish school system upon a large part of the territories embraced by the present Polish State. Everything had to be created from the most primitive beginnings. But since the War, we have succeeded in bringing it about that 95.1 per cent. of the children of school age now attend elementary schools. During the school year 1931-32, there were

4,638,000 children of school-age (i.e. between the ages of 7 and 12) in Poland, 4,693,000 in Germany and only 3,666,000 in France.

To this general survey must be added a few words about constitutional development and the efforts which have been and are still being made to adapt the constitution to the better traditions of the past and to the needs of present conditions. I have already mentioned the grave faults and serious difficulties in this domain and how they brought about the fall of the Kingdom of Poland in the eighteenth century. Traditions, even bad ones, are not easy to remove in the life of nations. We were faced by the danger that, deprived of the benefit of the political experience furnished by the nineteenth century, we might have reverted at least to some extent to the former custom of weakening the power of the executive through unnecessary party strife. Such an eventuality would be dangerous in any country but, naturally, its results would be less serious where continuity of government had always been a feature of the country, where natural boundaries protect from the danger of aggression and where the work of reconstruction is not so urgent or essential as it was in the case of Poland. In our case, the problems are really pressing; that security which many a country has assured by its natural frontiers must in our case be given by our internal cohesion and strength. It is for this reason that we are now undertaking the reform of our constitution, to meet the necessities of the situation.

At such a juncture, the presence in Poland of a strong and great man is a signal piece of fortune. After our frontiers were settled, Marshal Pilsudski set himself to the task of breaking with the tradition of unrestricted party strife in politics. His ideal was to group together those who wish to serve the State against those serving primarily their class or their narrow party-platforms. Marshal Pilsudski's moral prestige is so great that I can safely state that any Cabinet in which he participates or which he supports is assured of strength.

The long delay in setting up a new constitution is easy to understand. We do not wish to repeat the error made in 1921, when the constitutional system was built up in too great a hurry. We feel the urgent necessity for reforms in this domain, but we realise that it is wiser to wait for the natural evolution of events to bring them on gradually and then to give them the force of law if necessary. In this respect we can find no finer example to follow than the British Constitution, which, based on tradition and experience, has never really been a formal, paragraphed act of

State. In our case, we do not want to take short cuts on the road of experience. The world is passing through many changes, and it may be claimed that political institutions which were probably perfect twenty or thirty years ago need some adaptation to the conditions of modern life and to the requirements of the present day. The problem is a big one and I am not prepared to cover it here in detail today, or to define what constitutional reforms may eventually be passed by the Polish Government. But I can safely affirm that whatever may be done, will be done with a view to securing the best possible conditions of work for the executive with the full co-operation of our parliamentary institutions, the development of which was always a main principle of Marshal Pilsudski's policy.

Every country has its own particular needs and trends to follow. But I do believe that the adapting of our constitution to the exigencies of the present epoch has a wider significance, since it may contribute new ideas and thoughts in a field which is of supreme importance to all countries at the present time. We know very well that we are that country in Europe which certain parties have accustomed themselves to look upon, not as the subject, but as the object of political action. We likewise know that one who is thought to have left this world is not always greeted with enthusiasm on his re-appearance, especially if his property has served to enrich others. But this does not hinder us from carrying on in accordance with the wise maxim of Bishop Lawrence Goslicki, expressed in his work : " *De optimo senatore*," translated into English and published in 1586 under the title of " *The Accomplished Senator*." There he wrote that the supreme duty of the State is "to take care that peace and prosperity are maintained within the Commonwealth."

It is with the realisation of our ever growing strength and animated by the most peaceful sentiments, that Marshal Pilsudski uttered the following words : "What is necessary is that our country should understand . . . that liberty, if it is to give strength, must unite, must join, must extend the hand of friendship to neighbours and opponents . . . Only from such a feeling of mutual respect . . . can issue great strength in times of stress and crisis in the affairs of the country."

JANUSZ RADZIWIŁŁ.



# CULTURAL PROBLEMS OF THE NEW POLAND<sup>1</sup>

(I)

IN order to see the cultural problems and cultural efforts of the new Poland in their proper perspective, it is necessary first to envisage the legacy of the past in this respect.

Early medieval Poland had been placed, like early medieval England, before a choice which was of vital importance for the development of its civilisation. Seventh-century England, finding herself at the cross-roads between Irish and Roman Christianity, had decided for Rome and thereby for cultural unity with Continental Europe; similarly 10th century Poland had had to choose between the Western Christianity of Rome and the Eastern Christianity of Byzantium, and by deciding for Roman Catholicism, had become a member of that very effective League of Nations which for a number of centuries was constituted in Europe under the spiritual authority of Rome. It was a natural consequence of this that culture in Poland in the early middle ages, in spite of continuous struggles against the political expansion of the German neighbour, was under equally continuous *German influence*. Especially was this the case when, after the terrible Tartar inroads of the 12th century, Poland's towns were re-established or founded anew with the help of German colonists, and organised on the basis of Magdeburg municipal law.

It was a fit symbol of this stage of Polish civilisation that one of the greatest artists in medieval Poland, Vitus Stoss, the inspired creator of the magnificent woodcarvings on the high altar of the Gothic Cathedral of St. Mary at Cracow, spent one-half of his life at Nürnberg and one-half in Poland's capital.

If the influence of Germany had in the middle ages been associated with the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church over the entire field of civilisation, the same influence was exerted no less powerfully in the period of the Reformation.

During a brief spell of intense and manifold efflorescence of Protestant creeds in 16th century Poland, German teaching acted as a great stimulant on Polish literature and Polish thought, which then burst into greater activity than ever before. The University of Königsberg, founded as a propaganda centre for Protestantism in Eastern Europe, for a short time became a serious rival in influence over Polish minds to Poland's own University of Cracow, which was then two centuries old.

<sup>1</sup> The second of a series of lectures on "Modern Poland," on 15 Nov., 1933.

Side by side with the German influence, there had been, even in the middle ages, a growing *Italian* element in the cultural life of Poland. The Italian influence had been exercised since early days through prelates, merchants, bankers and diplomats; it received a considerable reinforcement in the 14th century from the Court, when dynastic connections with the reigning Angevin house of Hungary introduced a strain of refinement derived from the Neapolitan kingdom of the same Anjou dynasty. But the heyday of direct Italian influence over Poland only came with yet another dynastic link, established by the marriage of an early 16th century king, who was himself an enlightened humanist, Sigismund I, to a princess of the house of Sforza, of Milan. It was then that Cracow began to swarm with Italian scholars and artists. Italian was familiarly spoken in the capital of Poland, great works of Renaissance architecture and sculpture were created to adorn the Royal residence, and the sons of the Polish nobility began to flock to Italy, especially to the University of Padua, for their higher education.

Side by side with the Italian influence, *French* civilisation became, in the early modern era, an important factor in Polish life. The prince of Poland's Renaissance poets, Kochanowski, had learned as much in Paris as at Padua; a French prince of the house of Valois occupied the Polish throne for a short time before ascending the throne of France as Henry III; and the influence was further fostered by the French Queens of three of Poland's kings in the 17th century. It was in Warsaw, which had become Poland's capital after Cracow, that this French strain found the finest expression in art as well as in research and in political endeavour. Under the enlightened if weak rule of Poland's last king, Stanislas Augustus, Warsaw became a Polish Versailles; and the great achievements in literature and learning as well as in constructive political thought and social reform which give lustre to the last tragic stages of the old Poland's independence, have their foundation largely in the French doctrines of the Era of Enlightenment and, later on, in the ideas of the French Revolution.

It was through the medium of France in large measure that Poland in the 18th century began to profit, for her own intellectual and literary life, by the great models of *English* poetry and prose and by the teachings of Britain's great philosophical and social thinkers. The influence which was to be exercised on Polish literature by Shakespeare, Scott, and Byron, and on Polish thought by Mill and Spencer and Darwin, was the outcome of earlier connections established chiefly in the Era of Enlightenment.

We have so far considered chiefly the foreign influences which fostered the progress of civilisation in the old independent Poland before the partitions. But it must not pass unmentioned either that Poland, in the later middle ages and early modern centuries, had herself become a creative centre of cultural values which radiated into the neighbouring countries to the East and South. The dynastic union between Poland and Lithuania in the late 14th century brought Lithuania—then a large and far-flung State—not only into the Roman Catholic fold, but into the orbit of Western European civilisation, of which Poland was the interpreter and transmitter. The large and powerful Polish-Lithuanian Monarchy, again, exercised for nearly three centuries a strong cultural influence on the rising Empire of Moscow. Polish dress, Polish manners, Polish speech and Polish books were a dominant factor of life at the Court of the Tsars even in the 17th century, when fierce conflicts had long begun to rage between the two States; and a Polish Divinity School at Kiev, in the heart of the Ukrainian lands, affected Ukrainian culture so profoundly that even the leader of the great Cossack rising against Poland, Bogdan Khmelnitsky in the 17th century, conducted his diplomatic correspondence in Polish.<sup>1</sup> Roumania, for centuries a vassal State of Poland, owes the beginnings of her literary life to Poland, and some of her early literature is in the Polish language. Finally, recent research has ascertained that the revival of Czech literature and of a Czech literary language in the 18th century, after one hundred and fifty years of strenuous Germanisation, took place under the predominant influence of Poland's poet of the time, whose works were busily translated and paraphrased by the first modern Czech writers.

## (2)

With the spiritual inheritance whose growth I have endeavoured to outline, Poland entered on the dark century of her captivity and her division among three different systems of foreign rule. It was largely by virtue of that inheritance of spiritual values from the past that the nation's unity and inward vitality was preserved, and the age of dismemberment and oppression, the 19th century, was even marked, surprisingly enough, by the supreme achievements of Polish genius in all domains of art and of abstract thought.

In a way, the very fact of Poland's captive state was serviceable

<sup>1</sup> From Hungary, thousands of students flocked to the Polish University of Cracow, especially during the early Renaissance period, when there were manifold dynastic links between the two countries.

to these powerful manifestations of creative talent. The nation, gradually deprived of the normal means of political self-determination and social self-expression, put forth all the more energy in individual achievement, both intellectual and artistic. Besides, the emigration of all the master spirits of the people to Western Europe, and especially to France, after the disaster of an armed rising in 1831, brought renewed and more immediate contact with all that was best in Western European civilisation. Again, in the three sections of the divided country itself, different political conditions called different forces of the national soul into particularly active play. Thus, Prussian Poland, in her struggle against German colonisation and Germanising education, became the classic region of economic organisation and social discipline. In Russian Poland, private initiative became highly developed through the lack of all possibilities of legal collective action, and through private enterprise the Polish element in the Russian Empire reached an importance out of all proportion to its crippled political rights. Under Austria, finally, where provincial self-government was granted at last in 1867, there was a new and vigorous growth of national education and of activities in research and in art, which drew on all parts of Poland for creative service and, in return, provided the whole nation with an organised nucleus for renewed fulness of life after deliverance and re-union in our own days.

If such advantages can now be perceived to have been derived from the very handicaps of Poland's captivity, the disadvantages, of course, were much greater, and they are painfully evident today. Recently, a French observer, M. Robert de Traz, recording his impressions of Poland in no unfriendly spirit in the columns of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, declared that Poland, in losing a whole century of independent national history, had lost the normal development of middle-class democracy which had been the outstanding fact of that century in the life of the free nations of Western Europe. The handicap which this meant for Poland's intellectual as well as economic progress, was chiefly expressed in the fact that the educated professional class—that "intelligentsia" which means so much in the life of modern European communities—did not enjoy anything like prosperous conditions of development in 19th century Poland, especially under Russia and Prussia. It was only under Austria, when self-government during the last half-century before the War gave wider scope for popular education, that an educated professional middle-class—partly of peasant origin, as in modern Scotland—was developing more or less normally; but its

outlook was tinged with provincialism, owing to the official dependence of Austro-Polish education on Austro-German central authorities; Poland's historical connections with France and Italy—to say nothing of England—were becoming enfeebled, and political subjection, even in its least oppressive form, manifestly meant intellectual isolation and restraint.

## (3)

The dangers of sequestered political existence and the evils of lingering social backwardness could be counteracted only to a very limited extent by the chosen spirits of pre-war Poland such as Stanislas Szczepanowski, who, after many years of residence in England, became one of the later 19th century Poland's classics in political and social thought. Full opportunities in this respect only came with reunion and freedom after the World War. But regained liberty also made the vastness of the problems fully apparent.

A national educational system had to be built up in a country more extensively ravaged than any other European theatre of War. The largest sector of the country—former Russian Poland—suffered from a deplorable scarcity of school buildings and a shortage of all the material apparatus of education; and both former Russian and former Prussian Poland were almost entirely without Polish teachers, whom Austrian Poland had largely to supply for the rest of the Republic.

In sharp contrast with these huge deficiencies there was the hunger and thirst of Poland's thirty million people for education—a hunger and thirst at once manifested almost with the same keenness and force as the bodily hunger from which these masses were suffering after the War. Entering on her new life as a Parliamentary Republic with universal adult suffrage, Poland became at one swoop more thoroughly democratised than during many decades of her divided existence, and a general and urgent desire for popular education was expressed by the new democracy, whose demands taxed the slender means of the new State to the utmost, and still continue to tax them beyond all capacity.

The pressure of these demands is not only very intense, but it is also unprecedented in its wide extent. As an American educational expert—Professor Paul Monroe of Columbia University—very justly observed, Poland found herself in the position of somebody who would have to build all the several floors of a large building from the bottom to the top at the same time. Not only did all the

different stages of the entire school curriculum require organising effort at once; but, over and above this, there were enormous tasks in the sphere of adult education to be tackled immediately, especially in view of a disastrous inheritance of illiteracy in the more neglected and outlying portions of Russian Poland. Nor was this all. Poland had regained her freedom in the midst of a world in which the domains of State activity and State responsibility in the field of culture as well as in other fields were wider than ever before. The protection, encouragement, and endowment of research, of literature, of all the arts now largely devolve upon the State, especially in a country thoroughly impoverished by the war.

## (4)

The difficulties were not all material; there were very serious moral ones as well. To begin with, the eagerness of the new democracy for higher education resulted in Poland, as elsewhere in Europe, not only in serious problems of overcrowding in the schools themselves but of over-supply of highly qualified intellectual workers in social life outside. It also led inevitably—and again not in Poland only—to a lowering of the intellectual standards of education; the teachers, under the enforced conditions of mass education, were obliged to bid for results expressed rather in terms of quantity than of quality; and among the pupils, there were necessarily large numbers of those who thought primarily of raising their social status through education, and of attaining security through employment in a government office. Education, in a word, became a domain in which the world-wide crisis of the democratic idea was made particularly manifest.

But education in itself, apart from its wider social setting, also turned out to be in a condition of crisis. It was one of the many historical ironies attending the great fact of Poland's political re-birth, that this fact should have occurred at a time when all old educational standards, methods and ideals are in the melting-pot, when there is a world-wide ferment in educational theory, and an impassable gulf seems to separate us even from the recent educational past. For Poland it was vital, if her deliverance was to have any deeper meaning at all, that the bonds of tradition between the present and the historical past of the nation should be re-established; and yet it was just this which seemed particularly difficult in the domain of education, not only because of the world-wide anti-historical mood of criticism and questioning which I have just

mentioned, but also on account of the peculiar situation of a country in which the past was separated from the present by more than the abyss of the World War—by the deeper abyss of a century of captivity and its anomalous developments. It was a necessary consequence of this, that among the educational organisers of the new Poland unhistorical modes of thinking predominated, and all sorts of reforms, which were being tried out abroad, were eagerly adopted wholesale, regardless of different local conditions. Foreign observers are sometimes pleasantly surprised to find the advanced educational doctrines of their own countries known and applied in Poland; the Polish educational worker himself is apt to complain of the restlessness which constant reorganisations and experiments impart to the day-to-day process of education.

The difficulties created by the quickened progress of democracy on the one hand, and by the ferment of reform in the sphere of education on the other, are more or less common to post-war Europe and America. But under the peculiar conditions of Poland, a third difficulty of capital order was added by the task which education was called upon to play in the consolidation of a reborn State.

It is to unified education in the schools of the new Poland that we must look for the amalgamation of the three different mentalities developed during the last hundred years among the Polish people under the widely different conditions of Russian, Prussian, and Austrian rule. It is from the effect of identical principles of education that we expect the awakening of a spirit of fellow-feeling and co-operation with the Poles among the youth of Poland's large national minorities, Germans, Ukrainians, and Jews. It is to her schools, in fine, that Poland had to entrust the task of building up a new and uniform civic consciousness throughout the Republic.

Now, that problem of civic education, looming very large in all educational systems of today, is a vexed and thorny one everywhere. It needs must be particularly difficult in a country in which there is still a good deal of political immaturity among the masses, and party excitement has not ceased to run very high among the rest. On the one hand, there is not yet a satisfactory measure of universal agreement on certain fundamentals, at least as far as Poland's domestic policy is concerned; on the other hand, the exigencies and interests of the State figure prominently almost in every branch of learning and on every plane of education in this world of today. Under the circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that the programme of civic education in Poland's schools proves difficult to frame and is the object of much diversity of opinion.

(5)

Having briefly surveyed the dilemmas and perplexities of educational organisation in the new Poland, we may now, as briefly, pass in review its definite achievements.

The educational administration of Poland centres in a Ministry of Public Instruction which had begun to be organised in full war-time, under German occupation.

Subordinated to the Ministry are the "curatoria," or head offices of educational districts. Those districts are not identical in area with the units of political administration; the idea of incorporating the machinery of educational administration in the administrative framework of local government has often been mooted, but is always strenuously resisted by the teachers' organisations; and thus the educational authorities from top to bottom remain a united separate body within the State. The means at the disposal of these authorities consist of appropriations averaging 15 per cent. of the total expenditure of the Republic, this being the highest quota devoted to any public service except that of national defence.

Pre-school education in Poland, beginning at the age of three, had about one hundred *kindergartens* devoted to it at the beginning of Poland's new existence; it now has over fourteen hundred, of which the most numerous and the best are to be found in the city of Warsaw and in the industrial province of Silesia. Poland's elementary school curriculum, in the form to which the population had become accustomed under the partitioning Powers, was of the type more or less common to all Central Europe; that is to say, it consisted of four or five years for those who proceeded to secondary school and university, and of seven or eight years for those who immediately afterwards chose a trade and went into training for it.

From the very beginning of the new Poland's existence, however, there were urgent demands for an extension of elementary school education, in accordance with the democratic spirit of the time. America was held up as a model; also the more doubtful experiences of some European countries which had been inspired by the slogan of the *école unique*, the one and only elementary school for all citizens. Owing to lack of means, however, practical steps could only be taken since 1927, and it was not till 1932 that a complete scheme of school reform was carried through Parliament. Under the Reform Bill of that year, the school system is being changed in several essential features. In place of the old network of small village



schools, which mostly could provide four years of teaching at the utmost, there will be a lesser number of large district schools, serving the needs of whole groups of villages, and providing for the complete reformed curriculum. In the second place, a full seven-year elementary course will be compulsory for all pupils alike, and secondary school, for those who enter it, will begin two years later than before. Side by side with this expansion of elementary school teaching at the expense of the secondary school, there is, on the other hand, a tendency to raise the standard of education of the elementary school teachers to the academic level; the old teachers' training colleges, whose programme more or less equalled that of the upper forms of secondary schools, are to be replaced by a regular university course of two years.

The secondary school curriculum of Poland, whose duration, as we have seen, is to be curtailed by two years in favour of elementary schooling, is further to be subdivided into a general secondary school course limited to four years and corresponding to the American "high school," and a superior and more specialised course of two years to be called the "lyceum," preparatory to university study and analogous to the "junior college" in the American system.

In comparison with these re-arrangements in the division of the whole period of study into its component stages, the actual changes in the teaching programme appear less sweeping, but must be mentioned here as being highly characteristic. Poland, like her neighbour Hungary, preserved Latin as the language of its public life well on into the modern era, and could boast even in recent times of a fairly high level of classical studies. However, the world-wide tendency against the dominance of the classics in education, and in favour of modern subjects, could not fail to gain ground in Poland too, and to find expression in the educational organisation of the new State. On Polish ground, this tendency was even reinforced by a widespread feeling that the nation, during its century of captivity, had lived spiritually too largely on historical memories and poetic visions, and must now receive more material sustenance from natural science and technical studies, in order to strengthen its sense of reality and of responsibility under the conditions of regained freedom. Accordingly, there was a preponderance of the scientific element in the secondary school programmes of the new Poland's early years, and the humanities, including history, suffered from comparative neglect. What has been called the "engineering spirit" of the new education was also expressed by the stress laid upon active exploration of any given field of study by the student's

own intellect rather than the storing of his memory with a ready-made digest of facts.

In comparison with this, there is to be observed, in the new programmes as laid down by the bill of 1932, a certain revival of the appreciation of the classic element, inasmuch as Latin at least is to be compulsory in all secondary schools now, while hitherto there existed several types of secondary school without any classical teaching at all. At the same time, however, great stress is laid in the new law on the development and better organisation of Poland's commercial and industrial schools, whose variety has hitherto been greater than their individual efficiency, and of which there have so far been altogether too few. In Poland, as in some other countries of central Europe, the population had inherited from pre-War times a preference for a liberal education, as ranking higher in the traditional scale of social values than a technical one. This lack of balance is to be redressed now, and a broader educational foundation to be provided for Polish commerce, handicraft and industry. At the same time, the immoderate and indiscriminate influx of students into Poland's universities is to be stemmed, and part of the great stream of young people to be directed into non-academic practical professions.

(6)

The universities, no less than the elementary and secondary schools, constitute a social problem of the first order in Poland, as indeed in most other countries today, and are passing through a phase of important changes. In the period of captivity, Poland had been deprived by Russia of her flourishing Universities of Wilno and Warsaw, and retained only two universities, as well as several academic schools for special subjects (engineering, agriculture, art) in the Austrian sector of the country. Among these, Poland's oldest University at Cracow—founded in 1364 as one of the first in that part of Europe—remained the most authoritative seat of higher learning in all Polish lands.

When independence was regained, the rebuilding of Poland's academic system was taken in hand with the eagerness and optimism characteristic of all organising effort in the beginnings of the new era. Besides the University of Warsaw, reconstituted in full War time, the capital received a large Engineering College, an Agricultural College, and some other academic schools; a complete University was re-established at Wilno on the initiative of Marshal Pilsudski, himself a native of that region; another complete

University was built up at Poznan, in former Prussian Poland, on the groundwork left behind by a German Academy; a denominational (Roman Catholic) University was created as a private foundation in the South-Eastern city of Lublin; separate Academies of Commerce arose in the principal university centres. Altogether, Poland at present possesses twelve academic institutions legally recognised as being of university rank, five of them being universities fully equipped with all the traditional Faculties of Divinity, Law, Medicine, Sciences and Arts.

The creation of so many schools of academic standing at once was an effort which strained both the material and the intellectual resources of the new State to the utmost. And yet, what was done seemed barely enough to satisfy the keen demand of the masses for higher education. Not only were all the new Universities overcrowded at once, but the old ones in former Austrian Poland increased to twice their pre-War number of students. The figures have never ceased to grow since; at the present moment, Poland has an academic student population of nearly 50,000, of whom over 14,000 are women—total figures higher by several thousand than those of the British student body, although the grand total of inhabitants is fourteen millions lower in Poland than in Great Britain with Northern Ireland.

These figures are only the extreme expression of that recent rush of the democratic masses towards higher schools which has been mentioned before. The social phenomenon is familiar nowadays in most European countries, and has also become very marked in the United States since the War. The grave difficulties, both material and moral, which it produces in the life of the universities themselves as well as in social life at large are much the same everywhere. To begin with, the effects of overcrowding on outside life, the growing volume of unemployment among university graduates, which has become so catastrophic in Germany, have not yet reached the same disastrous dimensions in Poland, because of the wide scope which former Russian Poland offered after its dearth of systematic higher education before the War; but with the huge birth rate which is a feature of the Polish State, all the evils of widespread unemployment among graduates are approaching at a rapid pace. Within the Universities, the same complaints are heard in Poland as elsewhere concerning the burden of teaching duties which interfere with the professors' research work, and concerning the lowering of academic standards generally through the exigencies of mass education; the same observations are also being made, as in other countries, con-

cerning the very imperfect preparation of most of those who enter the Universities, for academic study of any kind. To stem the tide, barriers in the shape of competitive entrance examinations and of strict numerical limitations of admission to Faculties, departments, and laboratories are of necessity being erected more and more frequently. A more effective bar, unfortunately one less desirable from the point of view of selection, has recently been added through a considerable augmentation of the students' fees. Those fees had so far been among the lowest in Continental Europe; but even at that they were a heavy burden on the rank and file of students, who in their majority come from poor homes. State education being free in principle in Poland, the revenue from students' fees was largely devoted to welfare work for the students themselves, and much has been done in a few short years in the way of building student hostels, sanatoria, vacation homes, and providing cheap food, free medical treatment, and the material apparatus for all forms of bodily exercise. Sports are still a much less prominent feature of university life in Poland than in the English-speaking countries; an all-too-active interest in party politics, on the other hand, is manifested by many student associations, and its outbursts occasionally disturb the peace of academic life, as they do in most other countries of Continental Europe.

To return, however, to the material difficulties under which Poland's overcrowded universities are labouring, it was in these recent years, when the brunt of the world-wide crisis became deeply felt in Poland's national household, that the whole university system inevitably began to suffer. After repeated and painful diminutions of staff salaries and of Government grants, more drastic steps have at last had to be taken in the present year; a number of professorial chairs, partly vacant and partly even occupied ones, have been abolished, and the abolition of entire Faculties is in prospect—a measure which has already been resorted to in several cases in the neighbouring Republic of Czechoslovakia.

Economic restrictions were not the only ones to which the Universities have had to submit. The life of the Universities of Poland was organised on a basis of full academic freedom, conceived in the sense in which the word was interpreted in German Universities in the 19th century. This means that the Universities, although supported entirely by the State, were subject to comparatively little State control in matters of administration and personnel; that teaching, degree examinations and research work were not supervised by any State authority; that the students enjoyed

customary privileges rather larger than those of the common body of citizens. This freedom throughout Continental Europe is being gradually curtailed now in favour of a closer connection between the working of the University and the entire machinery of the more and more powerful State. The old liberty of studies proved impracticable under the new condition of mass education; prescribed courses and strictly regulated examinations make study more easy to the average student of today. A more serious change was brought about by a much-debated University Reform Bill, passed in Poland at the beginning of the present year; the self-government of the professorial body is being at several points restricted by provisions for government control, while the corporate life of the students is being placed more fully under the jurisdiction of the State authorities. This naturally called forth protests from those of Poland's university teachers who had been brought up in the atmosphere of 19th century liberal ideals; but considered in relation to general developments, it falls into line with many other European symptoms of the universal contemporary trend from individualism and decentralised autonomy towards centralism and paternal government.

## (7)

Even under the great difficulties of today, the Polish Universities are not only schools, but remain homes of research. Ever since the undergraduate's gown of Cracow had, at the end of the 15th century, been worn by Nicholas Copernicus, who became the greatest astronomer of modern times, the beacon fire of research had been kept aflame in that University and, after its example, in the younger academic schools of modern Poland. That fire had burned with particular brightness in the 19th century when, under the handicaps of political dependence, learned societies due to private initiative had sprung up to organise and assist the research work of university teachers, and sometimes even to replace for research purposes such Universities as were suppressed by Poland's foreign rulers.

Such a learned society, founded in Warsaw a few years after the final partition, gave to Poland, among other labours, the first great dictionary of the Polish language. In later times another organisation in Warsaw, the Mianowski Foundation,<sup>2</sup> published a long series of standard handbooks which served as a substitute for the actual teaching of university professors, then impossible in Russian Poland. Both the Warsaw societies and a similar one

<sup>2</sup> See a special article in *Slavonic Review*, (Vol. X. No. 29, p. 427, 1930).

at Poznan in Prussian Poland, actively promoted the training of Polish research workers at home and abroad; and among the Polish emigrants in Paris, about the middle of the 19th century, private munificence created a flourishing centre of research and of publications, which now continues to exist as the "Paris research station" of the Polish Academy. That Polish Academy itself, organised at Cracow under the more favourable conditions of provincial self-government, was during the last half-century before the War the principal collective organ of research in Poland, and the many hundred volumes of its publications contained contributions of the utmost importance not only to the history of Polish civilisation and the study of nature in Polish lands, but also to the whole domain of the arts and sciences at large.

In the new free Poland, these old research bodies have continued their activities under the favourable conditions of regained political liberty, if occasionally under considerable material difficulties created by the post-war economic situation. The earnest endeavours of Poland's learned societies to re-establish the bonds of intellectual union between Poland and the West, which had been weakened in the later stages of Poland's captivity, have been largely successful; representatives of the Polish Academy and other learned bodies are sitting on the boards of international research associations, and certain schemes of world-wide co-operative work in chemistry, in astronomy, in medical studies, have been undertaken by those associations at the initiative of Poland's representatives. Papers read by Polish men of learning figure in large proportion on the agenda papers of all recent international congresses of specialists, and some such congresses—a world Congress for Chemical Research, one of Botanists, of Agricultural Experts, of Military Surgeons—have successfully been held in Poland itself of late years. Most successful perhaps of them all, the International Congress of Historians, held in Warsaw in August this year, has given manifold proof of the fact that the study of Poland herself and her history is now cultivated in many centres of research outside Poland. The Universities of London, Paris, Rome and Prague, possess special Chairs devoted to Polish studies; and the organised exchange of professors and students, proceeding for a number of years between Poland and France, and Poland and the States, has by this time resulted in important published work on both sides of the Ocean.

If now we endeavour to survey and broadly to characterise the large and varied mass of research work which is being conducted in the new Polish State itself, certain outstanding features of it are

easy to define and explain. To begin with, research workers in reborn Poland have considered it their honourable duty to place their learning at the service of the vital needs of the new State. Not only have University Professors occupied posts in all its Cabinets, and three University Professors in succession been the Presidents of the Republic, but Poland's best experts in jurisprudence have framed her political and commercial treaties, her foremost professors of law are superintending the labours of a Commission compiling the codes of laws for the new Poland, her economists have helped her to emerge from the post-war morass of paper money inflation, and scholars have been frequent among her diplomats, including the eminent political historian who was Poland's first representative in the League of Nations. Both historians and specialists in language and literature are working earnestly at the renewal of Poland's historical connections with the great centres of Western civilisation; and some of them are trying to perform the double task of interpreting a great foreign nation to Poland at home, and Poland to that nation abroad. Historians of art are registering and describing Poland's art treasures, and some of them have taken an active part either in the preservation of historical monuments of architecture, or in the recovery of objects of art for Poland from Russia under the provisions of the Riga Peace Treaty.

If great labours of national stocktaking have been absorbing the best efforts of many Polish scholars, that characteristic has been even more marked in the work of the scientists of the new Poland. From the vigorous production of maps of the new Poland in all her aspects to the preparation of atlases of her Flora, her mineral wealth, and her other natural resources, a wide range of fundamental descriptive work has been covered by the devoted efforts of research workers; the intensive study of Poland's regained outlet on the sea, and the participation of Polish delegates in international sea research, may perhaps be singled out as a particularly significant section of these endeavours.

Of research work in the natural sciences in present-day Poland it is characteristic again that the applications of science to the needs of collective life are being particularly attended to. Some of the most important research work in the scientific field has been done in such typical institutions of the new Poland as the Agricultural Institute of Poławy; the Institute for Research in Industrial Chemistry in Warsaw, founded by Professor Moscicki, the actual President of the Republic, himself a distinguished expert in that domain; a Radium Institute created under the auspices of

Mme. Curie, who has never loosened her bonds with her native Poland; and an Institute of Public Hygiene endowed by the Rockefeller Foundation. Polish Medicine had its year of glory when it arrested the tide of epidemics which the invading Bolshevik Army brought in its train in 1920, and which might have overwhelmed the whole of Europe as ruinously as Communism itself would have flooded it, if Poland had not warded it off in the battle of Warsaw. Medical research has since continued to serve its great social ends in Poland most worthily, and it is certainly a proof of international recognition of its services that a Polish doctor is a leading figure in the world-wide public health work of the League of Nations.

## (8)

Having rapidly surveyed systematic school education and organised research work in the new Poland, it is indispensable to supplement this account by a few words on that highly important domain of educational activities in every modern society which is concerned with extra-school teaching among the adult population. Organised work in adult education had been a national necessity under foreign rule in view of the anti-Polish educational policies of the three partitioning Powers; it retained a vital task in the new State, with its large arrears in the way of imperfect education among its grown-up and newly-enfranchised citizens. Among the numerous agencies created by the State, the Churches, political parties, social and professional groups for this purpose, the educational services of the Polish Army deserve to be singled out for their efficiency and wide range; many thousands of Poland's conscript soldiers have by this time carried into the remotest corners of the countryside the education they received in barrack classrooms during their term of compulsory service. Village clubs and village theatres are likewise doing highly useful work in out-of-the-way parts of the country, while University Extension courses of various types in the cities have lately been perfected in many ways by the imitation of such excellent foreign models as the Peoples' Universities of Scandinavian countries or the Tutorial Classes of the Workers' Educational Association in England. Altogether, it was not an undeserved mark of recognition for Polish effort in this field, if the spokesman of the thirty Polish delegates at the World Conference for Adult Education held at Cambridge in 1929 was elected Vice-President of the World Association.

Libraries, as an important instrument both of academic and of popular education, claim at least a brief mention in this cursory



survey. The old Poland, besides some venerable collections in ancient monasteries and chapter-houses, and some splendidly-furnished private libraries in the homes of great nobles, possessed, in the Cracow University Library, a treasure-house of old MSS. and early prints which retains its unique value in our days and has furnished materials for the monumental "Polish Bibliography," by K. Estreicher, now being completed by his son.

Another large library presented to the nation in the 18th century by two bishops, the Załuski brothers, was carried out of Poland into Russia after the partitions and served as the groundwork for the St. Petersburg Public Library. The most valuable portions of the Załuski Library in the way of MSS. and early printed books are now being recovered from Russia under the terms of the Peace Treaty of Riga, and are being incorporated in a great National Library which is arising in Warsaw. This new National Library also includes a most precious collection gathered by Polish emigrants after the partitions, and kept during Poland's captivity at Rapperswyl on the Lake of Zürich, in Switzerland.

Apart from these capital items, a wealth of library material is scattered all over Poland. A Library Department in the Polish Ministry of Education has done meritorious work, not only by taking stock of library resources of the country and by creating a Bibliographical Institute, but also by organising numerous popular libraries, especially in the Eastern provinces, which had educationally been most neglected under Russian rule, and which are now manifesting an eager appetite for reading.

Of the Museums of Poland, it can only very briefly be said here that some of them, like some of the libraries, owed their origin to the munificence of noble collectors, the outstanding examples of this kind being the Czartoryski Museum at Cracow and the Ossoliński Museum at Lwów, both of them also research workshops of a high order. In self-governing Austrian Poland before the War, the National Museum at Cracow developed into the chief store-house of great Polish works of art and of objects of historical interest. A great central National Museum is being created in Warsaw.

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A review of the new Poland's problems of culture, however summarily conceived, would not be complete without a glance at least at that domain of which the modern English-speaking races have been the first since the old Greeks and Romans to realise fully the importance, viz., bodily development and physical exercise.

Poland before the War had, like other Continental European nations, begun to follow in the wake of Britain and America. Private initiative had been memorably active; the Boy Scout Movement in particular had assumed respectable dimensions in a very few years. In the new Poland its growth has happily continued, and the World Jamboree of 1933, held in Hungary, has shown that the Polish Boy Scouts hold one of the highest places among national Boy Scout organisations in numbers and efficiency.

In war-time and after, the activities of the American Young Men's Christian Association, conducted first among the Army, and then among the civilians, served as a fertile source of new ideas and methods in the organisation of physical training and exercises. At present, Poland possesses, largely owing to American generosity, three Y.M.C.A. city centres, excellently equipped on the American model, and doing work of inestimable benefit for the physical and, implicitly also, for the moral well-being of the young generation.

The State is paying careful attention to physical education in the programmes of its schools; from half an hour to an hour every day is set apart for systematic physical exercise in schools of all grades; games and outdoor sports are largely taking the place of old-fashioned gymnastic drill; gymnasia, play-grounds, stadiums, swimming-pools are rapidly increasing in number; the training of instructors in physical exercise is now a recognised department of graduate study in the Universities; and a large Central Institute for Physical Education near Warsaw has recently been provided with a magnificent new building. The basis for all this physical culture is being provided by proper attention to hygiene both in the teaching programme of the schools and in the form of school clinics, of which an increasing number are at work, especially in the larger cities, and among which the well-organised dental clinics—particularly those of the city of Cracow—deserve to be singled out. Holiday colonies for poorer children, convalescent homes and sanatoria are doing excellent service in the way of preventive medicine; and the medical examination to which all students entering Poland's universities are now submitted, happily shows that the standard of health among young people has risen considerably since the distressful first post-war years, and that tuberculosis no longer takes anything like the appalling toll which it was taking in those days.

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We have reached the end of a very hasty journey through the various domains of the new Poland's efforts on behalf of national

culture. The reborn State has international problems of the gravest import to grapple with; it has domestic problems of political consolidation, of social reconstruction, and of economic improvement to solve which are portentous indeed. It would not be surprising if those spiritual values which kept Poland really alive through the centuries of her captivity were to occupy for a time a place in the background of national endeavour. I hope, however, to have sufficiently demonstrated by facts that this is by no means the case. Poland is straining every nerve to keep abreast of all the great educational and intellectual movements which are pervading the world of today. Having attained once more to the dignity of independent existence, she is intensely eager to justify her deliverance by living up to the full dignity of a cultured and civilised modern nation, and by doing her work in the world in a manner worthy of such a nation. And she trusts that not only the brilliant achievements of Polish genius in the dark century of captivity, but the honest constructive toil of a re-delivered nation in these present, very difficult years will one day be viewed as confirming the truth that it is the things of the mind and the spirit which really matter in the end; that, in fact, the noble Roman words of Sallust are as true today as they were when originally written: *Dux atque imperator vitæ mortalium animus est.*

ROMAN DYBOSKI.

## UKRAINIA UNDER BOLSHEVIST RULE

FROM the very beginning of the Russian Revolution the national movement in Ukraina has never ceased to be an object of both attention and alarm on the part of the Moscow centre. France came out of her revolution more united than when she entered upon it—but history does not repeat itself. Today we have a revolutionary Eastern Europe in which the “United Russia” of old is not being strengthened, but weakened and disintegrated.

In this centrifugal process the foremost place is taken by Ukraina. In view of the great part she takes in the life of the Russian Empire—particularly in the economic life—and with a population exceeding thirty millions, she is eminently fitted to take a full share in shaking the foundations of modern “Great” Russia—and the policy of the Russian Bolsheviks in Ukraina is in no small degree calculated to further this process. The Moscow of today is repeating the methods of the autocratic Tsars. It is not to be wondered at that the age-long antagonism between freedom-loving Ukraina and despotic Moscow should, under the Bolshevik regime, have reached an unprecedented degree of acuteness.

The contemporary “symbiosis” of Ukraina and Bolshevik Moscow, as also earlier experience under the regime of the Tsars, show that Ukraina and Muscovy are distinct from each other and differ above all in their national character and traditions; their general development has proceeded not along the line of common interests, not in the direction of creating a single State entity, but rather the very opposite. The conflict between them under the Bolshevik regime is particularly interesting and important for any detailed acquaintance with the Ukrainian problem.

### I. *The legal inter-relationship between Soviet Ukraina and Soviet Russia.*

From the very beginning of the revolution Ukraina has evinced pronounced anti-bolshevik leanings. With the rise to power of the Bolsheviks a continuous armed conflict between democratic Ukraina and Bolshevik Moscow has existed. Not until 1921 did the Russian Bolsheviks finally overrun Ukraina.

But those who carried out the military occupation of Ukrainian territory, namely, the Russian Bolsheviks, were forced to take account of the strong national movement in Ukraina. And

consequently when they succeeded, in March 1919, in overcoming the army of the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic and in occupying almost the whole of its territory, the Third All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets in Harkov approved the constitution of the Ukrainian SSR. as an "independent and sovereign State." In conformity with this constitution, Soviet Ukraina was invested with the following powers: foreign relations, proclamation of war and peace, the organisation of the army, the financial administration of the republic, etc. Conscious of the strength of the national movement in Ukraina, the newly-created Bolshevik regime was particularly careful not to flout the slogans under which the movement had developed. Moscow made at least a show of recognising the independence of the Ukrainian SSR. In its Notes, for example, to the Polish Government, and to France, England, Italy and the United States, it invariably spoke, in regard to the Polish advance on the RSFSR, of the Ukrainian SSR Government and of the independent Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic.

As soon as the war with Poland was over, a "military-economic" union was signed between Ukraina and Moscow (November 1920). To the latter were allotted such important charges as the control of military and naval affairs, foreign trade, finance, labour, communications, the posts and telegraphs, and lastly a supreme council of national economy. For tactical reasons the treaty laid down the "independence and sovereignty of both contracting parties," and, in particular, Ukraina retained the right of separate diplomatic representation in various countries. The peace treaty was signed at Riga in March 1921 by Poland and by the two Soviet Republics, "independent" and linked together only by a military-economic alliance. The treaty itself was drawn up in three languages: Polish, Russian and Ukrainian. Rakovsky, the head of the Harkov Government, negotiated direct with the Polish Government. The Ukrainian SSR had its own legation in Warsaw and the Poles had theirs in Harkov.

When it came to the definitive settlement of foreign frontiers, a move was made by the Moscow centre in the direction of a still "closer alliance of the armed forces" of the Soviet Union. In July 1923, the decision of the 10th Congress of Soviets of 27 November, 1922, became operative; the constitution of the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" was promulgated, and this constitution has remained in force until the present day.

In comparison with the agreement of 1920, the 1923 constitution gave greater powers to the Moscow Government. The "sovereign"

national republics were now deprived of separate representation outside the *cordon sanitaire*.<sup>1</sup>

The constitution of 1923 was followed in so far as the Soviet was given plenipotentiary powers in the appointment of commissariats; these were divided into *General Union (Soyuz) commissariats* and *United commissariats*. The general union commissariats (of foreign, that is, extra-cordon affairs, military and naval affairs, foreign trade, communications, posts and telegraphs) have their own representation, directly dependent on them, in the republics of the Union. The United commissariats (a supreme council of national economy, food control, labour, finances and peasant-labour inspection) also exist in the Union Republics, but "carry out the instructions of the corresponding national commissariats of the USSR." In this way, in accordance with the constitution of the USSR, the Union Republics have only such "autonomous" commissariats as those dealing with home affairs, land questions, justice, education, health and social welfare.

On the basis of the 1923 constitution the 9th All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets of 10 May, 1925, introduced the requisite changes in the Ukrainian SSR constitution of March 1919. It was laid down in the said constitution that the Ukrainian SSR was part of the USSR, but was an "independent contracting Republic reserving to itself the right of voluntary withdrawal from the Union." It was, moreover, laid down in paragraph 8 that the "Ukrainian SSR had a permanent representative attached to the Government of the USSR." Paragraph 4 stated that "in view of the firmly expressed desire of the Moldavian nation, the Ukrainian SSR united with it in such a way as to form within the framework of the Ukrainian SSR an autonomous Moldavian Soviet Republic with a special constitution of its own"; and, in fact, the autonomous Moldavian Republic, with a population of half a million people, began to exist as from 14 September, 1924.

On 15 May, 1929, the 11th All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, in conformity with the decisions of the 9th, confirmed the revised text of the Ukrainian SSR constitution and the additions introduced by the 1925 constitution. In this new constitution, which is still valid, are found important alterations in comparison with that of 1925. In the first place, there is absolutely no mention of a permanent representation of Soviet Ukraine attached to the USSR. And in paragraphs 19-20 it is said (and this, too, was lacking in the

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the countries detached from and now immediately bordering Russia.—ED.

1925 constitution) that "for the greater safeguarding of the interests of national minorities which form in any district a compact majority, special national-administrative units may be created in accordance with the decisions of the higher organs of the republic," and "the languages of all nationalities living in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR enjoy equal rights."

This new constitution follows that of 1925 in speaking of the "sovereignty" of the Ukrainian SSR and the right of "voluntary withdrawal" from the Union. "The sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR (§ 3) is restricted only within such limits as are defined in the USSR constitution, and in such matters as belong to the competence of the USSR; outside those limits the Ukrainian SSR shall enjoy its own independent powers of government." § 21 further lays down that the "confirmation and alteration of this constitution shall belong exclusively to the All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets."

It is obvious that the real validity of the constitutions of 1925 and 1929 should be judged only in reference to the All-Union constitution of 1923, which is drafted entirely with a view to safeguarding the dictatorship of the Communist party; in spite of eloquent statements on the rights of the Union Republics, it is abundantly clear that, in fact, any sort of liberty, including national liberty within the territory of the USSR, is rendered impossible. For instance, according to the 1923 constitution, along with a "Union Soviet" there exists in the Centre a special "Nationalities' Soviet." But the majority of the votes in that soviet belong not to the Soviet Republics, but to the representatives of the autonomous republics and autonomous areas of the RSFSR itself. In addition, the nationalities' soviet has not equal legislative rights with the union soviet, and is consequently, in the event of any disagreement, unable to go forward with its plans. In the supreme organ of the Soviet power, the "Præsidium of the Central Executive Committee," the nationalities' soviet has only seven members out of twenty-one. This Præsidium and the Central Executive Committee which it represents are entitled to accept and to reject the decrees, decisions and resolutions of all the organs of the Union republics, whereas their own decrees and decisions are binding throughout the whole of the Soviet Union. The Union republics have no budgets of their own; their estimates are part and parcel of the general Union budget and are confirmed by the Central Executive Committee of the Union.

Referring to the 1923 constitution, the Russian politician, Paul Milyukov, wrote: "The Union constitution of 6 July, 1923, deprives

the so-called independent national States even of those rights enjoyed by the modest self-governing organs of the Tsarist period, for they had at least ensured for them loopholes of initiative even in such spheres of control as survived local administration." (P. Milyukov, *The National Question*, 1925, p. 189.)

In fact, experience showed that the "paper" Bolshevik constitution in most cases served as a formal justification for the previous actions, however illegal, of the Soviet Government. Whenever the Moscow centre found that the constitution stood in its way, it simply ignored it. The constitution of the USSR, like those of the Ukrainian SSR, is a cloak, a fancy decoration behind which the Moscow Communist centre has always hidden and still hides, in order to carry out its own plans, even when they run counter to the interests of "allied" Ukraina.

Three main periods may be distinguished in the inter-relations of Ukraina and Communist Moscow: (1) the period of the military occupation of Ukraina, from the beginning of 1919 up to 1923; (2) the period of the so-called policy of Ukrainisation, from 1923 to the end of 1929; (3) the period of the liquidation of the autonomous rights of Ukraina, from the end of 1929 till the present time.

## *2. The period of the military occupation of Ukraina.*

Like Russia, Ukraina is predominantly an agricultural country. According to the statistics of the Soviet census of 1926 the peasants in Ukraina form 81.5 per cent. of the total population and 89.1 per cent. of the Ukrainian population. It is not surprising that ever since they came into Ukraina the Bolsheviks have had in the main to do with this basic mass, that is, the peasantry. The Ukrainian village has ever been and still remains the axis round which all important political events revolve. The peasants, in spite of their age-long slavery, have steadily maintained their national characteristics, their language and customs, etc. This has caused the Bolsheviks continual difficulties in Ukraina. Having conquered the country at the point of the sword, they realised that without support from the Ukrainian masses the overthrow of the Soviet power was inevitable. But on what stratum of Ukrainian society were they to rely? In this connection the late Ukrainian Communist, Skrypnyk, wrote: "Our tragedy consists above all in our being forced to win over the peasantry and the peasant proletariat with the help of a labouring class which is nationally Russian or Russianised, but which by its national composition is Ukrainian and, as the result of a



series of historical conditions, has been forced to side with everything that is Russian, "Muscovite," (*Communist*, Harkov, 1920).

In pursuance of the then current policy of military communism and in order to strengthen their hold on Ukraina the Bolsheviks thought of "putting their money" on the Ukrainian village workers and the poorer peasantry. The law of 9 January, 1920, gave birth to the so-called *Komnezams*. Similar committees called *Kombeds* or Committees of Poverty had previously existed also in Muscovy, but they had there been liquidated in the autumn of 1918 under pressure from the peasantry. This did not prevent the Bolsheviks from resurrecting in Ukraina this bankrupt institution. The aim of the *komnezams* was clear, namely, by artificially dividing the villages to gain the support of the poorer elements and so keep the power in their own hands. As a fact, the *komnezams* were Soviet organs which, apart from any other functions they might exercise, assisted the Bolsheviks in their policy of filching grain from the peasantry. Diluted with the various immigrant elements from Russia, who acted as Bolshevik agents, the *komnezams* served as instruments for the systematic spoliation of the Ukrainian villages.

All the Ukrainian administrative bodies were staffed by foreign elements. The Russian language reigned supreme in official circles. Ukraina was under the orders of the Red Army, whose national composition was non-Ukrainian (the Ukrainian percentage being only 8 per cent.<sup>2</sup>). The Press was wholly Russian. The All-Ukrainian State publishing department, in which all book production in Ukraina was concentrated, did not issue a single Ukrainian primer in the whole of 1920. Every kind of hindrance was put in the way of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. In its report for 1921 the Academy openly stated: "In every respect and more particularly in the granting of funds the Soviet Government has either entirely ignored the Academy or has directly flouted its recommendations." In the eyes of the Russian Bolsheviks "all who spoke in Ukrainian, even the Ukrainian Communists, were 'untrustworthy.'" The terrorism of the Extraordinary Commissions (*Cheka*) was exercised against everything connected with the spreading and development of Ukrainian culture. The whole economic policy of the Bolsheviks was mobilised for the ruthless export beyond the confines of Ukraina of the country's material resources. Ukrainian Co-operation of every kind was abolished.

This policy evoked the liveliest opposition on the part of the

<sup>2</sup> *Miscellany of the National Commissaries Reports of the Ukrainian SSR.* Harkov, 1921.

Ukrainian population. The *komnezams*, instead of annihilating the "peasant bourgeoisie," only made the Ukrainian villagers more than ever fiercely opposed to the Bolsheviks. There began a wholesale outburst of national risings in which the Ukrainian Communists also took part. Insurrectionist organisations sprang into existence in their hundreds. In the second half of 1920 alone, Soviet figures show that from the insurrectionists were taken 805 machine-guns, 33 cannons, 23,714 rifles, and an immense quantity of other arms.<sup>3</sup> The Ukrainian Communist, Richitsky, writing on the conditions in the Ukrainian villages of this period, says: "The Ukrainian Communists proved entirely unsuitable for dealing with the Ukrainian masses, especially the peasants, towards whom their attitude was so extraordinary that they did not dare to show their faces in a village without an armed band"<sup>4</sup>

This policy brought about the ruin of Ukrainian agriculture. As a result of continual requisitions, the peasants changed the character of their farming: they began to sow only so much ground as they required. All this tragically reduced the peasant output and was one of the main reasons for the famine of 1921-22.

But neither insurrections nor famine caused the Bolsheviks to change their policy. They needed Ukraina as a colony for providing Russia with grain, coal, iron, sugar, etc. It was also their chief outpost for combating intervention and Russian reaction (Denikin, Wrangel). Again, it was through Ukraina that the Bolsheviks hoped to penetrate into Western Europe. Consequently, war to the death was, and still is, waged with everything standing in the way of their unrestricted rule.

This is the only explanation of the barbarous attitude of Moscow to the starving Ukrainian population during the famine of 1921-22. The Moscow Centre concealed the existence of the famine, although more than ten million people were starving. Detailed information of the catastrophe was not published till April 1922, when it became known through Captain Quisling after an international body, with Nansen at its head, had been organised in Geneva to relieve the sufferers.<sup>5</sup> The help provided was utilised by Moscow mainly for the Volga area, while Ukraina, where the famine was severest, was ignored. Even more callous was her continued export of grain from the starving Ukrainian districts.<sup>6</sup> The "fraternal union" with

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>4</sup> *Red Flag*, Kiev, 1920, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Quisling. *La famine en Ukraine*. Genève, 1922.

<sup>6</sup> *The famine in the Ukraine*. Berlin, 1923.

Moscow was never so discredited in the eyes of the Ukrainian population as at the time of this appalling famine !

This policy, which aimed at the cultural, national and economic enslavement and the exploitation of Ukraine, continued until 1923. Ever since the Bolsheviks had occupied Ukraine, they were obsessed by the so-called theory of confronting two cultures, the Ukrainian (" peasant ") and the Russian (" proletarian "). They held it to be essential to russify the Ukrainian population.<sup>7</sup> Only slowly, under stress of bitter experience and the absolute necessity of being able to rely on the Ukrainian masses, were they obliged to abandon their theory and begin to collaborate actively in supporting the cultural development of Ukraine. A decisive part in these changes was played by a new policy in respect of the peasantry.

### 3. *The Period of Ukrainisation.*

The policy of the NEP, which was proclaimed by Lenin in 1921, but which actually came into force in Ukraine in 1922, brought about considerable changes in village life throughout the Soviet State. The middle class mass of the peasantry became dominant because of its numbers and also, and especially, because of the quantity of grain produced. In Ukraine, for example, middle-sized holdings formed in 1925 64 per cent., as against 48 per cent. in 1917. In an endeavour to protect themselves against the growing strength of the productive peasantry, the Bolsheviks set themselves the following new tasks : *to make the middle masses of the villages favourably inclined to soviet rule*, in other words, to reconcile villages to the Communist dictatorship and to make the different peasant groups work in harmony among themselves.

Finally, an orientation towards the middle and not the poor classes of the villages was promulgated by the 14th Congress of the V.K.P. (The All-Union Communist Party) in November 1925. In the resolutions of that Congress we find it stated : " It must not be forgotten even for a moment that the middle classes of the peasantry have enormously increased, and that these classes now form the basic mass of the peasantry. Without having this mass as a powerful ally or at the very worst a neutral we cannot entertain the immediate construction of Socialism."

Closely associated with this new policy, namely, the orientation

<sup>7</sup> *Theses of the plenum of the Tsk. and Ts. K.K. KP/b/u* for the programme of Ukrainisation of June 1926. The Central Executive Committee (of the Soviet Government) and the Central Control Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine for the bases of Ukrainisation, June 1926.

towards the broad masses of the peasantry, a new era of Bolshevik rule in Ukraina was initiated, that of Ukrainisation.

The experience of former years convinced the Bolsheviks that any intercourse with Ukrainian peasants and, still more, the exercise of any cultural and political influence on them was impossible, unless the help of the Ukrainian language was called into play. In these circumstances it was impossible to carry out the new policy in Ukraina except by a change of attitude towards the Ukrainian language and culture. The two forces must be made to save the New Economic Policy of the Communist party. There was no alternative. Hence "Ukrainisation of Ukraine" became a paramount necessity.

The theoretical principles of the New National Policy in Ukraina were proclaimed even in Lenin's lifetime at the 12th Congress of the V.K.P. in April 1923. In the interests of an "alliance" between town and village, the Congress proclaimed "decisive war with the relics of Russian Chauvinism." In actual fact the policy of Ukrainisation began to be consistently carried out only two years after this Congress, when the reliance on the masses of the peasantry was finally established. In April 1925, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks of Ukraina passed the well-known resolution of Ukrainisation, which read: "The consolidation of the union between the working class and the peasantry, and the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Ukraina necessitate the use of the Communist forces of the whole party to ensure the *domination of the Ukrainian language and the Ukrainisation of all work within the Party*. The Party must in the near future devote its energy to the domination and direction of the entire process of implanting a mass culture which is becoming wider and wider, especially in the villages."

Only now did the Bolsheviks realise that a "real construction of Socialism in Ukraina was impossible unless backed up by the economic and cultural building-up of the broad labouring and peasant masses, which itself could be brought about only by the consolidation of Soviet Ukraina and the development of Ukrainian culture, and the main difficulty in this process was the preservation of *proletariat control*."<sup>8</sup> Only then was the declaration made that "the Party stands for the independent development of Ukrainian culture and the utilisation of all the creative forces of the Ukrainian nation and that the ignoring of the Ukrainian language and culture would fail to take advantage of a fundamental instrument for

<sup>8</sup> *Theses of the plenum of the TsK and TsKK KP/b/U of June 1926.*

strengthening the alliance between the working classes and the peasantry.<sup>9</sup> Following on this, we find indicated the need of devoting attention to the "increase of output by attracting into the Soviet apparatus the extra-party Ukrainian intelligentsia" and the "utilisation of the broad masses of the basic population for State-economic construction"

The Ukrainian language and culture were now held to be necessary as a means for effecting an alliance with the peasantry. We consequently find it proclaimed that the Ukrainisation of the administrative and Party apparatus was necessary, so that the said apparatus should be able—to quote the words of Petrovsky, a member of the Harkov Government—"without turning up the dictionary to converse with the peasant" Even as the old *komnezams* had been instruments enabling the Russian Bolsheviks to govern the Ukrainian village, and thereby the whole of Ukraine, so now the policy of Ukrainisation was to assist them to capture not only the villages, but the entire Ukrainian movement. In these circumstances the *komnezams* ceased to be of utility, and in 1925 they were converted into "voluntary group organisations."

By the end of 1927 we find Kaganovich, the general secretary of the whole Party, saying at the 10th All-Ukrainian Congress of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine at Harkov: "Our culture is developing along a grandiose scale. In every sphere the development of our culture has made in the last few years greater strides than have ever been dreamt of even by the most ardent nationalists. . . . The elementary schools are training the population in the use of the Ukrainian language. The secondary schools are becoming gradually and successfully Ukrainianised. The output of books and periodical literature has shown an unprecedented increase in quantity and quality. In our Sovnarkom, our highest administrative organ, out of 20 officials 13 are Ukrainians, while our All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee has 66 per cent. Ukrainians, 25 per cent. Russians, 4 per cent. Jews, etc."

This new policy was a definite concession to the Ukrainian masses, but it held two dangers for Bolshevik rule. It was not sincere; behind it was a certain *arrière pensée*, and consequently it could not fail to evoke dissatisfaction and opposition on the part of the population. Secondly, by proclaiming a policy of Ukrainisation, the Bolshevik Government was playing with fire: once it was aroused, the national element might engulf the Bolsheviks and wrest from them all power and authority in the official administrative positions.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*.

The Bolsheviks were aware of these dangers. The "vastness" of this national movement, as Trotsky called it, was ever before their eyes. From the outset, therefore, they hastened to create a mass of hidden encumbrances designed to slow down and enfeeble the movement. One of the most important checks brought into play was the creation of the so-called *national territorial units*, which were camouflaged as a means for the "maximum safeguarding of the rights of national minorities." By 1927 there existed in Ukraina, apart from the autonomous Moldavian republic, 954 national peasant councils, 103 national township councils, and 24 national areas, consisting chiefly of Russians, Jews, Germans, Poles, etc.<sup>10</sup> Closely connected with this policy of splitting the Ukrainian territory up into small national units was the plan for the wholesale fostering of Jewish colonisation in the southern districts of the country. This was the time when the Ukrainians themselves were emigrating into the northern areas of Russia and into Siberia. This policy at last began to evoke the protests of the Russian peasants who were anxious to settle in Ukraina. The Moscow *Bednota* published on 22 May, 1926, an article entitled "Why Crimea for the Jews and Siberia for us?", written by a Smolensk peasant.

A special Act was passed in 1927 for the "equality of all languages," the gist of which, as we have seen, was afterwards incorporated in the 1929 constitution of the UkSSR. By virtue of this law the Russian language was made obligatory, in addition to Ukrainian, in all schools in Ukraina. All official negotiations and internal business in State institutions were to be carried on in Ukrainian throughout Ukraina, except in the national-territorial units where the language of the minority concerned was declared official. This law was specially directed against the "Ukrainian element." There was no parallel Act either in Russia with its mixed population or in the other republics of the Soviet Union, although in the USSR territory outside Ukraina there lived no less than eight million Ukrainians.

But the Bolsheviks did not succeed in throttling the "Ukrainian element." Once again they failed to appraise the national factor in Ukraina at its true value. The Moscow dictators had clearly hoped by their manœuvre to bring the Ukrainian cultural movement into willing subjection to their aims. In fact, however, Ukrainisation, even in the limited measure which the Bolsheviks had permitted, had results which were quite unforeseen by Moscow. Although they

<sup>10</sup> B. Aleksandrenko. *The Constitution of the UkSSR and the USSR*. Harkov, 1928, p. 35.

had previously won the day in the fight with the armed "separatist" insurgents, they now found themselves worsted on the cultural-national front. Not only did the cultural movement in Ukraina not follow the lines prescribed for it by the Russian "proletariat control," but it began to influence even the leaders and creators of the Ukrainian "proletarian" culture. Ever since Ukrainisation had begun, the Soviet Press in Ukraina had incessantly written of the various "national leanings" and "repentant" declarations in the ranks of the foremost representatives of Ukrainian Communists. The writer Khvilyovy (with his slogan of cultural orientation towards Western Europe, not towards Moscow), the Commissary of Education Shumsky (a supporter of Khvilyovy and a consistent executor of the policy of Ukrainisation), the historian Yavorsky, the economist Volobuyev, the Commissary of Finance Poloz, and very many others, were all of them exponents of the "non-proletarian" cultural Ukrainian movement which had risen out of the Ukrainisation proclaimed by the Bolsheviks. They were all so many living protests against the strait bonds into which Communist Moscow had striven to confine the movement.

The protests were not devoid of foundation. Even the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, which was simply an "exhibit" of Communist Moscow (never yet has a Ukrainian been at the head of it!), in its statement to the Executive Committee of the Komintern of 1927, complained of the existence of a "Russian nationalist bias" which consisted in "ignoring and failing to appreciate the national question in Ukraina." The report also referred to the manifestation of this "bias" in the "minimising of the importance of Ukraina as a component part of the USSR," in the "formal attitude of the Party towards the carrying out of the policy of Ukrainisation, a policy which frequently existed only in words," in the "expenditure of effort towards Ukrainisation not among the towns and their workers but only in the villages."<sup>11</sup>

It goes without saying that along with this policy of Ukrainisation the former unrestricted economic exploitation of the country continued, in spite of the opposition it encountered from the Ukrainian people. Even in the columns of *Visty*, the Harkov Government organ, we find frequent expression of dissatisfaction with the centralist Union and emphasis laid on the neglect shown by Moscow to Ukraina. When the chief towns of Ukraina, namely, Kiev, Harkov and Odessa, addressed, in 1927, a petition to the

<sup>11</sup> M. Popov. *Sketch of the History of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraina*. Harkov, 1929, p. 1921.

Government for the building of textile factories, the reply from Moscow stated that "new factories will be built in the historical (!) centres of the development of the textile industry," in other words, in Muscovy. Petrovsky, who has already been mentioned as a member of the Harkov Government, complained at the deliberations in Moscow that "Ukrainia was almost as rich as France, while the budget of Ukrainia was similar to that of the Moscow provincial council" (Harkov *Communist* of 7 November, 1928). The systematic export of grain reserves from Ukrainia in 1928 led to a new famine in extensive areas of the country.

This economic exploitation was so flagrant that even the Communist, Volobuyev, by origin a Russian, sharply criticised the Communist policy in the Soviet Press. He showed that the Soviet was exploiting Ukrainia worse than ever the Tsarist regime had done. He pointed to the "unreasonably high percentage of profit obtained from the Ukrainian national economy for the requirements of the Union" and insisted that the "existing system of confirming budgets made the budget rights of Ukrainia fictitious."<sup>12</sup>

Apart from all these negative traits, the period of Ukrainisation showed in many respects a step forward in comparison with the preceding period. At least the Communist Government now looked towards the broad masses of the Ukrainian peasantry and intelligentsia with which it had previously waged relentless war. All this took the form of opposition by the Ukrainian people to the occupationary regime of the Russian Bolsheviks. Instead of armed warfare and mass risings, opposition now showed itself above all in the domain of cultural life.

Such was the state of affairs till about the end of 1929, when Stalin's "general line" was proclaimed, with its Five Year plan, the general collectivisation of peasant agriculture, etc. This was the beginning of the third and most terrible period of Bolshevik supremacy in Ukrainia. It is still in operation, and in recent years particularly it has reached unheard-of dimensions and inflicted a savage humiliation on the Ukrainian people. Instead of respect for the broad masses of the Ukrainian population, it has led to mass terrorisation and general starvation.

#### 4. *The Five Year Plan and the Liquidation of the Autonomous Rights of Ukrainia.*

The break with the policy of Ukrainisation began in connection with the change of attitude towards the peasantry. Just as the

<sup>12</sup> M. Volobuyev. "On Ukrainian Economic Problems." *The Ukrainian Bolshevik*. Harkov, 1928. Articles 2 and 3.



"alliance" with the villages had forced Ukrainisation upon the Bolsheviks, so now the "general line of the Party" with its compulsory collectivisation and its reliance on the impoverishment of the peasantry made Ukrainisation unnecessary. Instead of "alliance" the fiat went out "down with the village," and, as a result, the objects of Ukrainisation as a means of furthering intercourse with the villagers became superfluous, even dangerous. The Bolsheviks had had an opportunity even in the earlier period of realising that Ukrainisation was a double-edged tool in that it had embittered and intensified the hostility of the Ukrainian nation.

The fight for the consolidation of the Bolshevik power was again transferred to the field of economics, but the form it took was now different. The Five Year Plan was now put in the forefront, and it was to be accomplished by the centralisation of all the forces and resources of the Soviet Union and by the building up of agriculture as one unified whole. The industrialisation of the Soviet Union was to be carried out first and foremost at the expense of the peasantry. But how could the services of the Ukrainian peasant, with his well-known individualism and antagonistic attitude to Bolshevik collectivisation, be secured for the Plan? Obviously this could not be attained by force alone, by making drains on individual property of the peasants, by converting them into Communist serfs. In these circumstances the national and cultural traditions of the Ukrainian population threatened to bear results not only in the direction of a corresponding education of the Ukrainian masses. They were in a position to jeopardise or even wholly destroy all the Bolshevik plans for industrialisation and collectivisation, which were above all built up on the conception of the economic exploitation of Ukraina.

This now brought on a policy of *retreat* from the position previously taken up, a policy of the maximum subordination of the whole of life in Ukraina to the Moscow Centre. With its "general party line," built up as it was on the unrestricted centralisation of life throughout the whole of the Soviet Union, the Moscow Centre smelt danger not only in Ukrainisation, but also in those fictitious autonomous rights of Ukraina which were constitutionally hers.

Hence the proclamation of the Five Year Plan in May, 1929, and the proclamation of general collectivisation in the autumn of 1929 represent dates which herald a well-defined change in the national policy of the Bolsheviks in Ukraina. Along with the neglect of Ukrainian cultural life and the renewal by Moscow of the national terrorisation goes a gradual introduction of the strictest subordina-

tion to Moscow of all branches of the economic and cultural life of Ukraina. Simultaneously a systematic liquidation of the autonomous rights of Soviet Ukraina is carried out, and the constitution, in which it was laid down that any modification "shall be the exclusive prerogative of the All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets," was openly flouted. This liquidation went on quietly, silently, accompanied by declarations that everything remained as it was. Ukrainisation was not officially checked, since that would arouse opposition on the part of the Communists themselves in Ukraina. These, then, are the main facts of the "liquidation" policy of the Soviet Government in Ukraina.

Simultaneously with the announcement of the Five Year Plan, preparation was begun for a monster-trial at Harkov, specially directed against the Ukrainian intelligentsia. With this aim in view, mass arrests were made and people shot without trial as early as the autumn of 1929, while between March and April, 1930, a "trial" of forty-five persons, lasting forty days, was conducted in one of the largest Harkov theatres, which was crowded with spectators from all parts of Soviet Ukraina. The most important of the prisoners was Efremov, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and those who stood their trial with him were professors, writers, doctors, schoolmasters, priests, and so on. The prisoners were charged with having formed a "Society for the liberation of Ukraina," which aimed at the forcible separation of the country from the Soviet Union. They were all condemned to exile and imprisonment, and the trial itself was used as a pretext for the complete suppression of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, to which soviet commissaries, such as Schlichter, Zatonsky, and the like, were elected members in place of genuine Ukrainian scholars. The autocephalous Ukrainian Church was also liquidated, for it was supposed to be connected with "The Society for the liberation of Ukraina." Ukrainian literary periodicals, such as *The Red Road*, *Life and Revolution*, *The Literary News*, *The Literary Fair*, and others, were suppressed. The State Publishing Department of Ukraina was abolished and in its place a "United Publishing Department of Ukraina" was created, which was completely under Moscow's thumb.

The aim of the trial was achieved; in an atmosphere of terror it was easier to advance along the "general party line."

After the destruction of the Ukrainian intelligentsia that of the Ukrainian villages was initiated. In January and February, 1930, when collectivisation had reached its zenith, mass arrests of

Ukrainian peasants were made; their property was confiscated, and they themselves were sent in great bands and under an armed guard, and sometimes accompanied by their wives and children, to concentration camps on the Island of Solovetsk and other northern districts of Russia. In the course of these two months alone, over 200,000 Ukrainian "immigrants" were exiled from Ukraina as "dangerous" for the cause of collectivisation. A great host of them perished in the terrible conditions of Bolshevik exile and imprisonment. As in the period of military communism, so now national terrorism of every kind continued to stalk abroad throughout the whole of Soviet Ukraina.

In enfeebling the vital national forces of Ukraina, Communist Moscow did not forget to destroy every sign of the economic "separatism" of Ukraina. First of all, in November, 1929, the Don Oil Trust was liquidated. Its place was taken by several new trusts which came directly under the All-Union coal combine. At the same time the Russian coal trusts, such as Mosugol, Uralugol, Sibirugol, and others, became henceforward part of the All-Union combine as separate organisations. Almost simultaneously the centralisation of the Ukrainian sugar industry was carried out. The administration of the sugar trust was transferred in 1924 from Kiev to Moscow, and only branches of it were left in Kiev, Uman and Vinnitsa. At the beginning of 1930, the sugar trust was converted into a sugar union with a central office in Moscow and no branches at all in Ukraina. As a consequence, Ukrainian co-operatives had to buy their sugar from Ukrainian sugar refineries through Moscow.

Co-operation itself was also reorganised. Before the Five Year Plan, Ukraina had its own All-Ukrainian combines of a consumers' co-operative (Vukospilka), salt economy (Silsky Gospodar), beet (Ukrburyaksoyuz), and others. In the beginning of 1930 an All-Union Grain Union and an All-Union Moscow Union of Unions were formed; in them all Ukrainian co-operative combines were incorporated. The Ukrainian Bank was also liquidated.

Not only the centres of industrial control, but also the chief capital investments, in conformity with the Five Year Plan, were transferred to the Ural and Siberia, which the famous Russian chemist, Mendeleev, had long before indicated as natural centres. And so in June, 1930, the 16th Congress of the All-Ukrainian Communist Party passed a resolution for the establishment of another coal and metal base in the Ural-Kuznetsk area. At the same time the building of a special main line connecting the Donets basin

with Moscow was begun in 1932 at high speed, with a view to making the best possible use of the natural wealth of the country.

It is common knowledge that in the Tsarist period Russian capital was mostly invested in the Urals, while most of the capital in Ukraina was British, French and Belgian, but not German (which was invested in other parts of former Russia).<sup>13</sup> The quarrel between the iron-ore areas, Krivorizhzhye (in Ukraina) and the Urals was settled by foreign capital in opposition to the tendencies of national Russian capital. It was now the same story with Ukraina. Suffice it to say that the Five Year Plan was built up with a complete neglect of the needs of the right-bank inhabitants of Ukraina, who amounted to twenty millions. Not much better was the position on the left bank of the Dnieper, where only one tractor factory was built (in Harkov) throughout all this period, and that only after a protracted squabble with Moscow. As for the loudly-proclaimed hydro-electrical central station on the Dnieper, the Dneprelstan, as it was called, there is no doubt that this "marvel of Bolshevik industrialisation," built literally on the skeletons of the starved Ukrainian population, will for long remain a dumb witness of the way public works should not be executed.

One thing the Moscow Centre cannot be charged with is neglect in speeding up "collectivisation" and "industrialisation" in Ukraina (especially in the Donets basin), for there it was not a question of "capital investments," but, on the contrary, of a callous, ruthless exploitation of the economic resources of Ukraina. It goes without saying that the Bolsheviks proclaimed from the housetops that Ukraina was "the foremost province in Soviet socialism."<sup>14</sup> In truth, this "foremost province," which has remained the whole time a *colony* of the Moscow Communist Centre, is, and has been, a permanent nucleus of underfed and famine-stricken masses, a province in which once more, as in 1921-22, the terrible plight of the population has even led to cannibalism<sup>15</sup>—and this in spite of the country having been not so long ago the "granary" of Europe. Once again the population of Ukraina is being done to death by famine, while Communist Moscow is silently exporting all its grain. As in the period of "military communism" under Lenin, so now

<sup>13</sup> M. Yavonsky, *Ukraina in the capitalist epoch*. Harkov, 1925. M. Golman, *Russian Imperialism*. Moscow, 1926.

<sup>14</sup> See the German monograph *Ukraine*. Harkov, 1932.

<sup>15</sup> This statement is based on a publication by an eye-witness entitled: I. Herasymovich, *Hunger in der Ukraine* (in Ukrainian, Lemberg, 1922; in German, Berlin, 1923). Similar statements are made in Quisling. *La Famine en Ukraine* (Geneva, 1922).

with Stalin's "general line," Ukrainia is called upon to suffer the most terrible hardships. And once again the "fraternal union" with Moscow is accursed in the eyes of the suffering Ukrainian people.

The political activity of the masses being thus enfeebled by starvation, it is obviously much easier to further both the "general party line" and the "liquidation of the autonomous rights of Ukrainia," demanded by the Party. And this liquidation is, in fact, being carried out.

We have seen how in May 1929, when the Five Year Plan was adopted, the 11th All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets voted for a "revised" text of the USSR constitution, in which there was no longer any mention of a "permanent representative of Ukrainia attached to the USSR Government," while the law of 1927 made the equality of all languages in Ukrainia and the creation of national-territorial units the subject of special paragraphs in that constitution.

In October 1929, when general collectivisation was proclaimed, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party on Molotov's report, abolished the commissariats of agriculture in the Union Republics, and handed over their chief functions to the recently-founded "combined" commissariat of the USSR. It was laid down as a reason for this decision that "the stimulation of collectivisation and the construction of *sovkhozy* (State farms) will not fail to arouse very strong opposition in many unsettled districts among the immigrant and other elements which have preserved their influence in the villages and are waging an obstinate struggle against the socialistic construction under the pretext of protecting the national interests. This being the case, it is of special importance to reinforce the part played by the Proletarian Union-State and to improve its organising and technical equipment."

At the end of the same year, changes in the administrative department of national education made their appearance. In the first place, the sphere of action of the commissariat for education was limited, so that the two high schools, the Harkov Technological Institute and the Dnepropetrovsk Mining Institute, came under the control of the supreme council of National Economy of the USSR. At the same time the All-Union Lenin Academy of Social-Economic Sciences created a preparatory institute in Harkov, organised as a separate high school, and in this way passed over the Ukrainian commissariat of education. In August 1923, again at the instigation of Moscow, this Ukrainian Academy of Grain-Production was completely suppressed on the ground that "enemies and counter-revolutionary elements" had managed to worm them-

selves into the board of management. This was followed, in 1930, by the unification of the general system of school education. In May 1930 the commissary of education, Skrypnyk, said at the All-Ukrainian council of national school district inspectors: "The ten years of open conflict between the educational systems in vogue in the Ukrainian SSR and the Russian SFSR are at an end."<sup>16</sup> The Soviet Ukraine had a system of national education which differed from that of Soviet Russia. The Ukrainian system, compared with the Russian, is marked by professionalism. The Ukrainian system is now abandoned and replaced by that which obtains in Soviet Russia.

When she took charge of national education, Moscow did not forget the cinema, the importance of which, as propaganda, is emphasised by the Bolsheviks. So long ago as 1927 *Izvestia* (No 107) complained that Russian films were not liked in Ukraina and that the "Soviet cinema of Moscow manufacture would be more acceptable to Berlin or Prague than to Ukraina. Soviet films must be recognised as a valuable cultural possession with unobstructed rights of circulation throughout the whole of the Union." *Izvestia* proved to be right. We find the *Proletarskaya Pravda*, of Kiev, complaining in March 1932 that the Moscow cinema combine has taken financial matters out of the hands of the Ukrainian film industry and converted it into a loan office which executes the instructions of the Moscow Centre. "The Union Cinema," we read, "ignores the orders of the Party in regard to the independent maintenance of national cinemas. The Union cinema aims, and of set purpose aims, at the absolute liquidation of the Ukrainian industry, censors Ukrainian films and insists that all scenarios must be translated from Ukrainian into Russian. The total of films with a political, economic and cultural interest has already reached the number of 60."

In January 1931, Moscow suppressed the commissariats of internal affairs in all the Union republics, alleging that "in the circumstances of the socialist reconstruction of national economy these commissariats have become superfluous ballast in the Soviet apparatus." The duties of the liquidated commissariats were entrusted partly to newly created "chief offices of communal economy" and partly to the central executive committees of the separate Union republics, their councils of commissaries and the commissariats of labour and justice. Along with the liquidation of the commissariats of internal affairs, changes in the administrative division of Ukraina were introduced. Instead of the three-fold division into district, area and peasant group, which had been

<sup>16</sup> Harkov *Communist* of 10 May, 1930.

established in 1925, the districts were abolished in autumn 1930, and a two-fold division was instituted (the area and the peasant group). Eighteen months later, namely, in February 1932, owing to the failure of the grain-storing campaign of 1931, Ukrainian territory was parcelled up into five regions: those of Harkov, Kiev, Vinnitsa, Dnepropetrovsk and Odessa, with the provision that the coal basin of the Donets, with the town of Mariupol, and the Moldavian autonomous republic, which is immediately subordinate to Moscow, shall remain outside the said regions.

Thus the Donets basin is from the economic as well as the administrative point of view completely separated from Ukraina and united with Moscow. This annexation will clearly become even more "real" when the building of the main line Donbas-Moscow is completed. Again, the "independent" commissariat of justice is this year made subordinate to Moscow by virtue of the creation of the new post of a USSR procurator, who is to "combine" the activities of the procurators of all the Soviet republics.

If we omit the commissariats of national health and social welfare, which theoretically have not been abolished, though, in fact, they are wholly dependent on Moscow so far as both finance and legislation go, we may safely say that the liquidation of the autonomous rights of Soviet Ukraina has been completely carried through.

The "obedience and order" so longed for by Moscow might have been expected after all these "reforms" in Ukraina. In fact, however, this has not proved the case.

Ever since general collectivisation was proclaimed, Ukraina has not ceased to evince the most stubborn opposition to the new regime of violence. The forms taken by her resistance have greatly varied. At first there were mass disturbances in the *Kolkhozy*, or else the Communist officials and their agents were killed; but later a system of passive resistance was favoured, which aimed at the systematic frustration of the Bolshevik plans for the sowing and gathering of the harvest. The peasants and workers, seeing the ruthless and heartless export by their Bolshevik masters of all food produce, began to take steps to save themselves from starvation in the winter time and to grasp at any means of fighting against the hated foreign rule. This is the main reason for the wholesale hoarding of grain and the thefts from the fields—offences which, if detected, are punishable by death. The peasants are passive resisters everywhere in the Soviet Union, but in Ukraina the resistance has assumed the character of a national struggle.

The opposition of the Ukrainian population caused the failure of the grain-storing plan of 1931 and, still more so, that of 1932. The catastrophe of 1932 was the hardest blow that Soviet Ukraina had to face since the famine of 1921-22. The autumn and the spring sowing campaigns both failed. Whole tracts were left unsown. In addition, when the crop was being gathered last year, it happened that in many areas, especially in the south, 20, 40, and even 50 per cent. was left in the fields and was either not collected at all or was ruined in the threshing.<sup>17</sup>

A great deal of last year's crop was exported from Ukraina, and the spring months of 1932 consequently marked the beginning of famine in the Ukrainian villages.

At the 3rd All-Ukrainian Conference of the Communist Party of Ukraina which, early in July 1932, met specially in Harkov in order to discuss the agricultural position in Ukraina, Skrypnyk indicated the reasons for the crisis. "Our position," he said, "is difficult. There are shortages in the grain-storing campaign of last year; seventy million puds remain ungarnered. There are also shortages to be met in the food situation in great numbers of Kolkhoz farms. On a recent tour of the country I have often heard it said that the reason for the present position was that the peasantry had been sucked dry." The *Visty* of Harkov of 11 July, 1932, writes: "The failure to carry out the grain-storing plan and the serious food position are due to the Communists who have taken all the grain, leaving us not even enough to keep body and soul together, and bringing us face to face with starvation."

The Conference passed a resolution that the whole blame for the shortage was due to "immigrant elements," "counter-revolutionaries," and the like, but this did not improve matters, and the famine increased.

Such was the position before the most recent events in Ukraina. In January of this year the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow passed a resolution which was, in fact, a vote of censure on the entire controlling body of the Communist Party in Ukraina. It was also decided to appoint Postyshev as the Committee's representative and to confer on him "wide authoritative powers." According to the resolution, "the Central Committee of the Communist Party deems it proved that the Party organisations in Ukraina have not carried out the task entrusted to them in regard to organising the grain quota and executing the Plan." On receiving this resolution, the Harkov Communist organisation

<sup>17</sup> Harkov *Visty* of 14 July, 1932.



listened to it in silence and did not make the declaration of "repentance," which is usually made by the Bolsheviks in such cases.

As was only to be expected, the newly-appointed dictator from Moscow proved unsuccessful. All efforts notwithstanding, it was impossible to carry out the sowing plan. He then turned the whole brunt of his persecutions upon the undefended front of Ukrainian cultural life, and looked there for his scapegoats. This deputy of Moscow realised that the villages and towns of Ukraina were united by hatred of the alien rule of Russian Communists. He realised that the growing opposition of the people was conditioned not only by economic considerations, but also by purely national demands.

While terrorisation had done its work in the preceding years by suppressing the more active elements of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, Postyshev now resorted to press agitation against the adherents of the Ukrainian language. This led to the arrest of professors and lecturers of the linguistic institute of Harkov. Men like Kurylo, Trokhymenko and Synaysky had to stand trial for having shown a "dangerous activity" in their philological works. They were accused of not having adapted the technical vocabulary of the language to Russian and of having introduced new words which widened the gap between the two languages. Officials of the commissariat of education were also arrested and charged with having advised the study in the schools of Western European literature at the expense of Russian writers.

Naturally the chief culprit was the Commissary of Education himself, Skrypnyk, whose "crime" consisted in not having taken energetic steps against this "dangerous activity." His office was therefore given to Zatonsky, and the disgraced commissary became the butt of infuriated attacks from Postyshev at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraina and was subsequently baited in the Soviet Press. He was arraigned in July before the Party tribunal in Moscow. He committed suicide—an action in which he was following the greatest of all Ukrainian Communist writers, Khvylyovy, who had been similarly browbeaten and persecuted.

On the day Skrypnyk was buried, the official leaders of the Communist Party in Ukraina, Kosior and Popov, summed up the deliberations of the "Party activum" in Harkov. Kosior: "In view of the present international situation Ukrainian nationalism is our principal danger, and the charge is laid upon us of waging against it relentless warfare. In Ukraina, particularly in the villages, the doctrines espoused by the Petlyurist and other

nationalist elements, united as they are by a frenzied hatred of the Party and the Soviet Government, have taken firm and lasting root. . . . The organs most profoundly steeped in these pernicious counter-revolutionary doctrines are the national commissariat of education, with its local branches and research institutes, and more than all others, the Ukrainian Academy of Grain-Production. The domination of the nationalists over the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences has been very far-reaching. The front of literature has been deeply invested by them." (*Visty* of Harkov of 23 July, 1933.)

Popov: "We cannot carry out the task laid upon us, the improvement of our peasant agriculture, without cleansing our Party, our Soviet, cultural, Kolgospni and other organs of bourgeois nationalists. The question of language and orthography acquires especially great importance in our struggle with Ukrainian nationalist tendencies, and to this matter the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraina attaches exceptional importance. The bourgeois nationalists have displayed particularly great energy in choking the real Ukrainian language and terminology in such a way as to sever Ukrainian culture as much as possible from the Russian. In this most important question Comrade Skrypnyk followed the lead of these separatist elements" (Harkov *Visty* of 12 July, 1933.)

Naturally Kosior and Popov did not mention in their speeches the chief "sin" which had caused the fall from grace in the eyes of Communist Moscow of the leading representative of the Harkov Government and member of the Polit-bureau, the old Bolshevik Skrypnyk. Skrypnyk had been against any glossing of the true state of affairs in Ukraina. For example, in 1930, as Commissary of Education, he had openly admitted that "at the present rate of progress" illiteracy in Moscow would not be liquidated before 1939, and in certain districts not before 1957, or even 1962.<sup>18</sup> So also in 1931 he had published alarming reports on the position of Ukrainian children of school age: out of one and a half million children only 7 per cent. were provided with winter clothing!<sup>19</sup> As we have seen, in the previous year he had protested against the ruthless export of grain from the country. As a responsible member of the Harkov Government, he had in that year been forced to take an even harsher stand against the inhuman policy of Moscow, which ignored all existence of the famine. Not long before Skrypnyk's suicide, the commissary Chernov had announced, at the All-Union Conference on the grain-supply in Moscow, that Ukraina must "at

<sup>18</sup> Miscellany, *Problems of socialist education*. Harkov, 1930.

<sup>19</sup> *Communist education*, 1931. No. 1.

all costs " furnish 55 per cent. of its yearly quota in the course of the first quarter of the grain-storing campaign.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, Communist Moscow had posted detachments of the Red Army along the Ukrainian frontier, and prohibited refugees from migrating to Soviet Russia, where the conditions were better. Facts of this nature, showing the obvious impoverishment of the Ukrainian people, were the last drop in the bitter cup of the " Chauvinist " Skrypnyk, and hastened his tragic end.

Thus began a new phase in the struggle between Ukraina and Moscow. The barbarous policy of the Moscow Centre henceforward involved not only Ukrainian Socialists, " counter-revolutionaries," " nationalists," and " Petlyurists," but even the most idealistic of the Ukrainian Communists. In the struggle against the despotism of Moscow the entire Ukrainian nation has become united as it had never been during the Revolution.

How that struggle will end, the next few years will show. All that can be said with certainty is that the Bolsheviks have not succeeded in stifling our national movement and never will succeed. Under the pressure of the Ukrainian masses Moscow is obliged to leave the cultural attainments of the Ukrainian national movement intact. Ukrainian schools of all types continue to exist, Ukrainian is still the second official language in the administration; the Ukrainian theatre, Press, and literature survive. In other words, the view held by Lenin and Skrypnyk, that the only way for the Bolsheviks to maintain their rule in Ukraina is to speak the Ukrainian language, remains even today unshaken.

The Bolshevik Government has done its utmost to divide and break up the peoples within the confines of the Soviet Union. It has destroyed class groupings and introduced a general declassing of all sections of the population. But the movement for liberation, the ties uniting the people, have remained factors against which it can find no remedy. Except for a bloody domination extending over fifteen years, nothing has changed in the character of the Ukrainian people; her ancient traditions of liberty and equality still persist and her antagonism to the despotism of Moscow has not relaxed. Far from it. For, thanks to the Revolution, the forces of the movement for our national liberty and the efforts of the Ukrainian masses to wrest themselves loose from the tutelage of Moscow have grown enormously. Once conditions in Eastern Europe are stabilised, the national factor will play a vigorous, a decisive part.

I. MAZEPA.

<sup>20</sup> *Za Industrializatsiu*, 27 May, 1933.

## MY CONTACTS WITH RODICHEV<sup>1</sup>

*"Marxism" and "Liberalism" in Russia in the Nineties.—The Tver Address; Nicholas II's speech on "senseless dreams"—The "Open Letter to Nicholas II." How it was written and despatched.—Rodichev's views on the peasant question—Rodichev's personality and an estimate of his political attitude.*

On 20 October, 1894,<sup>2</sup> Alexander III died, and at that moment all those who longed for a change in the Russian home policy, a change from the stubborn reaction which precluded the possibility of even a slow and gradual constitutional development, looked with great, though vague, hopes towards his youthful successor, Nicholas II. It was thought that since his father's reign had seen such a strong public reaction against the excesses of social and political revolutionism that had led to the regicidal act of 1 March, 1881, a reaction so dominant as to put any widespread and serious movement against the Tsar's authority absolutely out of the question, there were no longer any serious and material reasons to prevent the Government from making sensible concessions to Liberal public opinion, as represented in the first place by the zemstva, the organs of local self-government, and the progressive Press in the capitals and in the provinces. A new era of wide and far-reaching reforms, to be carried out at least in *de facto* alliance between public opinion and the monarchical power, seemed possible under the young Emperor and was accordingly expected. Deep in his heart many a representative of the Radical youth of that time shared those hopes. For the early nineties of the last century were marked in Russia not only by a revival of the idea and cult of civil and political liberty, but also by the fading away of those Socialist ideas which had exercised their power over the preceding generations. Even the "*narodovoltsy*"<sup>3</sup> had already been actually fighting, not for Socialism, but for the political liberation of the country. This was still more the case with the Socialists of the early nineties, with that politically tinged, Liberal and democratic, Marxism which at the time began to score its first ideological successes among the younger generation of Russia. The foundations of this variety of Marxism were laid abroad by the originators of Russian Social-Democracy—Paul Axelrod, Gregory Plekhanov and Vera Zasulich. Theoretically, it

<sup>1</sup> A chapter from the forthcoming memoirs of Professor Peter Struve.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> The dates are given throughout in the Old Style.—Ed.

<sup>3</sup> The small party which had carried out the assassination of Alexander II.—Ed.

was revolutionary Marxism in the spirit of Marx and Engels and of their faithful followers, the German Social-Democrats; practically speaking—under the cloak of Marxian ideology—it was Liberal-Democratism aiming at broad reforms, both social and political.

This characteristic is still more applicable to the great majority of the younger Marxists. In the "legal" Press of that time, they advocated views in which the denial of the specifically Russian "populist" Socialism and of the peculiar Socialist mission and lines of development of Russia, as distinct from Western Europe, went hand in glove with love of freedom in its civil and political manifestations, that is with Liberal-Democratism of a purely Western European pattern.

In the autumn of 1894 came out my book entitled *Critical Observations on the Problem of Russia's Economic Development*, which was taken to give me the leadership of this liberal-democratic and evolutionary Marxism; and for me our movement was essentially the new historical and sociological justification of the traditional struggle of the Russian intelligentsia for civil liberties and for the political remodelling of their country.

In this respect the paths of Russian Marxism coincided entirely with those of Russian democratic Liberalism, whose representatives to a great extent lent their colour to the Russian zemstva and the zemstvo movement.

This, in a convincing and striking manner, was revealed to me when I first came to know closely the late Fedor Izmailovich Rodichev.

Rodichev belonged to another generation than mine; born in 1855, he was fifteen years older. A man of varied spiritual interests, Rodichev was not, and by his very nature could not become, either a writer or a scholar. He was by vocation a pure politician.

My acquaintance and intercourse with Rodichev, which began, I think, somewhere about 1890, soon made me aware of a close resemblance between certain fundamental points in our conception of the past and future development of Russia, and this resemblance was strikingly shown in that historical episode which holds a central place in Rodichev's biography.

The hopes of the Russian educated classes for a political change, as a result of the personal change on the throne, were the reason why several zemstva conceived the idea of conveying to the young Emperor their political wishes, formulated in a most reserved and respectful way. In different terms, which had in them nothing of a political *demand*, the zemstvo assemblies of Kursk, Poltava, Orel,

Saratov, Tambov, Tver, Tula and Ufa expressed, on the occasion of the young Tsar's accession to the throne and marriage, their hope that the zemstva would enjoy his confidence and be in a position to bring to his notice their views and wishes. All these addresses assumed the continuation of the existing political régime and did not even touch on the question of the form of government.<sup>4</sup>

The most striking formulation of those hopes was to be found in the address of the Tver Provincial Zemstvo Assembly, the most progressive of all the Russian zemstva of the time, in which a prominent part was played by such men as the brothers Ivan and Michael Petrunkevich, and Fedor Rodichev.

I will quote *in extenso* the text of the Tver address, a document which led to the removal of Rodichev from the zemstvo, as its main inspirer and instigator, and called forth the young Emperor's retort, fatal in its historical significance—in his speech delivered on 17 January, 1895, to the deputations of the nobility, zemstva, municipalities and Cossack armies.

#### THE TVER ADDRESS

"Your Imperial Majesty, In the momentous days when you begin your service to the Russian people, the zemstvo of the Province of Tver greet you as your loyal subjects. Sharing your grief, Sire, we trust that from popular affection, from the people's strong hope and faith, turned towards you, you will draw solace in the sorrow which has so unexpectedly befallen you and your country, and that therein you will find a firm support in the difficult mission which Providence has entrusted to you. The Russian people has listened with gratitude to the significant words in which Your Majesty has announced your accession to the throne of All the Russias. At one with all the Russian people, we are filled with gratitude and hope for the success of your labours towards the accomplishment of the great aim which you have set yourself—to build up the happiness of your loyal subjects. We cherish the hope that the voice of the people's needs will always be heard on the heights of the throne.

"We trust that our happiness will increase and grow firmer under an unflinching adherence to the laws on the part both of the people and of the authorities; for the laws, which in Russia embody the expression of the Sovereign's will, must be placed above the accidental intentions of individual representatives of the Government. We ardently believe that the rights of individuals and of public institutions will be steadfastly safeguarded.

<sup>4</sup> Thus they are described by S. Mirny in a leaflet published outside Russia and entitled *The Zemstvo Addresses of 1894-5*. Under the characteristic pseudonym of "Mirny" (Peaceful) was concealed the future member of the Duma and well-known politician, Prince Dmitry Shakhovskoy.

"We look forward, Sire, to its being possible and rightful for public institutions to express their views on matters concerning them, so that an expression of the requirements and thought of representatives of the Russian people, and not only of the administration, may reach the heights of the throne. We expect, Sire, that in your reign Russia will move forward along the path of peace and truth with a full development of living forces of the public. We believe that in intercourse with representatives of all classes of the Russian people, equally devoted to the Throne and Fatherland, the power of Your Majesty will find a new source of strength and a pledge of success in the fulfilment of Your Imperial Majesty's generous intentions."

SPEECH OF NICHOLAS II OF 17 JANUARY, 1895

"I am glad to see representatives of all classes assembled to declare their loyal sentiments. I believe in the sincerity of those sentiments, which have ever been proper to every Russian. But I am aware that of late, in some zemstvo assemblies, have been heard voices of persons who have been carried away by senseless dreams of the participation of zemstvo representatives in the affairs of internal administration. Let it be known to all that I, while devoting all my energies to the good of the people, shall maintain the principle of autocracy just as firmly and unflinchingly as did my unforgettable father."

It would be difficult to depict the feeling which this short speech of Nicholas on "senseless dreams" aroused in various quarters of the Russian public. But it is not difficult to understand this feeling when one realises clearly and distinctly that the severe rebuke uttered from the height of the throne was made in reply to most moderate and respectful, and really loyal, declarations emanating from the institutions of self-government, in which the gentry were in a majority and containing persons with experience in public work and full of ardent patriotism.<sup>5</sup>

This feeling was muffled, with neither the opportunity nor the means of expressing itself. The Press was muzzled. But there was

<sup>5</sup> What a depressing effect the Tsar's speech of 17 January, 1895, had had even on the higher bureaucracy may be seen from an entry in the diary of Count V. N. Lamsdorf (who later became Minister for Foreign Affairs) under 19 January of the same year. One of Lamsdorf's friends thus described the impression produced by the speech: "A little officer (*ofitserik*) came out; in his cap he had a bit of paper; he began mumbling something, now and then looking at that bit of paper, and then suddenly shouted out: 'senseless dreams'—here we understood that we were being scolded for something. Well, why should one bark? . . ." To this story, coming from an eye-witness of the reception, Count Lamsdorf adds: "This description, although vulgar, is extremely typical. The young Empress is also accused of having stood stiff and rigid, not bowing to the deputations as they marched past their Majesties." (*Krasny Arkhiv*, vol. III (46), 1931, p. 26.)

another point of greater importance. The elder generation to which the Liberals of Rodichev's type belonged had in Alexander III's reactionary reign become completely disused to protest. Among the younger generations, to which I belonged, the populist tendencies were still strong, inducing their representatives to look without sympathy on the ideas of Liberalism, and to take up a careless and at times even contemptuous attitude towards the Liberal "moderateness" of their fathers and brothers.

Yet it was not an accident that in the Marxist or, as it was then often called, Neo-Marxist<sup>6</sup> camp of youth the demands of Liberalism occupied ideologically a very important place, and in many a case (including my own) emotionally the most important, the central place.

Like lightning there flashed through my mind the idea of replying at once to the Emperor's speech in the name, as it were, of all progressive Russia, aspiring to freedom and public self-expression—and more especially in the name of Zemstvo Russia.

The idea was at once carried out. I wrote an open letter to Nicholas II and read it to some friends, in the first place to A. M. Kalmykov, in whose house I lived. This interesting and original woman I will describe in another chapter of my Memoirs. She played a great part in my life. Through me, in an emotional and psychological sense, she became converted to "Marxism," and afterwards, when we had become personally estranged, she still formally remained in the "Marxist" camp, though spiritually and ideologically Marxism had always been something alien to her and she could not take a creative part in it as an intellectual or political movement. She was carried away by my impulse to react immediately to the Emperor's speech; and although extreme cautiousness was the very core of her complex personality and characteristic of all her actions, she at once placed at my disposal the hectograph she had in her bookstore, which was devoted primarily to cultural objects.

Before multiplying it, I showed my *Open Letter* to A. N. Potresov, my closest fellow-thinker, to whom I was bound by ties of personal friendship. This gifted and profoundly honest man still remains a pure and convinced Marxist; this made me part company with him in ideas when later on I broke finally with Marxism, both practically and spiritually. But how characteristic it is that this true Marxist, just because he is true to the principles of Social-Democracy, has,

<sup>6</sup> To distinguish the anti-populist Marxists of my type from the "Populists" who also relied on Marx.



under the Bolsheviks, had to emigrate from Soviet Russia. He, too, without any hesitation approved the idea of an open letter to Nicholas II. He regarded it as politically timely and felicitous—in fact, as what would now be called a “shock” idea—and quite agreed with the very reserved and absolutely non-party tone of the letter itself. Here is the text:—

#### OPEN LETTER TO NICHOLAS II

“You have uttered your word and it will now sound all over Russia, all over the civilised world. Till now you have been unknown to anybody; since yesterday you have become a definite quantity, about which there is no longer any room for ‘senseless dreams.’ We do not know whether you realise the situation you have created by your ‘firm’ statement. But we believe that people who are not placed as high and are not as far removed from life as you are, and who are therefore able to see what is at present going on in Russia, will easily make out what your and their position is.

“In the first place, you have been badly informed of the movements against which you decided to strike in your speech. At none of the zemstvo meetings has there been a single voice raised against the autocratic government, nor did any of the zemstvo men put the question in the way you did. The most progressive zemstva and zemstvo members merely insisted on, or rather asked for, a union between the Tsar and his people, for the voice of the zemstva to reach the throne direct, for publicity and the laws to be always placed above administrative arbitrariness. In other words, it was only a question of removing that wall of bureaucracy and court that separates the Tsar from Russia.

“Such are the aspirations of the zemstvo members, which you, who have just mounted the throne, inexperienced and ignorant as you are, have dared to brand as ‘senseless dreams.’

“To all intelligent elements of the Russian public it is clear who induced you to take that imprudent step. You have been deceived, you have been terrified by representatives of just that world of bureaucracy and Court to whose autocratic rule no Russian will ever be reconciled. You have rebuked the zemstvo members for the faint cry which they have raised against bureaucratic and police oppression. You have been carried so far away in the gratuitous protection of that autocracy upon which no zemstvo member ever thought to encroach, that in the participation of zemstvo representatives in the matters of ‘internal administration’ you have discovered a danger to autocracy. Such a view does not even tally with the position in which the zemstva have been placed by your father, and in which they are an indispensable factor and organ of home administration.

“But your unfortunate expression is no mere reactionary blunder; it reflects a whole system. The Russian public will realise perfectly well

that in your speech of 17 January you were the mouthpiece not of an ideal autocratic power whose holder you consider yourself to be, but of a bureaucracy jealously guarding its omnipotence. That bureaucracy, beginning with the Cabinet and down to the last rural police commissioner, hates any extension of public activity, even within the framework of the existing political régime. It keeps the autocratic sovereign from all free intercourse with representatives of the people, and the autocrats appear to be deprived of all possibility of meeting them except as rigged up congratulators, with icons and presents. Your speech is one more proof that any wish on the part of representatives of the public and the various classes (*estates, soslovia*) to be something more than that, any attempt at stating before the Sovereign, be it even in the most loyal form, their views on the most urgent needs of the land of Russia, meets with nothing but a rude rebuke. . . .

" Russian public thought is strenuously and painfully trying to work out a solution of the main problems of the national life, which has not yet been moulded into a definite form since the time of the great epoch of emancipation and has recently, during the famine years, suffered a severe shock. And now, at such a time, instead of words promising a real and active union between the Tsar and his people and from the height of the Throne recognising publicity and legality as the main principles of State life, the representatives of the public who had assembled from all parts of Russia expecting from you approval and help, had only to listen to a new reminder of your omnipotence and were left under the impression of an utter estrangement between Tsar and people.

" Be sure that even on the most peaceful persons such an attitude could have only had a depressing and repelling effect. 17 January has destroyed the halo with which many a Russian had surrounded your young and vaguely distinguished features. You have yourself killed your popularity. But it is not only your personal popularity which is at stake. If the autocracy identifies itself, both in its words and in its deeds, with the omnipotence of officialdom ; if it depends on completely silencing the public and on a permanent enforcement of the presumed temporary Emergency Defence Act, then its game is lost ; it is digging its own grave, and sooner or later, but in any case in a near future, it will fall under the onrush of the living forces of the public. You have yourself, by your words and your conduct, set the public a question, the mere putting of which clearly and openly already constitutes a terrible menace to autocracy. You have challenged the members of the *zemstva* and with them the whole Russian public, and nothing is left to them but to make a conscious choice between moving forward and remaining loyal to autocracy.

" It is true that by your speech you have increased the police zeal of those who look upon their service to the autocratic Tsar as a suppression of public activity, publicity and legality ; you have aroused the admiration of those who are ready to serve any force without in the least thinking

of the general good, and who see in voicelessness and arbitrariness the best conditions for the triumph of their own narrow class interests. But you have repelled all elements of the public which are peacefully moving forward.

"As to those active forces which are incapable of resting satisfied themselves with a struggle on the basis of the existing regime, a struggle that is difficult and slow, full of bargaining and concessions—whither shall they turn? After your sharp answer to the most modest and lawful wishes of the Russian public—what arguments can it use to keep to the path of law and restrain from their undoing its most gifted and sensitive children who long irresistibly to go forward?

"What will then be the effect on the Russian public of your first direct address to its representatives?

"Leaving out those who rejoice and whose insignificance and public impotence you will soon yourself realise, in some your speech will arouse a feeling of mortification and dejection, from which, however, the living forces of society will soon recover, turning to a peaceful, but steady and conscious struggle for the necessary elbow-room; in others it will at once sharpen their determination to fight by any means against the hated régime.

"You have begun the struggle, and the struggle will not be long in coming.

"St. Petersburg, 19 January, 1895."<sup>7</sup>

In the multiplying and distributing of this letter the following persons were concerned, besides A. M. Kalmykov and A. N. Potresov: Prince Dmitry Ivanovich Shakhovskoy, Constantine Konstantinovich Bauer, and Alexandra Alexeyevna Steven.

Prince Dmitry Shakhovskoy was then completing, or had just given up, his work in connection with the education department of the Vesyegonsk district zemstvo. From a Populist with a strong Tolstoyan tinge he was then becoming, slowly and gradually, a thorough politically-minded Liberal, seeking the issue for Russia in the establishment of a constitutional régime. He deserves a sketch to himself, which I shall give in another chapter of my Memoirs. Here I will only say that on his part neither my intention to react at once and definitely to the Emperor's speech nor the contents and the tone of the *Open Letter* met with any objection.

Constantine Bauer was a school friend of one of my elder brothers, and we had been to the same school—the Third Gymnasium in St. Petersburg. His younger brother, Michael, was in the same form

<sup>7</sup> The *Open Letter to Nicholas II* is the last of the series of historical documents published in the well-known collection compiled by V. L. Burtsev with the editorial assistance of S. M. Kravchinsky (Stepnyak): *Za sto let* (1800–1896), London, 1897.

as I, but lack of ability prevented him from completing his course of studies. His intellectual level offered a striking contrast to that of his brother, though the latter's unusual alertness was in the main receptive by nature. Their father had been my father's contemporary at the Alexander Lyceum, but all his life long he served as a minor official in the Customs Department, where towards the end of his life he was performing the modest functions of secretary to the Director of the Department. His brother, V. V. Bauer, was Professor of General History in the University of St. Petersburg. Among his pupils G. V. Forsten became prominent as a remarkable scholar and teacher. A. Shapovalov, a "revolutionary workman," speaks in his Memoirs (*On the Road to Marxism*, Moscow, 1924, p. 160), of the "bourgeois aristocratic kinsfolk" (what a really remarkable contradiction the coupling of these two epithets!) with whom, he says, Constantine Bauer had broken. The truth is that Bauer came from the family of an average and humble Petersburg official of German extraction. One of his sisters married an officer, Klembovsky, who, during the World War, distinguished himself as a fighting general.

In spite of the difference in age (Bauer was two or three years older than I and four years in advance of me at school and in the university), if ever in my political life I had come to be with anyone in the relations of a master to a disciple, it was with Constantine Bauer. I had a great influence on him, and to a certain extent I shaped his spiritual life and even determined his destiny.<sup>8</sup> Under my influence Bauer did not follow the beaten track. He obtained an excellent university degree as one of that first batch of students at the Law Faculty of the University of St. Petersburg who, having matriculated in 1885, had to pass in 1889 the extremely condensed and difficult State examinations under the new University Statute of 1884. He then took the post of secretary of the Krestsy district zemstvo board in the Province of Novgorod. He had a great affection for me and I had the same for him. He was a keen fellow, of

<sup>8</sup> As to my influence on Bauer at a later period (already in the 20th century, before the revolution of 1905, but prior to his journey abroad), there is curious testimony from orthodox Social-Democrats of the Bolshevik camp. A person closely related to the editors of *Iskra*, which was published abroad, wrote to them from Samara that Bauer having returned from his exile had taken up the attitude of pan-human, non-class Socialism (it was at the time my attitude as a critical Marxist)!. This information is accompanied by the following remark: "In all probability he (Bauer) will end by *Struvsism*. It is a great pity, for he is a very significant and valuable man." See the review *Proletarskoe Osvobozhdenie*, 1928, No. 6-7 (77-78), p. 163.

a rare purity of heart, exceptionally sensitive and capable, and endowed with a vast memory.

He did not remain long with the Krestsy zemstvo, and returning to St. Petersburg, plunged, head and ears, into social and political work there. He became secretary to the third, purely economic, section of the Imperial Free Economic Society which, both historically and in fact, was an agricultural association. Through me he came into touch with those who took part in the incipient social-democratic workers' movement. This led, in 1896, to his arrest. He spent nearly two years in preliminary solitary confinement in the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, and was then administratively banished to Eastern Siberia. I remember seeing him off at the Nicholas Station—I could not restrain my tears in taking leave of this man who had become dear and close to me and was setting out to a severe exile. Either the imprisonment and exile or, which is more likely, some painful personal experience somehow broke down this healthy and cheerful man, for when on his return from exile Bauer came to see me in Stuttgart where I was editing *Osvobozhdenie*, he left on myself and my wife the distressing impression of a man not only shattered and broken, but, in fact, mentally ill. From Stuttgart, Bauer went on to Switzerland, thence to return to Russia, where he died, in 1905 or 1906, in a rather mysteriously rapid way. My long talks with him in Stuttgart left me under the impression of some irreparable break which had occurred in the personality of this morally highly attractive man. In 1904, in Stuttgart, he used to talk a great deal, but rather incoherently and with a lack of concentration. But in 1894 and 1895 this man had been full of life, energy, and purpose.

He listened with enthusiasm to the *Open Letter* and copied my text in hectographic ink in his large legible handwriting. Thus came into being one batch of copies transcribed in the handwriting of Bauer, who was, like myself, a Marxist and a Social-Democrat.

Another batch was copied by a remarkably gifted Russian woman, Alexandra Alexeyevna Steven. She was a landowner in the province of Nizhny-Novgorod and was engaged in cultural work in the domain of popular education. Her articles in *Vestnik Evropy*, describing her intercourse with the peasants, both adults and children, had at the time attracted general attention, just as much by her rare gift of observation as by her unusual literary talent. Miss Steven struck one by her liveliness and energy which appealed, in different ways, to all of us, and more especially to Prince Shakhovskoy and Bauer. Later on, this talented woman married M. D.

Ershov, who had been one of the best pupils of the famous Byzantinist, V. G. Vasilyevsky, at the Philological Faculty of the University of St. Petersburg, but gave up his academic career and took by conviction to educational work; his connections enabled him to enter the service of the Ministry of Education in the inconspicuous capacity of inspector of primary schools (at first, I think, in the Murom district of the province of Vladimir), with a view not to fight the zemstvo in this humble capacity, but to co-operate with it.<sup>9</sup>

In the mid-nineties, A. A. Steven was full of enthusiasm for Tolstoy. Later on, both she and her husband, having undergone a profound change in their views, became convinced Conservatives, and as such not only were no longer enthusiastic about Tolstoy and Tolstoyism, but took a definitely hostile attitude towards the old man of Yasnaya Polyana. In the 20th century, M. D. Ershov was a prominent figure in the Tula zemstvo and its elected representative on the Imperial Council. When, in 1909, I paid a visit to Tolstoy in Yasnaya Polyana, I stopped also with the Ershovs on their Lebyazhie estate on the banks of the Krasivaya Mecha, made famous by Turgenev and his Kasyan. The contrast between the populist-anarchist outlook of Tolstoy and the national-conservative views of Ershov struck me then by its irreconcilable sharpness, which manifested itself in mutual references. (Tolstoy and even his wife, in passing, spoke to me very contemptuously of Ershov, while on the other hand the Ershovs did not conceal their disapproval of Tolstoy and their antipathy to him.) But in 1895, in the case of A. A. Steven, this contrast could not even be suspected; she was then still under the spell of Tolstoy, though not sharing, like some of us, the populist-anarchist excesses of his outlook, and therefore entirely in sympathy with the ideas of Liberalism and Constitutionalism. This was why she carried out with real enthusiasm the task of copying the "Open Letter" and addressing the envelopes.

Towards the evening of 19 January the work was done. Copies of the letter in sealed envelopes, the posting of which had been allotted to the above-mentioned persons, were despatched on that evening to all chairmen of provincial zemstvo councils, to the editors of some selected periodicals, and to some private individuals, also specially selected. To my lot it fell to post the letters to the chairmen of zemstvo councils in the well-familiar letter-box at the Nicholas Station.

<sup>9</sup> The inspectors of the Ministry of Education were ordinarily in constant conflict with the zemstvo educational authorities.—ED.

Everything was done with great rapidity, and it was this, coupled with the moderation of the actual text of the letter, that produced such a great impression on the public.

Through Prince Shakhovskoy the text of the "Open Letter" was brought to the knowledge of the main initiator of the Tver Address, Fedor Rodichev, and of another member of the Tver zemstvo, Paul Korsakov, who then occupied the not unimportant post of President of the St. Petersburg Treasury Chamber. (On the demand of his chief, the Minister of Finance, Witte, Korsakov, as a signatory of the Tver Address, had to give up his post at once and retire from the Civil Service.) Both Rodichev and Korsakov took up a very friendly attitude towards the contents of the "Open Letter" and approved of it. In the fragments of Rodichev's *Memoirs* as yet unpublished, which his daughter has kindly communicated to me, there is an account of this episode which shows that the authorship of the letter was sometimes ascribed to Rodichev himself—the secret of the origin of that document had been at the time excellently preserved by all those concerned

This is what Rodichev says in his *Memoirs*:—

"On 19 January, 1895, following upon the speech on 'senseless dreams,' there appeared an *Open Letter to Nicholas II*.

"The letter began by saying that there was no need for the zemstvo to dream of partaking in the administration, for it had already been doing so. It said that the Tsar's words were a blow to the most modest expectations, that they announced a stubborn resistance to the development of public thought and activity, identified the autocracy with the régime of class bureaucracy, and challenged all the living forces of society to a fight.

"The letter ended with the words: 'You have begun the struggle, and the struggle will not be long in coming.'

"Rumour ascribed to me the authorship of that letter. But I did not write it. It was written at the flat of Alexandra Mikhailovna Kalmykov, with whom P. B. Struve and I think Potresov were then staying.<sup>10</sup> Prince D. I. Shakhovskoy brought me the draft of the letter to read and censor;<sup>11</sup> I approved of it entirely, and only the last sentence left me a little doubtful. I was not sure that the struggle would not be long in coming. The young men had great faith, and the sentence about the struggle was left in."

Of the impression which the "Open Letter" produced among the revolutionary émigrés outside Russia one can judge by the

<sup>10</sup> A. N. Potresov was living in his own flat in the Ozerny Passage (*P.S.*).

<sup>11</sup> Here F. I. Rodichev has made a mistake. I remember well that he was informed of the letter *post factum*. This was due in the first place to the extreme urgency of the whole matter.

leading article published at the time in *Flyleaves of the Fund of the Free Russian Press* (*Letuchie Listki Fonda Volnoy Russkoy Pressy*), and evidently coming from the pen of S. M. Kravchinsky-Stepnyak.

"Just as we were drafting here our reply to the speech of Nicholas II men who had been keenly following the course of events were preparing their own. Readers will find this remarkable document in the present issue. It lacks that determination in the theoretical justification of political demands which is represented by the voice of a political exile-revolutionary—a summary voice in this case—and the very words 'democratic constitution' have not yet been pronounced; but the practical conclusion as to the tactics of the coming struggle is the same. It is a pledge of success, a pledge of which the meaning will become the more apparent the more closely we study the *Open Letter to Nicholas II* and examine the circumstances which accompanied the Tsar's speech. . . . The *Open Letter* emanates not from the 'sons,' but from the 'fathers,' and the 'fathers' have adopted a language which becomes them: with a sense of responsibility for the future, with confidence in their strength, with a clear understanding of the position and of their own wishes, and with a resolve to start a steady, though slow, struggle. Of course, the authors of the letter represent only one type of 'fathers.' But apparently there are enough representatives of this type to show the way to the less resolute, to the less conspicuous, and they know how to do it, they are organised, the 'speech' was delivered on 17 January, 1895, and on 19 January, 1895, the reply was already prepared, hectographed and despatched."

There are other curious testimonies to the great impression produced by my *Open Letter to Nicholas II*.

In a letter to Friedrich Engels, dated 3 March (19 February), 1895, Plekhanov wrote to the famous *alter ego* and successor of Marx: "I enclose herewith the reply of the Russian Liberals to Nicholas's famous speech. The letter was reprinted in London, but it is authentic; it was circulated all over Russia before it came to London. You will see from the letter that we can hope for better times."<sup>12</sup> Plekhanov, of course, did not even then suspect that the *Open Letter* had been written by me.

On the other hand, Count V. N. Lamsdorf made the following entry in his diary under 12 February, 1895:—

"A copy of an *Open Letter* addressed to the Emperor is being circulated containing a protest against the famous speech of 17 January on 'senseless dreams.' This unfortunate speech of rebuke seems to be having

<sup>12</sup> The letter was printed in the publication entitled *The Group of "Liberation of Labour."* From the archives of G. V. Plekhanov, V. I. Zasulich, and L. G. Deutsch, Moscow, 1924. Collection No. 2; pp. 336-37.



a most grievous effect in the country. The poem written by Myatlev ends with the words: *Durnovo—tête-de-veau.*"<sup>13</sup>

The fact that I, the recognised spokesman of "legal" Marxism, as author of the *Open Letter*, was making common cause, both in act and in spirit, with the Zemstvo Liberals, had much historical significance and was of considerable importance for my own political evolution. Between the "Marxism" of my type and the Zemstvo "Liberalism" of men like Rodichev there was not only a close contact, but a very close inner relationship.

By dint of historical study and a ruthless analysis of economic and political facts of the day, Russian Marxists of that time had come to reject the "Populist" scheme of Russian economic, social and political development. A few consistent Liberal theoreticians of such a type as Boris Nikolayevich Chicherin had arrived at the same negative conclusions. Turgenev, as we know, came by way of artistic intuition to adopt the same attitude. Men like Paul Korsakov and Fedor Rodichev were led by their practical work to share the same conception of Russian development. Rodichev has himself told in his *Memoirs* both of the influence which Korsakov—the most lucid and, what is more, the most sober mind among all the Russian Liberals I have ever met—had had on him, and of how he himself, when coming practically to grips with life, had got rid of the Slavophil and Populist prejudices in favour of the village community, *artel*, joint guarantee, and other pleasant things belonging to the patriarchal régime of serfdom.

When a very young man, Rodichev had fought as a Russian volunteer in and for Serbia. Then the famous Russian historian of law and specialist on Political Science, Alexander Gradovsky, who was Professor at the University of St. Petersburg, offered to retain him as a post-graduate fellow of the university with a view to qualifying for the chair of Political Science. Rodichev, who had been elected an honorary Justice of the Peace of his district, allowed himself to be appointed acting district Justice of the Peace and plunged into that work, which turned him into a country resident, farmer and zemstvo man, and put him face to face with the North Russian peasantry. Since November, 1876, he had lived with the peasants, dealing with matters that concerned them, as justice of the peace, member of the Peasants' Department, chairman of that and other district departments, and—last but not least—as a gentleman-farmer managing such an enterprise as a spirit distillery.

Rodichev set about this everyday life and business intercourse

<sup>13</sup> Krasny Arkhiv, vol. 46 (III), 1931, p. 36.

with the peasants "with a belief, widespread among the youth of that time, in the great significance of the village community, with a belief that thanks to it there would be no proletariat in Russia and the social problem would be solved by peaceful evolution. "We accepted," says Rodichev, "the words of Herten : 'Set your minds at rest, gentlemen—we have the village community.'"

"I was, of course—continues Rodichev—opposed to the view of Chicherin, who saw in the village community and in re-allotments of land an after-effect of serfdom, and I looked forward to a rapid development and triumph of the village community in the peasants' life. We thought the village community to be that soil from which the new social order would spring up. Jumping over the bourgeois period, delivered from the scourge of a mendicant proletariat, Russia would peacefully realise the ideal of Socialism."

These dreamy notions were dispelled, in Rodichev's case, by business contact with the realities of the Russian village. Gradually, under the influence of the lessons of life, which upset the conception borrowed from books and accepted as a belief, Rodichev came to the conviction that it would not be by the village community or by communal habits that Russia would be saved and led on to the path of progress, but by the establishment of individual freedom, by the emancipation of the peasantry from the remnants of serfdom and bondage. By 1881, Rodichev's new views, drawn from his observations of peasant life, took final shape and were formulated by him, as a member of the Committee of the Tver Provincial Zemstvo, in a remarkable memorandum submitted to the famous Kakhanov Committee, and in which, according to Rodichev's own words, Kakhanov himself took a certain interest. I do not remember whether it was Rodichev himself who drew my attention to that memorandum, which was reprinted in 1887 without any sympathy in a well-nigh forgotten article in *Russky Vestnik*,<sup>14</sup> or whether I, being already in my youth a book-lover with a strong interest in bibliography, had lighted upon it myself. But when I began to conduct in *Novoe Slovo*, which in March 1897 had passed into the hands of the "Marxists," a regular chronicle of domestic affairs entitled "Current Problems of Home Life," in the very first instalment of that chronicle, which was, in fact, a little research into the problem of the "all-class canton," I reproduced Rodichev's

<sup>14</sup> Who was the author of that article, signed "N"? I believe it was either K. F. Golovin-Orlovsky, a remarkable Conservative publicist and novelist, or S. G. Shcheglovitov, who, under the *nom-de-plume* of S. Nevedensky, wrote a big book about M. N. Katkov, composed of articles which used to appear in *Novoe Vremya*.

memorandum, putting it into the general historical framework of the problem of "class estrangement or exclusiveness of the peasantry," regarding this as an "unenviable legacy of serfdom which had been too slowly liquidated in practice."

"The personal rights of the peasants—wrote the 26-year-old Rodichev in 1881—as compared with the rights of persons belonging to other privileged estates, are considerably restricted owing to their special 'tributary' status. The so-called tributary status amounts, in fact, to State serfdom which up to 19 February, 1861, was concealed behind private serfdom, which in its time had grown out of it. Serfdom means a man's obligation to work for someone else, the fulfilment of that obligation being guaranteed by a restriction of his individual freedom and, above all, by his attachment to the soil. Up to 19 February, 1861, the peasant was liable to the landowner for work or payment; the amount of that liability was arbitrary; its fulfilment was guaranteed by a restriction of the peasant's personal rights and by the power of the landowner. Nowadays, the peasant's liability has been strictly fixed, sometimes it is higher, sometimes lower than before; its fulfilment is guaranteed by restrictions on his freedom still remaining in force, and by his subjection to the community and the administration, to which has been transferred, almost to the full extent, the landowner's power over the peasant's person. This special status of the peasants is nowadays no longer justified either by reasons of State necessity, or still less from the point of view of justice and humanity.

"All that has been said . . . —Rodichev's memorandum concluded—leads up to the emancipation of the peasant from his attachment to the soil, and the abolition of those restrictions on his rights which place him in the peculiar position of a man who lives not for himself and not as he likes, but for the Treasury and in a way advantageous to the latter. Law and theory proclaim that since 19 February, 1861, the peasant's labour is free and he himself is a free owner. The experience of daily life, from which a man in the street draws his notions, every hour proves the contrary."

\* \* \* \* \*

Thus between those two currents of Russian opinion which were designated by the names of "Marxism" or "Neo-Marxism" and "Liberalism" or "Democratism" (with the typical Russian prefix "Zemstvo") there was established a very important mutual understanding and mutual relationship, due not to any personal relations, but to an essential coincidence in the conception both of historical development and of political objects. Of myself I can say most emphatically that as early as 1894-95 I, who was a "Marxist," was spiritually just as near to Rodichev and Petrunkevich (whom I did not yet know personally at the time) and to the Zemstvo Liberals of the constitutional-democratic type in general, as to the Russian

founders of the so-called "revolutionary Marxism"—Axelrod, Plekhanov, and Zasulich. But these, too, as I afterwards learned to know as a result of close personal intercourse, in spite of the theoretical abyss which separated their "revolutionary" outlook from democratic Liberalism, had always been attracted, both spiritually and emotionally, towards this latter (this attraction was particularly strong in the case of P. B. Axelrod who, in the nineties, used to speak with sympathy and even tenderness of Rodichev). But of this, as well as of my relations and my collisions with Lenin, a man of a quite different pattern and mentality—collisions which hold an important place in our political biographies—I shall treat in another chapter of my Memoirs. Here I will try to characterise Rodichev's personality and my further relations with him.

Rodichev was by nature a political tribune endowed with a passionate temperament and a great oratorical gift. The nature of his oratorical gift was somewhat akin to that of Jaurès, though he lacked that literary culture, and what is more, that rhetorical training which is grafted on to every Frenchman from his early days. Rodichev was one of the three great speakers of modern Russia. The two others were V. A. Maklakov and P. A. Stolypin. Rodichev's strength and weakness as an orator lay in the fact that he was an *improviser*—which really no orator, and especially no political orator, should be. But the fact that, despite being an improviser, Rodichev was a great orator just shows how great was his oratorical gift. He was an orator by the grace of God. After all, till the end of 1905, when he was fifty, he could not have had any great oratorical experience. The very objects of the *zemstvo* assemblies offered but little material and left but little room for oratorical displays—they were not political meetings, and besides the law provided for their being held seldom and sitting but for a short time. Rodichev became a lawyer rather late in his life, when he was already an excellent speaker, and what little law practice he had he seemed to discharge rather unwillingly (as opposed to V. A. Maklakov, who exercised his great oratorical gift in his vast legal practice, both civil and criminal). If to Rodichev's great oratorical gift had been added such a vast general and literary-rhetorical culture as Jaurès possessed, he would have become a really colossal phenomenon in Russian spiritual culture, for among the three orators whom I have mentioned, Rodichev was the foremost by sheer natural gift. But even as it is, Rodichev ought to have a brilliant place in the history of Russian "letters" in the broadest sense of the word, and therefore in the history of the

national literature, like the best of our spiritual or ecclesiastical orators.

In the support of *Osvobozhdenie*, the Russian liberal and constitutional-democratic organ published outside Russia under my editorship from 1902 to 1905, Rodichev took part as a politician, a collaborator and a personal friend. Together with *Osvobozhdenie* and the Zemstvo Liberals who supported it, he underwent that evolution to the Left which, at the time of the first Russian revolution of 1905, was consolidated in the formation of the Constitutional-Democratic Party (Cadets: called also the Party of the People's Freedom). Rodichev subscribed to that party's programme; but that clause of the social programme of the Party which contained the demand for a partial expropriation of the landowners' land in favour of the peasants, far from arousing in him any enthusiasm, never even met with his sympathy. He would have preferred the establishment of a progressive income tax on land, combined with a property tax. But Rodichev realised the political necessity of that clause for the Cadet Party, and it was only in private conversations that he criticised the clause for which he had no liking.

In all the four Dumas, Rodichev was one of the few unquestionably first-rate speakers: he was always listened to and sometimes feared. But two things had an adverse effect—one must frankly admit it—on his parliamentary oratory. A parliamentary speaker must in the first place aim at impressing his adversaries, or at inspiring them with respect both for the cause he is advocating and for himself—this gift, this art was inherent in the supreme degree in V. A. Maklakov and constituted his force. Rodichev either knew not how, or did not want, to disarm and subjugate his adversaries; he rather defied them or even just irritated them.

The other thing was that Rodichev was a pure politician and a purely political orator. Of course, he had a sound legal education and a considerable judicial and administrative experience. But as distinct from Maklakov, Kokoshkin, Vinaver, Petrazicki, and Novgorodtsev, he was not by speciality a jurist. Generally speaking, he was not a specialist in any domain or to any extent. This could be a source of strength, but also of weakness. Sometimes therefore his speeches lacked an objective and irrefutable substance, there was nothing in them but political temperament and impulse, and they produced the impression of declamations. This was particularly felt towards the end of his parliamentary career, just before the revolution of 1917 swept away the Duma itself.

It is perhaps to this non-specialist characteristic that one can

trace back the fact that despite Rodichev's great knowledge of life, based on a long judicial and administrative experience, he was not in the least a "Real-Politiker." But then this was not his personal doom and tragedy, but that of the whole Cadet Party. Only in his figure that tragedy manifested itself in a particularly striking and palpable way. Here I come to a question which, to my mind, is fatally intertwined with the whole problem of the Russian Revolution.

I once called Rodichev a *lover of freedom*. Freedom was, indeed, the all-pervasive love of his life. In the despotism of the Russian autocratic government he saw the only enemy and the principal misfortune of Russia. Rodichev was a possessed poet and high priest of Liberalism.

And like nearly all Russians enamoured of freedom, the Liberals of Rodichev's type saw the only danger and menace to it in the old government, in the historical power of the Emperor, which had really capitulated in 1905 before Liberal opinion and definitely ceased to be that "Tsarism" of which people in the West used to speak with such horror; at the same time they overlooked the new and yet old danger—the infection of the people with the social and cultural "revolutionism" of the intelligentsia, which was infinitely more dangerous and threatened the principles of freedom and the rule of law in a much more radical way than any "reactionary" aspirations of the monarchical power. This was blindness to the realities of life.

From December 1905 onwards, from the time of the Moscow armed insurrection—whatever may be our estimate of the Government's policy in the period 1905–1914—the real danger to freedom and to a régime of legality in Russia came no longer from the Right, but from the Left. The subsequent events in Russia, and all the recent evolution of political life in Europe have clearly shown and proved this. Unfortunately, the entire Russian Opposition, with the Cadet Party at its head, did not realise this clear and simple situation.

This accounts not only for the mistaken policy carried on by the forces of Russian Liberal Democracy, but also for the wrong spiritual and emotional tone adopted by them, after 17 October, 1905, towards the Tsar's Government in general and towards Peter Stolypin in particular. One reason why the whole of this policy and this tone were wrong was the fact that in the period of 1906–1914 all Rodichev's claims for the emancipation of the peasants were fully adopted and realised by the Tsar's Government; and the

individual farmer (*khutoryanin* and *otrubnik*), called to life by Stolypin and freed from the fetters of the village community, was becoming a solid foundation for a new and really free Russian peasantry.

The Government in general, with the Emperor at its head (to Stolypin this reproach is least of all applicable), also did not understand that with the State-minded forces of the Opposition, headed throughout that period by the Cadet Party, one had to argue not about power, but about the actual contents of that policy which the Tsar's historical authority had to carry out, in an alliance with the constitutional-democratic Opposition, as against the revolutionary forces invading the country. The concessions should have been mutual; and, in my opinion, on the part of the Opposition they should have been, both in substance and in spirit, much more drastic and resolute than on the part of the historical power. But the Russian constitutional-democratic Opposition was simply blind to the danger which revolutionary Maximalism and the baser popular instincts released by it constituted for the rudiments of a civilised freedom and order in general. It is quite obvious that, alone and by itself, the constitutional-democratic Opposition, on taking all the power into its hands, would have proved unable to cope with that revolutionary onrush, that it needed for this purpose an alliance with the purely conservative forces and elements in the people, in society and, what is more, in the bureaucracy and in the army. Now, *post factum* and *ex eventu* so to speak, it is quite clear that if in 1906 or at any other moment between 1905 and 1914 there had been formed a Cabinet of public men or even a "parliamentary" Cabinet, it would have had to carry on a political struggle, a policing struggle, against the revolutionary maximalism of the intelligentsia and of the popular masses just as severely as Stolypin was compelled to do, or else it would have had to capitulate pitifully before the triumphant mob.

The same, to a still greater extent, is true of the period of the Great War, when a parliamentary Cabinet would have been historically and politically justified only if it undertook a still more resolute struggle against the latent defeatism in the rear. It is more than doubtful whether a normally constituted parliamentary government with democratic aims and methods would have been able to cope with that defeatism. Neither Prince George Lvov, nor Milyukov, nor Rodichev, nor, still less, Kerensky, had that State temper which was characteristic of Clemenceau.

I am not sure that Rodichev understood all this even towards

the close of his life, that is after the revolution which turned him into an *émigré*. Apparently as a lover of freedom, who in his own way may have also loved the State as organised order, but had been used to its stability and practical security in the antipathetic form of autocracy which capitulated in 1905, he somehow thought that it was enough to remove, as quickly and as resolutely as possible, the mighty hoop of State authority binding Russia together in order that freedom and law should be firmly implanted in the country. It was, of course, an illusion, and not only of Rodichev, but of the majority of Russian constitutional-democrats. Thanks to that illusion, although the essence of his political conception was nearest to Conservative-Liberalism (for he rejected Socialism, both intellectually and emotionally, as a complete negation of economic freedom), Rodichev neither felt nor understood how near he was to Stolypin, by the very essence of his aspirations and quite apart from his political emotions, passions and prejudices. That emancipation of the Russian peasantry from its age-long economic, social and administrative fetters which the young Liberal, Rodichev, claimed in 1881, was in 1906-1911 the principal object of the mature Conservative Stolypin. This is an irrefutable historical statement.

The tragedy of Russian Liberalism and at the same time the tragedy of the Russian State idea consisted in this: that, instead of being political allies, Rodichev the Liberal and Stolypin the Conservative proved to be political adversaries and even enemies. And fairness bids us say of this fatal outcome of Russian history of the early 20th century:—

*peccatum est intra et extra muros.*

PETER STRUVE.



# THE RUSSIAN AGRARIAN REVOLUTION OF 1917<sup>1</sup>

## II

THE conspectus of the "crescendo" of the Russian agrarian revolution of 1917 presented in the last number of this *Review*,<sup>2</sup> may be amplified by a study of the area of most intense insurrection. This article will therefore be devoted to an examination of the "Central Agricultural" and "Middle Volga" regions.

Those two regions represented the main "battleground" of the peasant risings of the year under review. Their area was no small portion of an Empire whose European dominions covered two million square miles. They were part of the earliest colonised expanse liberated by the decay of the old Tartar Khanates of the Volga. In the confines of their provinces bondage right (serfdom) had been a pertinacious factor. The land-commune (*obshchina*) still enjoyed an obstinate vitality within their boundaries, even in 1917—Stolypin's individualist farming offensive meeting a steady passive resistance there.

What provinces were contained under the denominations "Central Agricultural" and "Middle Volga"? The first embraced Kursk, Orel, Tula, Ryazan, Tambov and Voronezh; the second, Simbirsk (distinguished as the birthplace of Protopopov, Kerensky and Lenin), Saratov, Penza, Kazan and Nizhegorod (Nizhny Novgorod).

To the account of these provinces fell almost one-half of the total cases of agrarian disturbance registered by the Militia. Of the number of occasions of rural disorder reported after February, 23·7 per cent. emanated from the Central Agricultural Provinces, and 20 per cent. from its sister region.<sup>3</sup>

The characteristics of the whole period of peasant insurgence may be seen here as vividly as in any part of the former Empire of the Tsars. There was a continual expansion until June, a temporary decline after July, and the final outburst on a wide scale in October. After July the organised nature of the peasant activity died away. The so-called "pseudo-legal" or "veiled" aggrandisement of the village communities gave place to a movement of open "grabbing" or "seizure" leading to the definite eviction of all squires.

<sup>1</sup> The dates are given throughout in the Old Style.

<sup>2</sup> *Slavonic Review*, July 1933 (Vol. XII, No. 34), pp. 155-166.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., *Krestyanskoe Dvizhenie, Predislovie*, p. xiii.

*Zemstvo* President of his district in the early days of the Revolution, survived unscathed through the worst phases. Such was not the good fortune of Sangushko in Little Russia, who, in the early autumn, met a violent death at the hands of returning soldiers. But that matter lies outside the scope of this article.

In Syzran, a cantonal assembly decreed the expulsion from its area of three of the staff of the local estate; in Saransk, peasants and Tartars began to destroy farm-buildings and remove timber.

With these events the chronicle of March is complete for the Middle Volga also. The methods by which the villagers commenced their self-assertion were there in embryo. Only time and the decadence of Russia's military strength were needed to promote maturity.

The following month witnessed, in the Kursk Province of the Central Agricultural region, the presentation of claims which soon became universal. These included (1) diminution of rent; (2) prohibition of timber-cutting in privately-owned and government forests; (3) fixation of labourers' wages. The economic nature of the demands is evident. As to the timber question, it recalled the old days of serfdom. The emancipation of the privately-owned peasants in 1861 had left, in village minds, an opinion regarding their rights to fuel which differed fundamentally from that of the Government and the squires.

The supremacy of cantonal committees became undoubted in April. Even the property of many village churches was no longer regarded as sacrosanct. A new sense of communal rights appeared in the countryside. An alarming feature was the indiscipline of troops who were able to secure liquor. It boded ill for the vindication or the maintenance of order.

The districts of Venev, Efremov and Krapivna complained of local interference with the larger estates. The cantonal committees of Kashira seized, without compensation, landed property of churches, monasteries, and squires. Rananburg—a particularly radical centre in the Province of Ryazan—desired the lease at low rates of privately-owned estates, besides the requisitioning of seed, farm implements and draught animals. The situation warranted the assertion, on 2 April, that "farms were likely to be completely destroyed," their cattle herds disorganised and their owners ruined. An agitation by "students" for a state of calm pending the convocation of the Constituent Assembly met with no response. A member of the Imperial Council from the Ryazan "*Zemstvo*," A. Schumacher by name, announced that the peasantry had com-

menced the actual seizure of the squires' properties. Two cantons of Sapozhok claimed Prince Shuvalov's estate for almost complete expropriation (11-13 April). A Provincial Congress in Ryazan passed resolutions that made it obvious that the whole of the subordinate districts were involved. In Kudryava Canton of the Dankov District a peasant assembly, presided over by a priest named Nekrasov, resolved as follows: "All landowners must quickly proceed to sow their land. This operation must be completed within ten working days. The unsown area will be taken over by the cantonal committee. The whole of the 1917 harvest is to be rated at 25 kopecks per desyatine, the rate increasing on every five successive desyatines, so that 100 desyatines will produce 500 roubles to assist the Government. If anyone does not pay the money, he shall be regarded as a traitor to his country."

It will be gathered that the peasant communities were working on a very business-like basis.

On 22 April a further general provincial meeting at Ryazan requisitioned land, sown areas, forests, and even sawmills. A more drastic step was taken in Ryazhsk, where D. K. Sterligov, Marshal of the District Gentry, was placed under arrest. Lipetsk—a place famous in the stirring days of the "narodnik" seventies—gave evidence of its revolutionary activity when a mob of peasants, led by soldiers on leave, pillaged Squire Kozhin's house—an ominous conjunction of military indiscipline and agrarian upheaval. In Rasskazova (also situated within the confines of Tambov) a local priest was attacked—his daughter, a yardman, and a servant being fatally injured. Simultaneously at Otkhozhyia, a village near Borisoglebsk, a parish deacon, his wife and two children were murdered. The motive in the second case seems to have been robbery, since the village bank was kept in the priest's house.

What is certainly an interesting report from Voronezh concerned the plundering and burning of a "hutor" (an isolated farm) on 4 April. For those who had faith in the efficacy of the agrarian reforms inaugurated under the Premiership of Stolypin, this could not fail to be a portent of unfavourable events. The policy of the separation of Russia's time-honoured communal village into a series of separate farms was halted by Nicholas II's abdication. As Minister of Agriculture in Prince Lvov's Administration, A. I. Shingarev reversed the process. Gathering impetus under V. Chernov, his successor, the pro-communal policy achieved its goal in the Land Decree of October—somewhat disastrously, it is true, for its earlier sponsors.

If the "*hutor*" and its cousin, the "*otrub*" (an enclosed holding the owner of which remained domiciled in the village) failed to preserve their own territory against village onslaughts, it was not strange that the larger estates, the bulwarks of which they had been destined to provide, now fell undefended into peasant hands. Such was the fate of Countess Apraxin's possessions in Zadonsk, which local villagers seized on 25 April.

No less instructive than the accounts of events in the Central Agricultural region, were those from the Middle Volga, where a Kurmysh landowner, named A. D. Pazukhin, described a series of resolutions passed by a cantonal committee in Bortsumana (Simbirsk). Firstly, war prisoners were not to be employed on farms; secondly, local peasant labour was to be used—the wages to be 4 roubles for men and 2 roubles for women (i.e. 8s. and 4s. respectively); thirdly, any servants working for less than the above were to be dismissed; an eight hours' day was to be introduced with special rates for overtime; at the first requisition, half the estate cattle were to be commandeered; at the first horse mobilisation, half of the estate cattle were to be taken by the villagers; no forest land was to be sold and no payment was to be made to merchants for timber purchased in 1916; any money received for the lease of meadows must be returned (to peasant lessees)—a new rate to be arranged by the committee.

As depicted above, the machinery of cantonal control was clearly in full operation (1-10 April). Dismayed by these occurrences, the Simbirsk Commissary urged the speedy announcement that land was national property, while leaving the question of method of usage to be decided by the Constituent Assembly.

No less important as an indication of the village mentality at this date was a communication from Penza in which the President of the Mokshan District Board, on 29 April, gave his views on contemporary events. "At first," he said, "the peasants co-operated with the landowners (in sowing the crops). But after the peasant congresses with their resolutions, they began to break contracts, since they perceived the impossibility of punishment and the possibility of unfettered action." The words that follow are more than usually significant. Proceeding, he states that, when the cantonal and district committees were formed in March, they were largely composed of "intellectuals." Afterwards, "hostility arose against the 'intellectuals.' Already by the middle of April these bodies were everywhere composed of peasants."

The peasants' deliberate self-assertion at this date in April is

clearly shown from the evidence culled from a source outside *Krestyanskoe Dvizhenie*. P. Romanov's<sup>4</sup> survey, entitled *Review of the position of Russia in three months of revolution, on data of the correspondence with the provinces of the Committee of the Imperial Duma*, reproduced in *Krasny Arkhiv* (vol. 15, 1926), reinforces the above remarks. A few excerpts explain the development of a state of affairs which infallibly led to the catastrophic close of 1917.

"In the majority of cases the impression derived from the relations of the peasantry at this most important moment of Russia's life is regrettable. There is no expression of opinion among the rural population concerning the Constituent Assembly. The people do not understand pamphlets and cannot read. The peasant comprehends only when he himself speaks and asks questions. He does not respond when he hears what is said to Ivan, Peter or Sidor (i.e. Tom, Dick or Harry) without immediate address to himself. There is already a keen discussion: Shall we vote for the Tsar or for the students?"

Local commissaries were not trusted unless popularly elected. It had been harder to organise cantonal committees than those which sprang up so quickly in the towns. "All the 'intellectual' forces of the village left it during the first few days of the change from the old régime." It was reported that teachers (especially female) had no influence over the peasantry. This feature was stated to be due to the connection of these educationalists with the previous government. The *otrubniki*, the pioneers of the Stolypin reforms, were now equally without influence. Petty landowners, such as they were, did not obtain the village suffrages. The link between the canton (*volost*) and the district (*uyezd*) was weak—a fact, one may add, which helped considerably to neutralise the pacificatory efforts of Petrograd.

From Spassk in the Province of Kazan, K. V. Molostvov complained that "the Provisional Government's orders are unknown in the villages, but, on the other hand, the Bolsheviks' proclamations are widespread."<sup>6</sup> This description of events in Kazan reminds the reader that Lenin had returned to Petrograd from Switzerland on 3 April. He was soon to give his party programme before the Peasant Congress, which assembled in the capital in May. The

<sup>4</sup> *Obzor Polozhenia Rossii za tri mesyatsa revolyutsii po dannym otdela snosheniy s provintsyey Vremenovo Komiteta Gosudarstvennoy Dumy.*

<sup>5</sup> Pp. 33–37, *Obzor Polozhenia.*

<sup>6</sup> 30 April, *Krestyanskoe Dvizhenie*, p. 20.

number of instances of direct Bolshevik efforts to influence the villages appear from the pages of *Krestyanskoe Dvizhenie* to have been few. Lenin is personally mentioned only rarely. During the early months of the year it was the Social Revolutionaries who claimed to lead the movements in the countryside. At the end of the year it is questionable whether any existing party "led" them at all.

Early in May an investigation took place concerning the broaching of a spirit store in Mtsenk. A regiment searched an estate for hidden arms, but found none. It certainly did find the spirit cellars, with results disastrous to discipline. The troops commenced to destroy the house. Whereupon the whole of the Mtsenk garrison, 5,000 strong, had rushed to the scene to share the refreshment. The damage resulting was described as "colossal." To the Provisional Government such news could not fail to cause alarm. It was one of the many signs that the old army was in rapid decay.

At this point it is significant to hear the words of one of the gentry of Tambov—Prince Sergius Volkonsky, who published his *Reminiscences* (*Vospominania*) ten years ago. Possessed of considerable literary and dramatic attainments, he had played a leading part in the theatre of the capital. One of his ancestors had been a Decembrist and had been exiled to Siberia by Nicholas I.

"The spirit that reigned in March did not last long.<sup>7</sup> It is true that the people behaved so well that during the first three weeks there was not a single arrest in Borisoglebsk (the district town which "Pavlovka," Volkonsky's Tambov estate, adjoined). But already in the second month trouble began and gradually all restraints were broken. . . . All the applications I made to the President of our 'Zemstvo' to draw his attention to the felling of trees and the damage done to the fields by the peasants' cattle remained without effect, and when I saw him he said there were no means of countering these acts."

The so-called "veiled," or pseudo-legal, expropriation by the village community of all private rights is revealed in the personal opinion which a squire might be expected to hold concerning it. "I prefer a man who comes to you and tells you: 'I shall take this plough from you because it is mine,' to him who says: 'I warn you that you have no right to sell this plough because it is not yours.'"

A peasant congress held in Penza (Middle Volga region) assumed the attributes and functions of a provincial constituent assembly

<sup>7</sup> Volkonsky, *Reminiscences*, vol. II, p. 163.

and set out in its resolutions a policy of peasant control which corresponded with Volkonsky's remarks.<sup>8</sup>

Considerable disorder commenced on 2 April in three districts of Kazan—Spassk, Laishev, and Chistopol. Large estates, as well as "*hutors*," became objects of attack. There was a tendency for the peasants "to rush to divide up the land."<sup>9</sup> A militia commander was displaced in favour of a locally-popular official. A district commissary and a town mayor were arrested. Even a member of the Imperial Duma was placed under guard. All these persons were eventually released. "Frequent re-election of those responsible for administration serves to hinder the establishment of firm order and legality."<sup>10</sup>

On 20 May the Spassk cantons demanded the transfer of the squires' land to themselves without waiting for the Constituent Assembly—each of the former owners of estates to retain a peasant allotment. This last stipulation reminds one who studies the period that the peasant *skhod*, the legal meeting of the *mir* or village community under the old laws, was now asserting its local sovereignty. The village and cantonal committees were the old peasant assemblies of the *Collection of Laws* (*Svod Zakonov*). They preserved their "class" or "estate" composition.<sup>11</sup> Outsiders were not welcomed. Those that had departed from the *mir*, as a result of the efforts of Stolypin's land settlement during the past decade, were now, by the force of local opinion, compelled to return.

Sometimes, induced by the increased *palomnichestvo* (pilgrimage) to the capital, a village would send its rustic representative. When asked on his return what he had heard, one of these peasant delegates replied in dismay: "I have forgotten. I have completely forgotten what I heard. I heard so much that at last I could recollect nothing." His fellow villagers, it is reported, then gave him the cold shoulder, because he spent communal money and found out—nothing.<sup>12</sup>

To summarise the position three months after the initiation of the new régime, one may draw attention to the increasing tendency to withhold grain supplies, partly owing to the Government monopoly, and partly to the breakdown of trade in ordinary manufactured goods from the towns. Inefficiency was the keynote of the hastily enrolled militia. The cantonal committee replaced the old local judicial authority in maintaining village order. There was, more-

<sup>8</sup> *Krestyanskoe Dvizhenie*, p. 51.

<sup>9</sup> *Krestyanskoe Dvizhenie*, p. 53.

<sup>10</sup> P. 53.

<sup>11</sup> Cf., *Obzor Polozhema*, p. 43.

<sup>12</sup> *Obzor*, p. 43.

over, "a general and firm conviction among the peasantry that the land must and would pass into the hands of the people (*narod*)" This feeling checked excesses—in the strict sense of the word—despite the "peaceful" expulsion of all types of landowner. Insufficiency of land in the Central Provinces—an old problem—and congestion in many cantons were factors that increased peasant irritation. The absence of sugar, white flour and butter in the provinces indicated the development of a food question, which had first arisen in 1916 and was destined to be a source of social cleavage in later months. Petrograd, with the north-eastern "consuming" areas, became increasingly dependent upon the goodwill of the southern and eastern "producing" provinces. Russia had already ceased to be one vast internal market.

Whether in spite of, or because of, the situation already indicated, there was everywhere "a feverish quest for books." The "dark people" wanted light. "Now Russia has returned," declared P. Romanov,<sup>13</sup> "to the age of the Apostles, when through the whole land, from end to end, people are moving and propounding new principles." Yet teachers were reputed to be "too dear." "Wait till the soldiers come back," said many peasants. "They will teach us for nothing."

Perhaps no better description of affairs in the Central Agricultural region, as they appeared to a member of the hitherto ruling class, may be found than in the *Reminiscences* of Volkonsky. "We lived at home (i.e. at Pavlovka, near Borisoglebsk in Tambov), but were not the masters. You felt that another man's hand was in your pocket. It could not continue thus. . . . The shaking of the instinct of property went on with astonishing rapidity. 'This will all be ours,' some of the peasants said to me. They were the village talkers. I met some small boys in the garden with bunches of currant branches.

" 'Why did you break them?'

" 'It's all the same, they'll be ours.'

" 'I know they are yours; but why do you break what is yours?' I was always surprised (Volkonsky continued) as to why they said: 'They will be ours.' Why did they not say 'are ours'?"

It did not take many months for the tense to change.

The Central Land Committee was established on 3 May by A. I. Shingarev, the Constitutional Democratic Minister for Agriculture. Each canton, district and province possessed its own committee—the powers of which exceeded those of the "*zemstvo*"

<sup>13</sup> *Obzor*, p. 56.



boards. In conjunction with the food committees they provided a machinery by which private ownership vanished *de facto*, even before it was abolished *de jure*. Provision was also made for the reversal of the effects of Stolypin's Decree of 9 November, 1906, with its subsequent extension by the Third Duma. In one bound Russian political thought had returned to the commencement of the pre-revolutionary decade. This time it was Shingarev instead of Hertzenstein who attempted to placate the peasant "Trudoviki."

It is not necessary to trace the monthly development of the peasant movement, or movements, to appreciate their character. There was a steady increase in intensity, with a lull in August as far as infringements of landed property rights were affected.

As War Minister, Kerensky failed to galvanise the active army into an offensive mood. The failure of 18 June was the last attempt to preserve the illusion that Russia was still prepared to pursue the struggle against the German, Austrian and Turkish Empires. It was clear that internal revolution, rather than external war, was to be the order of the day. Prince Lvov's letter of resignation revealed the circumstance that it was agrarian disturbances, as much as any other factor, that caused his departure. These proved equally disastrous to his successor.

Signs that belied the hopes of restoration of peace in rural Russia rapidly appeared on the horizon during the last two months.

Prince Gagarin, Marshal of the District Gentry of Elatma, complained to Kerensky, on 16 August, in terms which showed that Tambov was not lagging behind the rest of Russia in its assertion of peasant rights. "Different committees (he said) are usurping power and by their arrangements are introducing confusion and strife into the life of the people. A disorderly understanding of freedom breeds illegalities and seizures among the population. The Provincial and District Commissaries are not supported by any authority and are thus deprived of any possibility of putting into force the direct orders of the Government. The Militia has been enrolled too hastily and does not answer the object of its formation. All this not only undermines the Provisional Government's authority locally, but places the inhabitants in a defenceless position. Thus, during the last few months, round my house there have been hiding deserters who commit daring burglaries, principally on the railway. Everyone knows about it, but fears to speak. The Militia has so far failed to catch one thief. No measures are being taken against

secret distilling. The absence of a firm authority causes irregular justice and illegal arrests. Fixed prices for grain, in view of the high wages, keep the grain in the villages, thus imperilling the general food situation of the country. The Grain Monopoly also meets opposition everywhere and in the future will stop the production of grain. To cure the food crisis, it is necessary to allow free trade in grain, to establish order everywhere and to introduce armed force at once, with the object of supporting the executive authority locally."

The letter of the Marshal of the Elatma gentry was necessarily conditioned by his interests as a great landowner. Nevertheless, that his open advocacy of military repression was shared by influential circles in the Army Staff was clearly shown ten days later, when Kornilov attempted to overthrow Kerensky's Social-Revolutionary and Social-Democratic Ministry in Petrograd. Not less was the semi-governmental power of the Petrograd Soviet the objective of Kornilov's hostility. It was the possibility of a spiritual coalescence of the revolutionary committees of Petrograd and Moscow with the congeries of virtually independent village communities that spurred on the forces behind the attempted *coup d'état*.

But Kornilov's attempt to break the system of army committees and to check the growth of a "soviet" system clearly produced the very effects against which the General's supporters were striving. The army disintegrated more rapidly than ever as an effective fighting force. The cry, "All power to the Soviets," began to sweep the country. In its rustic form it became "All power to the cantonal committees and village communities!" "Bolshevism," as a definitely organised party-creed, placed "Peace" in the forefront of its programme. No less did it promise "Bread" to the languishing towns, filled with war-weary troops and civilians irritated by the rise in prices and the inadequacy of supplies.

The leader of this party turned the gaze of his followers over the walls of the factory to the far-away agrarian horizons—to the deepening peasant revolts. In May he had condemned as useless the Social-Revolutionary revival of the old "narodnik" panacea—the equalised redistribution of land. In August he declared that, as the peasantry seemed to desire to retain small farming—"to level the land in an equalised fashion and periodically to equalise it anew," he would not dissociate himself from peasant poverty on that account.<sup>14</sup> On 14 September, Lenin announced that "this dictatorship of the proletariat and the poorest peasants will give land to the

<sup>14</sup> *Rabochy*, August 1917.

peasants and complete power to the peasant committees in the villages."<sup>15</sup>

"Life in the country became less and less pleasant. By the autumn it became difficult to bear it and we began to think of removing (from the Pavlovka country house) to town (Borisoglebsk). We were sorry to leave; the autumn seemed to know it was the last. Such splendour I had never seen before; such a conflagration of leaves before their demise I cannot remember." In these words of Volkonsky<sup>16</sup> one can feel the steady pressure exerted by the peasant mass.

The present writer has personally heard a description of events, given by a Don Cossack who was Provincial Commissary for Kursk from May to September. He graphically depicted the irresistible surge of the peasant wave that swept the moderates, including himself, from office. He indicated the feeling of helplessness that prevailed in administrative circles. In *Krestyanskoe Dvizhenie* is included what was his final report (15 September, p. 261). "The provincial executive committee does not enjoy the people's confidence and therefore is gradually being in effect abolished."

The villages increasingly prevented grain being exported from their localities. Soldiers, and even sailors, became prominent as leaders, often interfering with the cantonal "*zemstvo*" elections, which were held in September. As a result of the voting the "*malokulturnost*" ("lack of education") of the representatives was evident. In some places food depots were wrecked by angry mobs. So menacing did affairs become before 23 September that a combined meeting, in Orel, of the public prosecutors of "*zemstva*," towns and the military department passed a resolution requesting the despatch of small cavalry brigades to support the District Commissaries in maintaining order. Even the residence and grave of the great Leo Tolstoy, "*Yasnaya Polyana*," were described by the Russian Academy as being subject to interference (27 September). The food and land committees were definitely unpopular, since they impeded the self-determination of the village. It seems to the writer that Kerensky's Government was visualised as a perpetual extractor of food supplies through the agency of such committees.

Ryazan's food problem had become acute. Tambov's revolutionary influence pervaded adjacent districts, such as Ryazan, Dankov, Ryazhsk and the radical Ranenburg (16 September).

<sup>15</sup> *Rabochy Put*, 14 September, 1917; *Vlast Sovetam. Marxism i Leninism*, p. 24.

<sup>16</sup> *Reminiscences*, vol. II, pp. 171-2.

Squire and petty farmer witnessed the plundering of their holdings. Buildings were going up in flames. Personal violence was being used. Authority was helpless (21 September). Troops were sent on the 22nd of the same month to check the raids on estates in Ranenburg and Ryazhsk. To the first-named riotous community the Provincial Commissary and a delegate of the Soldiers' and Workers' Soviet proceeded, accompanied by the assistant public prosecutor. Cavalry, it was said, were needed in the rebellious area.

Before 22 September, Semenov-Tyanshansky was arrested by local peasants. Later, the Provisional Government's influence was still sufficient to restore his personal liberty. On 27 September there was a raid upon Petrovo-Solovovo. Its estate manager was killed. Eight days later Schumacher suffered the plundering and burning of his property in Ranenburg. In Dankov, peasants were already dividing up and setting fire to squires' houses. It availed little that Semenov-Tyanshansky was personally saved from peasant aggression. His Ranenburg estate was plundered and divided up.

Yet there still remained twenty-five days of life for the Provisional Government.

Prince Vyazemsky's death at the hands of mutinous soldiery in Tambov Province while he was arrested and under escort, caused the All-Russian Union of Landowners to view with dismay the transfer of his model estate to a committee. Early in September, cavalry were stated to be required. Village committees were expelling managers and clerks, who were being arrested and flogged (9 September). Everywhere there was reported to be disorganisation and ruin, i.e. as far as old property relationships were concerned (11 September). In three days twenty-four estates went up in flames in Kozlov.<sup>17</sup> Another twelve were similarly treated, according to a report of the following day. "Great agrarian disorders" were in progress in this district. Squires were being forcibly expelled; live-stock and farm implements were disappearing. A rumour spread that, "if before 20 September the land is not divided up, it will be too late afterwards" (13 September).

Martial law was declared on 15 September. Captain Mironovich's punitive force from Moscow attempted to quell the outbreak. Assemblies were forbidden. Even before the arrival of the troops, 170 robbers had been put in gaol by the cantonal authorities and the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet. Much pillage had been recovered. Four cavalry squadrons commenced an energetic restoration of order in the middle of September. Mironovich disarmed the mutinous

<sup>17</sup> *Krest. Dvuzh.* 12 September, p. 269.

regiments of the Tambov garrison. Yet complaint was made on 18 September, by the provincial gentry of Tambov, that "the Government's orders, as a result of the weakness and inaction of Commissaries, remain unexecuted." Kornilov's attempt necessarily further weakened the Kerensky Administration. Those that supported Kornilov's venture saw in the Government's dependence upon popularly constituted bodies the chief reason for its lack of backbone. Others regarded its non-convocation of the promised Constituent Assembly as evidence of its hesitation in dealing with the problems of peace and land.

From Tambov came news of the devastation of eight estates in Lipetsk. Troops were sent to Kirsanov. By 25 September order was—temporarily—restored.

In Voronezh the month of September witnessed the violent deaths of an estate manager, his daughter and a watchman. A lady who owned an estate in the province was reported, on 13 September, to have been killed. Nevertheless, some thieves were lynched in Simbirsk. Famine was at hand. The local "soviet" and peasant congress interfered with the food boards' activities. To secure grain from the villages force had to be used. Several of the earlier revolutionary officials were displaced on 22 September.

Saratov, in the Middle Volga region, experienced raids on estates, expulsion of owners and their servants and also the burning of hay-ricks. The Government's uncertainty on food and land questions was driving the peasants' provincial congress leftwards. That congress desired the legal prohibition of the sale of land, its transfer to the committees for equalised use, the establishment of the old fixed prices for grain, the transfer of all surplus grain to the needs of the army and the free marketing of such grain. The Social Revolutionaries were announced to be exerting an exclusive influence upon the assembly (16 September). The landowners' "soviet" was of the opinion that "someone or other is organising terrorist societies and the peasants are being summoned to attack rich people."

Treating cursorily the September accounts of the remaining provinces, one has a cinematic view of clashes of troops with mobs that were resisting the Government's efforts to move food from the centres of production to the famine-menaced industrial areas and the front. The Government's unpopularity seemed in the peasants' mind to arise from its attempted enforcement of various food boards' regulations.

If "Bolshevism" is to be explained in its non-industrial and

rustic aspects, if one regards it as an active expression of discontent with existing conditions, it may be summed up on the evidence of *Krestyanskoe Dvizhenie* under the slogan of "Down with the Food Boards."

October—the month which was to become a worldwide symbol of general revolt and social disturbance—opened with the "Peasant Movement" as an overpowering fact. Punitive expeditions were the vogue. Would an old page of Russia's history—the year 1906—be re-written? Cavalrymen demanded 2 roubles 50 kopecks per day as troopers and, as officers, the sum of 15 roubles.

Orel desired horse artillery. There it was announced that the agrarian movement had "assumed an elemental character." Seizures of land, spoliation of forests, housebreaking, robberies, grain hold-ups and illicit distilling formed a variegated mass of illegality. The anarchy was "assuming the proportions of a public calamity." Sugar factories were being destroyed. One of the last requests sent to the Central Government was for cavalry or Cossacks (19 October).

In Tula there was an apparently general diffusion of Bolshevist propaganda. The industrial nature of the centre of that province would explain such a situation. Peasant delegates at a congress had carried a resolution advocating the transfer of all land to local committees on behalf of the cultivators. They refused to wait for the Constituent Assembly.

The office of Provincial Commissary was vacant—Dzyuin, its original holder, having departed (8 October). Ten to twenty private estates were being destroyed each day in Efremov. An Austrian subject, Dzhulin, had usurped the duties of Commander of the local Militia and District Commissary (21 October).

Within a distance of 8 versts from the town of Ryazan destruction of estates proceeded unchecked for four days. In Dankov and Skopin, the peasantry "under the influence of local leaders and Baltic agitators began to arrest local landowners and to cause them to abandon their estates and self-contained farms" (7 October).

In an endeavour to crush such outbreaks of peasant violence, Ryazan received a half squadron of dragoons, Raneburg a squadron, and Skopin a half squadron. Little support was obtainable from the new district "*zemstva*"—the new general suffrage seeming unable to divert peasant passions into constitutional lines—if, indeed, there remained anything "constitutional" at this date.

As late as 10 October, the Provincial Commissary of Tambov reported that for the preceding fortnight "all was quiet" in that

area. Did this tranquillity reflect a normal state of affairs? On the contrary, it was the result of a peaceful victory of the villages—the provincial land board having determined to take an inventory of all estates with a view of transferring them to the land committees.

Among the number of squires who evacuated their old homes at the end of this month was Prince Sergius Volkonsky, whose *Reminiscences* have been quoted earlier. Pavlovka was now deserted by him. It was close to the riotous district town of Borisoglebsk. Nor was this part of the province alone in its menacing attitude. Fourteen cantons of Kozlov were in disorder, manor houses and enclosed farms being subjected to violent attack. Of these properties, sixteen were wholly or partially burned and the remainder dismantled or pillaged. One-third of the sufferers were peasant smallholders, whether "*hutoryane*" or "*otrubshchiki*."

That this riotous behaviour was not without reason was indicated by a report on 12 October, containing a description of a daily siege of the Kozlov soviet executive committee and food board by famine-stricken peasants. It was evident that the question of permits for grain purchase was of fundamental importance. "The requisition measures adopted at Kozlov railway station in order to counteract speculators, have caused a natural resentment among peasants of the foodless provinces who possess food permits. The purchase of grain by the very peasants of the famine-stricken provinces has raised grain prices to incredible figures, and lessened the incentive to transport it to collecting stations. There is imminent danger that, in December, Kozlov will be without bread" (12 October).

Is there not in this complaint from Tambov the social-economic key to 25 October and the Land Decree of 26 October? The two capitals, as consuming centres, and the under-producing provinces were vitally concerned with the impending, and even actual, breach with the southern producing areas. It was by no fortuitous combination that the rapidly rising Bolshevik party linked "Bread, Peace and Land" in its revolutionary programme. The food question eventually decided the other two.

If other provinces are inspected, there is a general similarity of situation. Voronezh, for instance, was in process of having its estates "divided up." Simbirsk (Middle Volga) showed its leadership in a campaign against Stolypin's Land Settlement. The Sengiley cantonal committee and its "*skhod*" resolved to resume any land under spring-wheat, whether belonging to "*otrubniki*" (separate farmers) or "*obshchinniki*" (communal holders). It determined to conduct an "*obshchy peredel*" (general redivision).

The village of Chukal witnessed the same phenomenon. In Kurmysh, peasant-owners were compelled to return to the village community. From Syzran came a complaint that buildings, gardens and stock belonging to peasant smallholders had been destroyed.

The announcement in Serdobsrk that the new cantonal "*zemstva*" were to control estates, aroused discontent. Cossacks to the number of 150 were summoned to Saratov to prevent riots. Simultaneously, the Serdobsrk Commissary, Serezhnikov, was dismissed for his dilatoriness in sending information of the state of affairs in his sphere of authority.

As early as 5 October, the Provincial Commissary had recommended the removal of the majority of the infantry and machine-gun detachments garrisoning the town of Saratov. The troops, it was stated, were likely to assist, rather than repress, disturbances.

No less insurgent was Balashov. But in October, 1917, there was no longer a Stolypin to govern the province of Saratov as in 1904-5. Mob violence was declared to be prevalent. The land commune was supreme. Its opponents were being expelled from their farms.

Landowners in Petrovsk were subject to intimidation. When a mob of troops invaded the Vasilchikov estate and demanded wine and vodka from the spirit store, the garrison commander refused to take protective measures. The Petrovsk town council, at a joint session, in which every social organisation participated, declined to allow Cossack forces to be sent for. It was arranged that special infantry and cavalry detachments should be formed to guard the town and its environs.

The Commissary for Penza announced on 4 October that one district land committee had "divided up" all Treasury land to provide fuel and building material for the poorer elements. The incessant and illicit timber-cutting arose, it was said, from the high prices which private owners had fixed for its sale. Near Penza itself, two cantons, Dertevsk and Lipyagovsk, were expelling squires and their servants. Farm buildings were being destroyed. Even that rare feature of the rural landscape—a stone building—was not exempt from demolition. The current census of grain reserves was still in progress, troops being employed to effect it. In Penza, as elsewhere, the cantonal "*zemstva*" evoked no enthusiasm among the villagers. Navrochat was the scene of further aggression against separate farms "General anarchy" prevailed. The "sacking" of large estates continued. Stock was disappearing. Famine threatened. Townsmen and troops were creating disorder. "A disquieting



atmosphere " existed in many parts of the province (21 October, p. 322).

So unpopular had food boards become in the adjacent province of Kazan that many of their administrative offices were destroyed. The general rise in prices naturally caused resentment. There was a readiness in the surrounding hunger-stricken provinces to pay three times the official price for food. An agitation was on foot against fixed prices and the Grain Monopoly itself. A request was made for the opening of provincial boundaries to grain transport. Here, too, timber-cutting was incessant, the Militia useless and secret distilling endemic. Within the province there were no goods and no food reserves. Free fuel was being distributed. Speculation was frequent (13 October, p. 333).

In Nizhegorod, the Commissary, named Sumgin, asked for 500 cavalrymen. He also desired definite legislation providing for the peasantry's needs. In particular, he demanded the speedy transfer of all land, including forests, to the land committees' control, " in order thereby to be able to protect general interests and not those of the squires " (12 October). The final communication from the above-mentioned province (21 October) reported the destruction of twenty estates—these including a "*zemstvo*" farm with an agricultural college. To check such actions the Commissary requested the despatch of cavalry.

With Nizhegorod concludes the survey of the peasant movement in the Central Agricultural and Middle Volga regions. The more specific evidence of Russia's old agricultural centre reinforces that derived from the earlier examination of the Provisional Government's own decrees. The oncoming revolutionary wave, which caused Kerensky's fall on 25 October, was most significant in the extent to which it submerged every aspect of Russia's pre-revolutionary system. On the following day (26 October), Lenin and his revolutionary colleagues hastened to secure their rural lines of communication. Any governmental authority in the capital must recombine village and town, or fall before a hungry city mob.

The Land Decree of 26 October, for which, in collaboration with their new Left Social Revolutionary allies, the Bolsheviks stood sponsors, contained four main articles. Firstly, the landowners' right to property in land was forthwith abolished without compensation; secondly, all land (except that belonging to the Treasury) was placed in charge of cantonal land committees and district soviets of peasants, pending the Constituent Assembly's decision on the land question; thirdly, the " strictest revolutionary control "

was to be exercised over buildings, implements and livestock generally; fourthly, pending the Constituent Assembly's final decision, guidance in carrying out the land reform was to be obtained from a summarised version of the 242 local peasant "Instructions" printed in the official journal of the All-Russian Peasant Soviet.<sup>18</sup> These instructions were an elaboration of the principles of the "cherny peredel," or general redivision. The equalising redistributory land commune was now officially sanctioned over the whole of Russia. An entire page of Russia's annals, containing the ten years' efforts of land settlement, was torn out. An historic ruling class fell like grass before the scythe. An epoch had passed away. What did the future hold in store?

11 March, 1933.

L. A. OWEN.

<sup>18</sup> *Izvestiya* No. 88, 6 August, 1917

#### ERRATUM

IN the article entitled "Prison Life in USSR" by Prof. Chernavin, which appeared on pp. 63-78 of *Slavonic Review*, Vol. XII, No. 34 (July, 1933), on p. 65, after the words, "Thus in the department in which I was working—ocean fisheries—", the following should replace the paragraph as it reads at present: "At the beginning of 1928, there were 23 trawlers. The Five Year Plan, as confirmed, reckoned on increasing the number to 70, with a catch of 175,000 metric tons (about 350,000 English cwts.). As altered by the Government in 1929, the Plan increased the estimate to 500 trawlers and called for a catch on these vessels in the Barents Straits of 1,500,000 metric tons (30,000,000 English cwts.). After insistent representations, which were often dangerous for those who ventured to make them, as to the complete impossibility of such a plan, it was diminished to 1,000,000 metric tons (20,000,000 English cwts.), with 300 trawlers. As it worked out, by the end of the Five Year Plan, the number of trawlers was raised only to 53, that is, by 30, with a catch of certainly less than 100,000 metric tons (about 2,000,000 English cwts.).

## LIFE IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN USSR

My description of life in a concentration camp refers to the time from May, 1931, to August, 1932. I was myself only in the camp of Solovetsk, but as they move prisoners from one camp to another, I also came into contact with prisoners from other camps. According to their reports, conditions of life in all the camps are generally alike.

The number of concentration camps is a secret of the OGPU. Their number is constantly changing; some are closed and others spring up again. I happened to meet prisoners from the following camps: White Sea and Baltic, Svirsk, Kotlas, Pechora, Vishera, Kungur, Kuznetsk, Narym, Mouth of Obi, Turkestan, Far-East and Syzran. I know of thirteen camps, but there are undoubtedly more.

Conditions of life in concentration camps are subject to sharp alterations depending on changes in the policy of OGPU and the government, so that one must always bear in mind the time to which information on them refers. One may say the same thing of the general conditions of life in USSR: one who has seen men starving and tattered in the period of militant communism, 1919-21, cannot imagine these same persons often well fed and smartly dressed in the period of the NEP, 1923-26, who were again broken, threadbare and hungry in those years when the five year plan was in its prime, 1930-32.

Imprisonment in a concentration camp is the severest punishment which can be applied under Soviet laws for the gravest offences. The only thing known to the law that is worse is the death penalty, which is so widely used in USSR. The term of imprisonment in such a camp is by law not less than three years and cannot be more than ten. In reality it is often indefinitely increased. Where it is substituted for the death penalty, ten years is the term fixed. The only persons for whom it is less than three years are minors, who are sent for two years.

Concentration camps take the place of what was in Imperial Russia called *Katorga* or convict labour. One must not think that from the change in title the conditions of the prisons are any easier. The Soviet Government does not in general like rough names. For instance, the death penalty is now called "the highest measure of social defence," a prison is called "a house of confinement," punishment cells in the prisons and camps are called "separate rooms" and so on. Of course all of this does not change the reality.

One characteristic of the concentration camps is that they are

under the jurisdiction of Ogpu—the State Political Administration, an institution which is completely independent and uncontrolled. In consequence the concentration camp, like other undertakings of Ogpu, is not responsible to the Commissariat of Justice, the Commissariat of Home Affairs, or even the Workers and Peasants Inspection, that is, the State Control. The prisoners in the camps are usually sent there without trial and simply by decisions of Ogpu.

What is the number of prisoners in such camps in USSR, cannot easily be determined, as the government is very careful to conceal this. It is all the harder to judge because the number of prisoners in individual camps is subject to sharp alterations, as they are sometimes thrown across by tens of thousands from one camp to another, according to the work to be done and alterations in the arrangement of the camps. Some idea of the number can be drawn from the following figures: in the White Sea-Baltic camp, during the construction of the canal between these two seas, there were in 1932 at work no less than 250,000 prisoners. In August of 1933 out of this number, by a decree of the government published in *Izvestia*, 70,000 were partially amnestied, as having shown the greatest zeal in their work. One asks what might be the number of the remainder. In the camp of Solovetsk in the summer of 1931 there were fourteen sections and in each section there were usually 20,000 prisoners, which means that at that time in the Solovetsk camp there were about 280,000. If one assumes that on an average in each camp there were 100,000, the total for USSR will be 1,300,000, which is undoubtedly much less than the actual figure. According to the latest reports, which I have from a prisoner who only just escaped from a camp in 1932, two new camps have been created, the Baikal-Amur with 450,000 prisoners and the Dmitrov near Moscow, with 250,000. It must be borne in mind that I am speaking only of the prisoners in camps; the number of administrative exiles in remote parts is undoubtedly many times greater.

The great mass of prisoners are exiled under Article 58 of the Criminal Code, namely, for what is called "Counter-Revolution," a conception which is interpreted extremely widely in USSR. The enormous majority of those deported under this article do not even know what they are accused of, many do not even know either their sentence or the term of their exile. The greater number of these prisoners are peasants deported in connection with the forcible collectivisation of the country districts. Besides these there are many educated persons—scholars, specialists or engineers. This category are mostly deported in connection with failures of the five

year plan. Under this head also fall deported workmen, whose number has more recently increased noticeably. Many in the camps are former officers and priests; the latter are deported only because this is the most convenient way of exterminating them.

There is a special group of former traders and in general persons who are suspected by Ogpu of possessing real non-soviet money or valuables. From these persons Ogpu demanded only one thing—the payment of a fixed sum in money or valuables as a voluntary contribution to the five year plan. Those who could not pay the sum appointed, Ogpu, after long imprisonment and severe treatment, sent to the concentration camp. They are charged under Article 59, section 12, with “malicious speculation in currency” and they are exiled for no less than five years.

Criminals, that is prisoners who have committed a real crime, are no more than 10 per cent. in the camp; among them are professional robbers, confirmed thieves and also embezzlers and swindlers. These are usually exiled by sentence of a court.

All actual criminals are in a privileged position and, as opposed to the “Counter-Revolutionaries,” are called the “socially near.” They play a very important part in the camp, as we shall see.

#### *The Concentration Camp of Solovetsk.*

In USSR this camp is called for short “USLON,” the first Russian letters of the full term “Administration of Solovetsk Camps of Special Destination,” or else only “SLON” (the Russian for elephant), for which reason an elephant is used as the trade-mark of goods produced there by forced labour. The words “special destination” used in connection with the Solovetsk camp meant simply the destruction of those who were sent there. The officials of the camp made no secret of this with the prisoners and told them so the first day after their arrival, but even without any telling all would have become quickly convinced of this.

In May, 1930, Ogpu decided to change the regime in the camps, as their reputation for cruelty had passed over the frontier; at that time the name was also changed, and instead of the words “special destination” was substituted “camps of labour and correction.”

I came after the first period; but I have to speak of it, as the second period bore very plain traces of it.

#### *Conditions of Life in Solovetsk to May, 1930.*

I was brought to the camp on the 2nd May, 1931, that is a year after its reform. Most of the prisoners, however, were persons who

had experienced the regime of "special destination," and their simple and terrible narratives confirmed the dreadful picture of the recent past. Apart from that, the camp officials and especially the warders had not yet had time to change their character. Their remarks and shouts and even the very language that they used, with special words, were a lively evidence of the period of extermination of prisoners. News of that time very rarely reached the press. The most detailed account of it is given in the notes of an OGPU official, Kisilev, who escaped abroad and published them under the title of *The Camps of Death*. According to him the number of prisoners at that time amounted to 660,000. The administration was at first established on the island of Solovetsk and then in the town of Kem. The prisoners were dispersed over the Solovetsk islands and those of the Gulf of Onega in the White Sea (the Kond Island, the Popov Island, the Little Island and others), and also on the main land in deserted parts of Karelia in the north as far as the coast of the Arctic Ocean. These settlements or detachments of the Solovetsk camp were scattered from north to south, roughly from a latitude of 63° to 69° N.

In the camp at this period two objects were pursued :—to extract income, specially in foreign currency, and to do away with the prisoners.

The chief work was the preparation of timber for export and the laying of chaussées through Carelia, from the White Sea to the Finnish frontiers. These roads—the Kem-Ukhta and the Loukhi-Kesteng tracks, passing through quite unpopulated districts, have a strategic significance and are directed against Finland. In the neighbourhood of these roads, the trees were cleared away and enormous areas were drained. Apparently places d'armes and aerodromes were being got ready in case of war with Finland. These works were carried out in quite intolerable conditions. Clothing and footwear were not served out to the prisoners. Their quarters were unimaginably close and dirty and were not heated. Often for those who were working in the forest no quarters were provided and they camped in huts made of branches. The food was disgusting and quite insufficient. The work was assigned on such a basis that only the strongest and most experienced would be able to complete it, and that only with the greatest exertions and in not less than fourteen to sixteen hours. On such a reckoning every prisoner was given a daily "task"; whoever did not complete it had no right to return to the barracks for the night and got no food. Frozen and hungry, he could not perform his task next day. Then punitive

measures were taken, as if he were slacking maliciously. In the winter they "put him out in the cold," that is, stripped him naked and put him on the stump of a tree. As in this latitude the winter temperature is seldom higher than 10° C., the stripped man soon loses consciousness and dies: or else his arms and legs are frozen, after which he dies of gangrene. In the summer they "put him to the mosquitoes," that is, they stripped him naked and tied him to a tree. In the northern forests there is such a mass of mosquitoes that they bite to death even beasts covered with as thick a skin as cattle; of course a man could not endure this and died. Besides this, they beat them terribly at their work, and many were put in the punishment cell where they died of cold and starvation. Thus the OGPU quickly got rid of prisoners who could not stand the heavy work. Even the best workers were not free from blows and insults. As a rule, all were beaten, even without any reason. They were beaten for the slightest protest, for any grievance; in a word, everyone was beaten who did not satisfy their warders or whose clothes were wanted by them. There was a special way of doing this:—the warder would order the prisoner to bring him something out of the wood and as soon as he was fifty yards away, would shoot him in the back. Then a document would be drawn up saying that the prisoner was shot "in an attempt to escape." The prisoner could not disobey and refuse to go into the forest, as then they would kill him for disobedience.

Prisoners often ended their lives with suicide. Self-mutilation was equally widely practised. The prisoner, knowing that the task was beyond his strength and that it was equivalent to torture and death from blows and punishment, resolved to sham an accident and with his axe cut off his fingers or his hand at the wrist. For such people there was a special name, "self-cutters." They were treated with particular cruelty: after a terrible beating, they were compelled to stand in front of the line of prisoners on parade and to hold in the remaining hand the fingers they had cut off and to cry out: "I am a shirker." The language of Solovetsk has a special term for this, *filon*. If the "self-cutter" did not die from the blows or the loss of blood or gangrene, he was sent to an "invalid gang," that is to one of the special posts in the camp where were gathered together the lame, tuberculous, scurvied, impotent and aged. All these were sent "to the bend" (*na zagib*), meaning to death, which was bound to follow on such conditions of existence, instead of any officially pronounced sentence of shooting. The chief invalid gang was on a beautiful island on the Gulf of Onega, the Kond Island. In the

fifteenth century this island was settled by monks who set up buildings there, cleared the forest and farmed there till OGPU drove them out and turned their island into a place of tortures and death. Thither in autumn they took as many as 5,000 crippled prisoners; and in spring, when the navigation opened, the chief of this gang reported their end to the Head of the camps.

The position of young women was everywhere miserable: OGPU men of all ranks compelled them to live with them. Those that resisted were set to specially heavy work and subjected to terrible humiliation, insults and blows. Those that surrendered went from hand to hand and generally fell sick of venereal diseases, which are wide-spread among the OGPU staff.

Besides this, the destruction of the prisoners was not a little assisted by spotted typhus of which there were continual epidemics, as all the prisoners were covered with fleas. The sick were taken to one of the islands, where they died without any attention.

In spite of this terrible regime it was extremely rare that the prisoners protested, as everyone there well knew that the result would be wholesale slaughter, whatever the form of protest. Thus ended the strike of the Georgians at Solovetsk in 1928 and other similar demonstrations.

Escapes were also rare and in most cases unsuccessful, as the absence of any supplies of food, the bad clothing and the enormous distance to the frontier made them almost impossible. Of course, all who were caught trying to escape, after terrible blows and tortures were shot. For the "Kaery" (Counter-Revolutionaries) this is in full force to the present day.

All the cruelties mentioned above are inflicted on the prisoners by the overseers and warders consisting of criminal prisoners, under the general inspection of the Chekists. Shooting, then and now, is carried out only by the higher officials of OGPU, among whom there are many who like this work. These prisoners, therefore, are faced with this dilemma: either to be flogged or to flog others and at this price buy themselves a better lot. To join the warders gives a man a life with plenty to eat and drink, but to keep one's post one had to show one's zeal and ardour.

There is no doubt that this period of the Solovetsk camp will be described in detail if, by the time when it is possible to speak and write in Russia, someone is left who has passed through these horrors. At present anyone will be afraid to breathe a word about it.



*A New Policy.*

The second period began about May, 1930. By an order of OGPU from Moscow the policy in the concentration camp was radically changed. A commission was sent out to investigate the camp regime, which, of course, was very well known before. The commission announced that this regime had been established "without orders." About fifty overseers or warders taken from among the criminal prisoners who had made a particular reputation for cruelty were shot and some of the staff received appointments elsewhere.

The question of what led to the change of regime and how permanent the change, was of lively interest to the prisoners. The general reason, it seemed, was the enormous influx of prisoners in 1930, as a result of the execution of compulsory collectivisation and failures which had appeared in the five year plan. Instead of tens of thousands there were now sent hundreds of thousands. If tens of thousands could be kept on some island of the White Sea and in the depths of the Carelian forests, this proved impossible for hundreds of thousands. The work of OGPU in the camps was inevitably bound to become well known, and in consequence care had to be taken to preserve at least some little decency in appearances, especially because undesirable reports had already penetrated abroad in 1929 and 1930. Much harm had been done by accounts which appeared in the foreign press and especially the evidence given on oath by the student Malyshev, who had escaped from the Solovetsk camp. The campaign which broke out against forced labour in the timber trade, which was the principal work of the camp, deprived OGPU of its chief advantage, currency.

To counter these "campaigns of the capitalists," the Soviet Counter-Agitation produced a crudely falsified film called "Solovki," and also some clamorous articles in the Soviet newspapers and periodicals; but the interest shown abroad in the camps was too strong and too continuous, and the policy of extermination of prisoners was impossible.

Apart from this, the policy of extermination was commercially disadvantageous to OGPU. With the colossal growth in the number of prisoners there were opened wide perspectives of utilising them. With the reform of 1930, the concentration camps, whether at Solovetsk or elsewhere, were turned into parts of a most colossal enterprise or slave labour run by OGPU. They were ordered externally to take the aspect of corrective institutions. The introduction was prescribed of special newspapers, broadcast, and library organisation.

Under the cover of this motto Ogpu reorganised its "business side" on a colossal scale, drawing vast profits from the camps as commercial enterprises. It will be enough to acquaint oneself with the present structure of the camp to convince oneself of its real objects.

In structure and functions the camp exactly corresponds to the Soviet state commercial enterprises. To start with, it is divided into "sections" aiming at profit by production and trade. The administration of a "section" consists of the following "parts": producing, planning, trading and accountancy. At the head of each "section" is a director with two assistants. All this is an exact copy of any Soviet productive enterprise. The work of production is different in various sections and camps, but their commercial character is identical.

When I was imprisoned in the Solovetsk camp, I was sent to work in the second section, that is, fisheries. It was concerned with the catching, curing and selling of fish. It had a number of industrial establishments scattered over the coast of the White Sea from the village of Kandalaksha in the north to that of Nyukhcha in the south at the top of the Gulf of Onega. Besides that, it had works and establishments on the Murmansk coast of the Arctic Ocean. There were also some subsidiary establishments such as preserve-making, net-making, and ship-building workshops. Other sections of the camp had in their hands sawing mills, farms, brick works, and clothes, boots and even toy factories.

In all, the Solovetsk camp contained in 1931 fourteen sections. In 1932 from its enormously increased organisation were separated two independent camps, the White Sea and Baltic and the Svirsk. For the time there remained in the camp only three sections, and it had to be reorganised as new parties of prisoners reached it.

At the head of each camp there is an "administration" to which all sections are subject. All the camps are governed from Moscow by a "special administration" which is a part of Ogpu. In this central administration there are persons who are called "determinators" (*detsernenty*) and are entrusted with the inspection over production in each branch of industry in all the camps: fish, timber, road-making, farming, etc. This higher "superstructure" exists to "co-ordinate" the work of all the camps with the general plan of industry in USSR, as the tasks of production of Ogpu have played a very important part in the Five Year Plan.

This enormous parallel industrial organisation of Ogpu conducts its affairs independently of the commissariats and comes out openly

on its own market with its goods. On the foreign markets Ogpu acts through intermediaries, thus masking its face. Thus the second section of the Solovetsk camp (the fisheries) exported salmon, salted and frozen, to England, selling it through the organ of Gostorg (State Trading). Timber was exported through "Severoles" (Northern Timber) Carelles (Carelian Timber) and other organisations.

Together with this, the productive functions of the concentration camps have their own characteristic peculiarities, caused by the fact that all the work is involuntary labour of prisoners and that the Government of USSR is compelled to conceal its forced character. In the first place, there is everywhere a band of "Armed Warders" (shortened to VOKHR). It is organised on the model of military units, does sentry duty, convoys the prisoners and pursues them if they escape. Its members are armed with revolvers and rifles of a military pattern; the sections have detective dogs for the pursuit of prisoners. Special detachments of warders are sometimes placed far away from the camps; they guard the roads by which escape can be made, are on watch at all railway stations near the camps, go through the trains and verify the documents of all the passengers.

The second peculiarity consists of an information and inquiry section, called ISO. This section is, so to speak, an Ogpu inside Ogpu. It is in fact independent of the Administration of the camps. Its duties consist in the secret watch on the prisoners and free hired workers of Ogpu, in conducting trials within the camps, carrying out investigations connected with them and on cases of escape. This section has at its disposition numerous "isolaters"—prisons inside the camps. It organised an enormous network of spies and provocators, the so-called "knockers," who are recruited from the criminal prisoners. This all-enveloping spider's web of detection and provocation keeps the prisoners in constant fear and mistrust of each other.

The third special organisation in the Camps is the "Cultural Education section" called the KVO. This has two tasks. One is to help the ISO in secret detective work. The ISO and the cultural section work hand in hand, often exchanging their agents, and a man who is today an educator may tomorrow be turned into a detective. The second task of KVO is decorative and for advertisement. They have to "re-educate" or, as the pompous language of Ogpu calls it, reforge hardened criminals into Soviet-minded citizens, enthusiasts of the Soviet construction, communism and the Five Year Plan. The sums spent on this are very small. In the concentration camp for tens of thousands of prisoners is published a sheet newspaper

which comes out once or twice a week with sickly articles praising the camp authorities, the camp life, and not despising accusations against prisoners, particularly the "Spetses" (specialists). This little paper is circulated for a price among the prisoners compulsorily. Besides this, the "educators" compel the prisoners to write so-called "wall newspapers"—a big sheet of paper on which articles of a similar character are written by hand. This "wall newspaper" comes out in the central posts five or six times a year, in the distant outposts once or twice. The "educators" also compel prisoners to subscribe to loans and to give their last money, earned by inhuman work, drive them to meetings and clubs where one of the "educators" delivers a speech on some subject prescribed in connection with some particular occasion, for instance, a speech on "French Imperialism" or on "The Coming Movement in China," and so on, or finally "The Success of the Five Year Plan."

When prisoners escape, the "educators" take part in the pursuit, and if the man is caught receive ten roubles a head.

The personnel of the whole administration except for the higher posts of command consists of criminal prisoners. Thus it is prisoners who govern, guard against each others' escapes, catch, spy, conduct investigations, send to the "isolaters" or to be shot and in general "re-educate" and "reforge" their fellows.

At first sight this seems improbable; but we must remember that the mass of prisoners who enter the camp are not all of one kind. At each *étape*, at once on arrival, they are sorted, and those that have served before in OGPU and those condemned for really terrible crimes, go to form the staff of ISO and KVO. From peculating officers of the Red Army are formed the higher ranks of the warders, and of murderers and thieves the lower—the privates of the guard. It is a rule that these are furnished only by prisoners deported for criminal offences.

All the rest, the "Kaery" (Counter-Revolutionaries), represent the working force of the camps. Out of their number are taken the most skilled specialists and engineers. They are sent to "sections" to fill corresponding posts; the workmen are also sorted out according to their specialities. The peasants are left with the hardest physical work and are put in the worst conditions.

The unpaid labour of the whole staff of the camp, beginning with highly skilled engineers and ending with the last casual labourer, the quite unlimited supply of this unpaid labour working force in any speciality, and the complete disregard of all the laws on labour, make it possible for OGPU to possess an enormous advantage in its

enterprises. Instead of a 7-8 hours working day, the work in the camp goes on for 16 hours; instead of the five days of the socialist week there is in the camp a ten-day week. This army of millions of workers has no insurance. They do not receive, not only any working clothes, but hardly any clothes at all, and these are handed on from one prisoner to another two or three times. No measures whatever are taken for the safety of the workers, although they are engaged in the most dangerous work. The heaviest work is manual; spade, pick, axe, saw are the only tools used for the enormous works carried out by forced labour. For gratis labour it is not worth while to spend any money on machinery.

As a result, while nearly all Soviet enterprises are working at a loss and in any case are not allowed to have a profit of more than 8 per cent. to 10 per cent., those of Ogpu—the concentration camps—give a 100 per cent. profit on the official plans, but, as a matter of fact, even 200 per cent. to 300 per cent. This enormous profit is conditioned, apart from all that has been said, by the speculative character of the operations of Ogpu. For instance, there is an acute shortage in USSR of all necessities and especially of food, which can be sold on the markets at any price, but the ordinary Soviet enterprises are strictly limited in this respect by the fixed prices controlled by the government. Ogpu, using its independent position, trades without regard for the fixed prices and openly engages in speculation, buying goods from other organisations at fixed prices and then at once selling them at free prices. Thus, for instance, the Second Section of the Solovetsk camp bought fresh frozen herrings from the Kolkhoz fishermen at 10 kopeks a kilogram and at once sold them off to another organisation of the camp, “Dynamo,” at 1 rouble a kilogram; besides, the seller brought the fish on his own horse and the buyer came to the office of the Rybprom (fish industry) on his, so that Ogpu had no expense of transport; the whole point was that the Kolkhozy were forbidden to sell their fish to any one whatever except Rybprom. The purchaser, “Dynamo,” did not keep the fish but sent it off just two streets away and sold it to a State hotel and restaurant in the town of Kem for 3 roubles a kilogram, and there it was supplied to customers at 1 rouble a portion. As there are about fifty to sixty portions in a kilogram of White Sea herring, the price of the fish, beginning at 10 kopeks and passing through the trade channels of Ogpu, increased in a few hours to 500-600 times as much.

All Soviet enterprises suffer cruelly from the enormous proportion of “scrap” in their output. The enterprises of Ogpu are

insured against this as they have the best specialists at their disposal, and in case the goods are spoiled they are at once relegated to the stores of Ogpu, where hungry prisoners who cannot buy anywhere else pay in full without a murmur for bad herring or spoilt preserves.

The last, but by no means, unimportant peculiarity of the commercial enterprises of Ogpu, is the extremely high development of bribery. Of course it is difficult for the prisoners to judge of the extent to which big bribes are given, but without small bribes given openly and without any compunction not a single bargain can be made nor a single report or plan submitted nor a single visit of the authorities take place. Bribes are taken, beginning with the head authorities in Moscow, and ending with the last member of the guard. Money in USSR has only a trifling and quite conditional significance; no one can be won by it. So bribes are given only in kind; the quality and quantity correspond to the rank of the person concerned. The Second Section, the fishing industry, of course gives bribes in fish. To the head authorities in Moscow was sent as a present the best salmon, a special sort of the famous Solovetsk herring, etc. Presents of the same kind were sent to the head of the Solovetsk camps. The officials of lesser rank were given a less superior kind of salmon, a box or two of smoked herring, and the lowest received two to three tins of preserves. The Agricultural Section sent to Moscow ham, butter and the better kinds of vegetables. Those on the spot were given cream. To the ladies of important high officials flowers were sent. The boot factories made excellent boots for the authorities; the tailoring shops made clothing. Sometimes all this was given as a present, sometimes it was sent as "goods," but at a ridiculously trifling price.

Thus at the present time the "labour and education" camps of Ogpu are an enormous commercial enterprise, distinguished from the ordinary Soviet ones above all by having unpaid labour to an unlimited extent. From the administrative point of view the enterprises of Ogpu are demoralised by the complete absence of control. This leads to a development of what is called in the camps "blat," in Soviet jargon "comradeship," that is favouritism which is the source of bribery. From the point of view of everyday life, one source of corruption in the camps is that all the chief posts of direction are held by persons under punishment or simply by criminals for whom work in the camps is a chastisement for grave crimes such as thefts from the treasury, scandalous misuse of powers, exceptional arbitrariness and so on.

There is no doubt that these persons are but little suited for the

task of creating "labour and correction" establishments and also for that of educators of those who, as OGPU well knows, are not criminals but persons who have led lives of honest work. The educational label was given to the camps with the sole object of closing the mouths of those who talked of slave labour in USSR and of dumping as founded on it; and before western Europe and America is dangled the charming picture of a socialist idyll of convict life.

*The Journey to the Camp.*

Prisoners are taken to the concentration camps from all the USSR prisons, which are scattered over the vast territory of former Russia. They are conveyed in goods trucks or special police vans with bars inside and bars on the windows and doors. The trucks are meant to contain twenty-eight persons, but actually as many as sixty of the convicts are shut up in them. They are packed so tight that they are never able to lie down at all, but have to crouch down. It is equally impossible to stand up and walk about in the truck. An armed guard of special OGPU troops accompanies them. The special trains provided are very slow. The *étape* on which I was conducted from Peterburg to Kem, a distance of about 500 miles, took nearly six whole days, and it may be noted that the great majority of the prisoners have to travel over a far longer stretch than I had. Convicts appeared at the Solovetsk camp who had come even from the Far East, a distance of as much as 6,000 miles away—which had taken 6 to 7 months. The death rate is enormously high in the case of such long expeditions.

We were not fed at all during the six days of the journey. On our departure we each had a dry ration given us with a piece of black bread, weighing about a couple of pounds (one kilogram) and two salted herrings. But the chief hardship of the journey was neither the crowding nor hunger, but the intolerable thirst we suffered from, which was still further accentuated by the dreadful stuffiness in the trucks. We were given hardly anything to drink during the whole of the journey. One reason for this may be that prisoners' trains do not stop at any stations (for fear of their being seen by any foreigners) but are shunted on to sidings where there is no water. During the whole of our six days we were given water only three times; immediately after leaving Petersburg and twice on the journey. It was brought to us in pails. Those who had mugs got rather more than those who had not—the latter received theirs in the hollow of their hands, only two or three mouthfuls in fact.

There were not many who had mugs, because private vessels of all kinds were forbidden in the prisons.

*The Sorting Station.*

Prisoners are brought to one of the camp "sorting stations," of which there are no less than ten at Solovetsk. The main one is on Popov Island and has long had widespread and unenviable notoriety; for thousands of prisoners have there ended their life of travail and suffering.

Popov Island lies seven and a half miles to the east of Kem and to it a branch railway has been constructed. It is separated from the mainland only by a small and narrow strait which at low water is transformed into a marsh. The island has a soil of peaty marsh overgrown with the remnants of a stunted, twisted undergrowth, with patches of ice-smoothed granite blocks. There is a timber factory and a landing place for the foreign ships which take on board the wood sawn by the prisoners. About two miles away from the landing place, to right and left of it, are the two sorting headquarters of the camp. Between them they can hold some fifteen to twenty thousand convicts, who are kept there from a fortnight to two months. The yearly total, therefore, which this island alone is capable of absorbing comes to 200,000. This figure gives a measure of the work in the Solovetsk camp. After being classified at the sorting station the prisoners are despatched to various points all over the camp. The distributing headquarters are guarded with the greatest care. They are surrounded by a solid wire fence, with high watch towers all round. There is only one gate, which is guarded by a number of sentries. The *étape* to which I belonged consisted of 500 prisoners, but there are others which are much larger.

We reached the distributing centre towards dusk. Although we were exhausted by the journey and tortured by hunger and thirst, we were kept the whole night through in military formation. Our numbers were checked, the roll was called, our documents were examined, and after all this we were searched and sorted out. We could hardly stand, and yet we were given neither food or drink. The first to be sorted out were those who had previously worked in the Cheka or the OGPU, and had been exiled for bribery, murder, unauthorised shooting of prisoners and other serious crimes. They were immediately given a privileged position; separate quarters were provided for them and they were fed much better than the rest. To them were allotted the administrative posts of the camp, especially those in the "Information and Inquiry" and the "Culture



and Education " departments. Ex-Red Army soldiers, who had also been convicted for criminal offences, strode on to parade next morning in their military uniform, carrying rifles in their hands and were appointed to be our " guard."

This sorting was over by about 4 a.m. and then we were marched off to the " quarantine company " Although this is within the bounds of the camp and is surrounded by barbed wire, it has round it an extra wire fence. The building which houses the quarantine section is a long wooden hut-like structure with small windows, most of which have been broken and the gaps covered over with filthy rags. The interior is divided off by two wooden partitions into four rooms called " platoons," a term in keeping with the military organisation of the camp and the division of the prisoners into " companies." The chinks in the partitions were, in places, large enough for a hand to be inserted. The chinks in the outer walls of the hut were smaller, but it was possible to look out through them, and when a blizzard raged the snow piled up on the plank beds we slept on. A platoon room was rather more than thirty yards long by five wide, and so resembled a long corridor. A double row of plank beds was laid along both sides of this corridor, and on them the prisoners sleep huddled together. Each sleeper is entitled to a width of just over eighteen inches—a space which he had to make do for all his possessions as well as his own body. He has also to consume on his plank bed the miserable food doled out, for the building contains nothing else but these bunks. The floor is put together with thin laths which bend beneath the foot, and both the walls and the roof (there is no ceiling) are covered with a layer of dirt and smoke. The hut is heated—but only when the cold is intense—by a miserable little sheet-iron stove, which has a round iron pipe roughly let into an opening cut through on to the roof.

As 250 prisoners go to a " platoon," the whole hut contains 1,000 men. The quarantine hut, like all the others, is bug-infested, and life in it is a terrible trial to the prisoners. It is impossible to keep the bugs down, because the walls are of planks or of wood, and the bunks, being rough hewn, encourage the vermin to breed in the chinks and holes in their thousands. A convict has no means whatever for getting hold of them. As neither bedding nor mattresses is ever provided in the camp, he has to sleep on the bare boards and use his clothes for his pillow and covering.

Every morning and evening, and sometimes during the day also, the prisoners are lined up and checked over. Before the roll is called, they have to stand in rows like soldiers for one or two hours

on end, and when hailed by the officer in charge of the roll with "hey, you lousy fellow" or "hall there, you riffraff" they are obliged to answer in proper military fashion.

When I was in the quarantine company, our chief was an ill-educated fellow who had been a burglar in civil life. He was our "education instructor." The "education" consisted in haranguing us two or three times daily, before the roll was called. It was impossible to understand what he said, and he himself did not know the meaning of many of the words he used, but to make up for any deficiencies he larded his speechifying with numerous indecencies. The usual gist of what he said was to the effect that we were "a lazy, lousy crew" whom he, our chief and instructor, would teach to lead a hardworking and honourable life, and make us "literate and politically educated." He explained to us that until 1930 the camps had been meant to exterminate the prisoners but that now they were "re-educating" us.

If we could have been outside the camp, the whole thing might have appeared laughable: a semi-literate burglar as the teacher and educator of professors and scholars whose names were known throughout the length and breadth of Russia, of engineers and other professional men, and of peasants whose whole life had been spent in honest toil. But it was no laughing matter for us, who realised only too well that we were delivered up body and soul to the clutches of him and his like.

We had to listen to our educator's speech before we were given—next day!—our food ration. This was brought to us in dirty wooden tubs which were dumped down on the floor. According to "regulations" we were supplied in the morning with thin, very thin, "gruel" and boiling water. At midday we had our dinner, which was soup, or rather water in which a bit of dried fish or else salt horse or camel flesh had been boiled. But even this wretched mess of often rotten meat and fish did not always reach our mouths because it was eaten up by the lesser officials and the guard, while we had to put up with water which had fermented cabbage leaves of the previous year swimming about in it. At four o'clock a second helping of boiling water was given out. In addition, those in the quarantine company were supposed to receive one pound (400 grams) of bread, but in fact only three-quarters of a pound (300 grams) was issued.

Both food and water were issued in very limited quantities—about a glassful of each. No vessels for food were given us, and, literally dying of thirst, as we were, after days of torture in the camp without

food and drink, we now had nothing to eat the stuff out of. Fortunate were those who succeeded in picking preserve tins from the refuse dumps. The others got their skilly in the hem of their shirts and presented their clasped palms for their hot water.

When it is remembered that the convicts who came to the distributing centre were exhausted by prison life and the fatigues of their long trek, it is not to be wondered at that the starvation regime on Popov Island made the death rate enormous. The hospitals were always crowded out. It is true that we were no longer killed off by floggings nor by being shot down, as our predecessors of 1930 had been, but hunger, cold, dirt and vermin did their work as effectively as ever.

The "quarantine" itself consisted in our being strictly isolated and marched off on the first day to the "baths." The water there was absolutely cold except for two small tubs of tepid water which each of us was given. We were obliged to undress in the cold passages, and then our head-hair was cut with No. 0 clippers and our body-hair shaved with blunt razors. After this operation, which was carried out by criminal prisoners, our bodies became covered with scabs and cuts, and many of us suffered from skin rash. We lost all resemblance to human beings. After the "disinfection" our clothes were returned to us, but what had been fur and leather before was now rags and tatters. It is not hard to imagine the scarecrows we were turned into.

After leaving the quarantine, we presented ourselves for medical examination, which was carried out by those of us who were doctors, and always under the strict supervision of Ogpu soldiers. The doctors were previously instructed what percentage of prisoners they might return as unsuitable for physical labour and what percentage as totally unfit. As they were themselves prisoners, they did not dare to break the Ogpu orders and were often obliged to return as "fit" persons who were thoroughly ill. During my time there were three health categories: (I) those fit for hard physical labour; (II) those fit for light physical labour; and (III) those unfit for physical labour. The last group included doddering old men and persons who were seriously ill, hardly able to put one foot before another. These were set to work in the offices or given jobs as night watchmen. To this class belonged those who could not walk without assistance or who were bedridden to the end of their days. I. G. Formanov, for example, who was seventy years old and had been a professor of the Agricultural Institute at Moscow was put into the third class. He had been condemned to ten years exile

for the affair of the 48 and was brought to the camp on a stretcher after his legs had become paralysed in prison.

But these categories were not adhered to firmly. Thus, when the Ogpu needed extra workers, as it did in 1931 for the digging of the White Sea-Baltic canal, the convicts of the second and third group were re-examined, and all those who had arms and legs at all were transferred to the first group, i.e. were entered as fit for hard physical labour.

After the quarantine period and the medical examination the prisoners are assigned to their different tasks and distributed among the various branches of the camp. The first of all to go are, if navigation conditions allow of it, the "non-permits," who are sent off to the Solovetsk Islands. "Non-permits" is the name given to those convicts whose lot is made specially strict and hard for them in the concentration camp or are suspected by Ogpu of a desire to escape abroad. Others are sent off as requirements from the branches necessitate. To specialists with high qualifications are assigned individual tasks. The rest are called up for their jobs quite simply—"a hundred joiners wanted," "a hundred navvies," etc.

#### *Kem.*

A special application for my services was made in June, 1931, by the Fish Industry department of the camp. Until then I had been employed in loading balans (a special kind of beams), in spite of my having been put into the second category. I was sent to Kem, which is the centre of the Solovetsk camp. It is a tiny provincial town or, more properly, a seaside village.

As a specialist I was put into the "cleanest" company where only responsible workers were, but except for the type of prisoner it was in no way different from the others, nor was our system of life any different.

Réveillé was at 7 a.m.; the squad overseer passed down the corridor shouting: "Get-up." The prisoners rise and run off to wash. The wash basin and the latrine are in the same place, and while ten men are satisfying the needs of nature (each with his queue round him) five others, with their queues too, are washing. One thousand men have to wash in half an hour. The dirt and stink of the place is beyond imagination. The floor is so disgusting that one shudders to walk on it. Neither soap nor towels are provided. Just a splash of water over our hands and face and we all run off across the yard to queue up at the kitchen window for

our "gruel." No one cares whether it rains or snows—we stand in the open for our food. On getting the ladle-full of millet boiled in water, most of the prisoners gulp their portion down where they stand, without bothering to go back to their bunks in the hut. After that they have to get the documents authorising them to go "outside the wire" and start work in the town. The "work-book" has to be obtained from the official on duty, and in it must be entered the hour and minute of reporting for work. After that, the convict must go into the office and ask for his pass to go "outside the wire." Once he has his pass he must hurry up and "line up," hand the pass over for the sentry to check as he passes through the camp gates, and then go under convoy into the town. He is now one of a gang that is marched along the streets, which are plastered with thick, clinging dirt. In the town all the prisoners are gradually distributed among the various institutions, where their names are entered in a book as they turn up for work.

The day's job goes on without interruption and without food until 5 o'clock; and then, if the work is not specially urgent, the convicts hang around in gangs until the convoy forms them into a general column and leads them back "behind the wire." Only after they have been checked up and their documents handed in are they free to go for their dinner. This is often so repellent as to be uneatable even by a hungry prisoner, and he goes off to his hut to consume there the remains of his daily ration of bread, if he has not already eaten it the same morning. Those engaged on production work are given just over a pound (500 grams) of bread a day, and those on hard physical labour nearly two pounds (800 grams).

At 7 p.m. documents have to be obtained again and the prisoners again go under convoy to their work, which continues till eleven. Not till midnight do they get back to the hut for their "supper"—a ladle of boiled millet and hot water—and so to bed, which means lying on his eighteen-inch bare-board bunk. Even if sleep can be obtained in the dreadful fug and stink, where the prisoners are packed so tight that they are obliged to lie on their sides and, as soon as they are on the planks, are covered all over with bugs, their "rest" period comes only to a total of six hours, out of the twenty-four; all the rest of the time they are on their feet—working or marching to the town or standing in queues. In addition, all are checked over every night. This wakes the convict up; the overseers are never quick about getting the counting done and are always afraid someone may have escaped.

All this does not of course kill the prisoners off, but it is easy to imagine how such a regime wears them down. Those who do not receive food-parcels from their homes infallibly fall ill of scurvy, or break out in boils, and many others contract consumption and heart disease.

*The means used to make the prisoners work.*

Since the spring of 1930 prisoners are no longer beaten or tortured or killed for not carrying out their allotted tasks. But OGPU realises thoroughly well that forced labour does not yield good results and that special measures are necessary to induce a prisoner to put all his energies into his work. The means are of two kinds: compulsory and encouraging. The reduction of the bread ration from 800 to 300 grams—an amount insufficient to sustain life for prisoners on heavy physical work—belongs to the former category. Systematic refusal to work is punished by detention in a cell for periods up to thirty days, the prisoner being led out daily to his work. He may also be given solitary confinement and a charge of “incorrigibility” may be brought against him. “Incorrigibles” are shot, not out of hand as they used to be in 1930, but only after sentence has been passed by the court of the Information and Inquiry Department.

The main threat used against the specialist is that of being transferred to do “general labour” as a navvy, and, in addition, being formally charged with “wrecking” or “sabotage,” a crime which entails either an increase in the period of confinement of as much as three, four or five years, or, usually, death by shooting.

The measures of encouragement are as follows. Convicts who carry out their tasks are paid by OGPU at special rates. The reward they receive is officially called “prize” money, but the prisoners call it “press” money. Labourers may get 3-4 roubles a month and specialists with high qualifications 25-30. The sum received may be spent once a month in the camp store on such “prize” products as two or three packets of shag (each packet containing nearly 2 oz., 50 grams), 7 oz. (200 grams) of melted lard and the same amount of dirty treacle sweets.

There are other kinds of allurements which are far more effective and make the prisoner work and strain his strength to the utmost. The first of these is permission for an interview. If a prisoner carries out his work unexceptionably for six months he may, at the discretion of the authorities, be allowed to see some close relative, usually one only. The interview may take place “in public conditions,” that is, in the camp headquarters, and last for two hours on

each of one to five days. In the case of a "personal" interview, which is the reward for specially exemplary and good work, a prisoner is set free to see his family in the "free quarters" which are rented for the purpose of interviews from the local inhabitants and are, naturally, under the supervision of the guard. On these occasions all documents are taken away from the prisoner's family, and it is not uncommon for all the members of the family to be subjected to a night search. The prisoner is not exempted from his daily work, but he is at least free to live with his own folk from midnight to 7 a.m. The dream of a meeting like this, which may be granted for a period of one to seven days and in exceptional cases for ten or even fourteen, keeps him alive for a whole year, and on the memory of it he lives till the next meeting. No imagination is needed to realise how hard a man tries and works when he knows there is a chance of living together with his nearest and dearest, even if it is only for a few days.

Another and no less powerful means is the promise of a reduction of the sentence. Every prisoner, however hopeless his position, lives on the dream of being one day free, and Ogpu counts on this to extract from him the last ounce of his strength. In August, 1931, an Ogpu order "on the reckoning of the days of labour" was solemnly read out in all the camps. For those prisoners who had performed their duties in an exemplary manner three months were to be reckoned as four; in other words a sentence of four years could be converted into one of three. Prisoners who "voluntarily" agreed to work beyond the appointed periods, declaring themselves "shock workers" and enrolling in the special brigades of "enthusiasts for the Five Year Plan" or "reforged workers," could count each two months as three. Those sentenced to three years thus had their spell reduced to two.

Ogpu announced to the world that the construction of the White Sea and Baltic canal, the biggest work which has recently been undertaken, was a marvel, and yet, after the convicts had put the whole of their vigour into an enterprise beyond their physical powers, it was announced on 1 January, 1933, that the "reckoning of the days of labour" was discontinued. This meant that those who had received a bonus of six to nine months saw their sentence prolonged again. A new enticement was the promise of an amnesty. In the summer of 1933 the "amnesty," which applied only to the 70,000 convicts of the White Sea-Baltic camp, was solemnly announced in all the Soviet newspapers. In reality it was not an amnesty at all, but only the re-establishment, as a special act of

grace, of the "reckoning of the days of labour" (which had been granted and afterwards repealed) for the 70,000; but for the vast majority of prisoners the "reckoning" was not restored. (I heard of this amnesty from a prisoner who has just escaped into Finland from one of the camps).

*Ogpu a business concern.*

I am of opinion that this side of Ogpu's activity has not been appraised at its proper value. Ogpu is not only an organ of political detection, but also a concern with colossal economic resources behind it. With a slave army of more than a million convicts, consisting of first-class labouring material—peasants inured to hard work—and the finest specialists and technicians in all branches of knowledge, Ogpu is able to carry out works, the importance of which reaches beyond the boundaries of the USSR. The timber-felling operations of Ogpu in Karelia have undoubtedly had an influence on the world timber-market. The cutting of the White Sea and Baltic canal by forced convict labour and the construction of motor highways right up to the borders of Finland constitute an immediate threat to the liberties of that civilised and democratic State. The building of the Moscow-Volga canal, which has been begun by the prisoners of Dmitrov camp, and the construction of a number of new railways by those confined in the Camps of Syzran and Kungur have facilitated the export and sale of oil, grain and fish at the cheapest rates.

The incredible fact that the Soviet Government ruined its own industry in 1930, just in the full swing of the Five Year Plan, when, by the organisation of wreckers' trials and the deportation of hundreds of thousands of peasants, the very best workers were torn from their roots, really meant that they were transferred to the slave gangs of the Ogpu which became the main industrial undertaking of the USSR. This special rôle assumed by Ogpu and its business concerns—the concentration camps—also affects the conditions under which the convicts live and makes their plight still more hopeless. Their labour is one of the foundations on which rests the whole regime of the USSR, and Ogpu cannot stop hunting for such game; for if it did, it would undermine the very basis of the Soviet State.

V. CHERNAVIN.



# MICHAEL OF SERBIA AND THE TURKISH OCCUPATION

## II

### THE CONFERENCE AND PROTOCOL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

THE Conference of Constantinople opened on 22 July, 1862. It was attended by Fuad Pasha, the Grand Vizier, Aali Pasha, the Turkish Foreign Minister, and the diplomatic representatives of the Great Powers. The first business of the Conference (after a point of etiquette had been settled between Austria and Italy) was to allay the fears of the Turks, who, dreading lest Michael might try some new aggression, were considering how to meet it—whether by sending troops or by a new bombardment. Moustier, the French Ambassador insisted—and he was supported by his Russian colleague, Lobanov—that any species of resistance on the part of Turkey must receive the preliminary accord of the Powers. So rigid an interpretation of the Treaty of Paris might readily have permitted a *fait accompli* to develop and render the Sultan helpless to repress a revolting vassal; so it naturally was disputed by Aali with the support of Bulwer and Prokesch. The crux of the question was obviously what should be done to prevent conditions from reaching a dangerous stage. As against the provocations of the Serbians, Moustier laid his emphasis on the Turkish occupation. “What interest,” asked the Frenchman, “was attached to the preservation of the citadel?” Was it held to be a defence against Serbia or Austria? The Turkish ministers, according to Moustier’s account, used all their resources of wit to avoid answering the question, but at last admitted laughingly that “while the relations of Turkey and Austria did not yet produce any anxiety, one could never vouch for the future.” Moustier did not press the point—perhaps content with an evasion that would not enhance Vienna’s friendship for the Turk. But it was evident that Bulwer sided with Turkey whenever her rights were called in question. When Moustier urged the Porte to be “generous” (perhaps he alluded to the smaller fortresses), his British colleague pointed out that the real danger to the Porte lay in the possibility of another Power using Serbia as an instrument. This was delicate ground, and the British Ambassador was lucky in not being forced to explain himself. Meanwhile, in spite of much manœuvring for position, the diplomats took some useful initial steps. It was decided on Bulwer’s proposal to send a telegraphic

warning to the consuls to be communicated to the Prince of Serbia, and, as Moustier would leave it to the Porte to initiate proposals (it was then that he mentioned the citadel), Aali promised at the close of the session to submit Vefyk's report at the next meeting. Thus ended the first skirmish at the Conference.<sup>1</sup>

The chief importance of the first meeting lay in the fact that it showed the temper of the Powers chiefly concerned and revealed their alignment on the merits of the controversy. The Prussian and Sardinian Ministers seem to have taken no part in the discussion, but Lobanov had strongly seconded Moustier, while Prokesch and Bulwer had shown that their sympathies were with the Porte. The British Ambassador felt that any concession would be humiliating to the Porte, and he was evidently disposed to look for some compromise that would not entail too much "generosity."<sup>2</sup>

It may be wondered if France and Russia intended to make a special point of demanding the surrender of the citadel. Such a plan had not, it is true, been specified in the secret protocol, but it is often good strategy to demand more at the outset than one can reasonably expect to obtain, besides taking careful measure of the adversary's position. Moustier had certainly broached the question of abandoning the citadel, but he had not made it in any sense a capital point. In a telegram to Thouvenel he declared that Bulwer had supported the Porte's right to keep a garrison in Belgrade "as not only in the interest of Turkey, but of the European system of which this citadel is the key."<sup>3</sup> Thouvenel responded that "the withdrawal of the Turkish garrison being apparently impossible to obtain" (and he knew this himself from having sounded London), Moustier should "not insist on it," but should "demand certain guarantees against a new bombardment."<sup>4</sup> The Prussian and Sardinian Ministers, he went on to say, would adhere to the position of Russia and France, but, if the Conference should fail of the desired result, Moustier should say that he could not concur in its resolutions.<sup>5</sup> It was, indeed, perfectly correct, as Thouvenel surmised, that so decisive a defeat for Turkey was not to be expected. "No one," telegraphed Russell on the 24th, "can pretend to deprive the Porte of the fortress of Belgrade";<sup>6</sup> and the Internuncio, in declaring that he himself had no instructions to discuss the question of the fortresses, had quoted Bulwer as saying that even if the Turks were willing to give up Belgrade, Great Britain would herself make formal protest, as the question was not merely Turkish, but European.<sup>7</sup> Austria's own attitude was, of course, equally inflexible.

Yet the situation at Belgrade, as reported by the consuls, was

such as to make some solution not only imperative, but urgent. Longworth wrote that the troops had been re-inforced and the barricades strengthened;<sup>8</sup> fresh consignments of arms were being bought abroad, and an order was issued that all houses should be provided with weapons.<sup>9</sup> "Scarcely a day passes," wrote Longworth, "that some new arrangement or proclamation of the Government does not cause additional alarm and sense of insecurity; a few days ago the public crier gave notice of a regulation whereby all the houses in the town should be provided with an extraordinary supply of water. The effect of this order, which was construed into a precaution against another bombardment, was to clear the town in a few hours of its remaining inhabitants."<sup>10</sup> Unable to induce Garašanin to remove the barricades, Vefyk appealed to the consuls to co-operate with him in putting pressure on the Serbian Government, but, as the consular body was divided in its sympathies, the effort proved abortive.<sup>11</sup> "The Government is entirely under the influence of France," wrote Vasić, "and Russia and Italy are unconditionally on the same side." Apparently at Belgrade, as well as at Constantinople, the Powers were at cross purposes. Meanwhile, the Serbians at Šabac, taking their cue from events at Belgrade, had driven the Turks out of the faubourg into the town. It was another bit of circumstantial evidence that the Serbians were determined to end the hated occupation. Michael was reported as declaring that he would rather take the field and die than be answerable to his people for failure to support their claims. Under no conditions would he be satisfied, he added, with less than the delivery of the citadel. "Since no one believes that such a concession will be made by the Porte," remarked Vasić, "everything here gives promise of war."<sup>12</sup>

It was therefore with the consciousness of menacing clouds on the horizon that the Conference held its second meeting on 27 July. After the assembled diplomats had listened to a Turkish defence of the bombardment, Bulwer took it upon himself to expatiate on the danger of the recent activities of the Serbians and urged that Serbia be called upon to raze the barricades, adding, on the other hand, that he was willing to urge the Porte to "take any measures of a similar kind" that might be "judged necessary" for preventing a "collision." While Moustier objected to any coercion of the Serbians and demanded concessions of the Turks, the British Ambassador declared that no one could expect the Porte to negotiate under the threat of insurrection. Much discussion then followed. Lobanov hinted that the citadel might be abandoned, and Moustier again

argued (though without insistence) for this solution, but Bulwer responded frankly that if that were a *sine qua non*, there was no longer any use in trying to reach a settlement. Then gradually the idea of clearing a space before the citadel entered the field of discussion—a solution which might on the one hand lessen the danger of another conflict (by giving the citadel proper security against a surprise attack), and on the other hand dispose of the knotty problem of Turks and Serbians living in close proximity to one another; for a feature of Bulwer's proposal was that the Turks, whose homes would thus have to be demolished, should (with adequate compensation) leave the city. Moustier, who, like his colleagues, had been poring over a map of Belgrade, was not unwilling to accept the proposal as a basis for an arrangement, but he demanded that all five of the smaller forts should be abandoned and that the citadel should be disarmed on the side of the city. To the former demand Bulwer and Prokesch were willing to give consideration, but they were inflexible in rejecting the latter. The suggestion of Moustier that the cannon should be pointed across the river had some logic to commend it, but Prokesch insisted that before the defences of the citadel were in any degree modified one must be assured that it would not have to withstand attack either from the Serbians or from some Power which was at war with Turkey. Yet, in spite of much bickering, the second meeting was not without results. All the Ambassadors seemed to agree that Turkish jurisdiction in Serbia should cease and that the Moslem population should emigrate—both of which points the Turkish Ministers agreed to lay before the Sultan. Bulwer expressed the belief that at the next session the plan of an open space before the citadel would be definitely accepted as a basis of arrangement.<sup>13</sup>

No doubt Moustier saw by this time that it was useless to expect the citadel to be given up, but he was a man who loved an argument above anything, and in an interview with Bulwer after the meeting—he still harped on the same subject—perhaps not without a tactical purpose, for he made much of the necessity of destroying the other forts that were supposed to protect the city. Bulwer suggested in reply that a military commission might be empowered to decide what was necessary to protect the city, for he was unwilling that the Turks should be forced to yield anything unless it could be demonstrated that what they gave up was clearly unnecessary.<sup>14</sup> Austria had no hesitation on the subject, and meant that Turkey should keep all the forts if possible, but Rechberg had to confess that the British Government was less firm in its attitude towards the lesser

forts and wrote to Prokesch that these forts, if given up, must be demolished and never reconstructed by the Serbians.<sup>15</sup> Perhaps Vienna did not realise how staunchly Lord John Russell had resisted Thouvenel's pressure to agree to the abandonment of the citadel;<sup>16</sup> but the disposition of the fortresses he was willing enough to leave to Sir Henry's own discretion. Indeed, apart from the question of the citadel, all adjustments seem to have been left to the arts of the Ambassadors.

The third session, 31 July, was, as Bulwer expressed it, "long and difficult." Encouraged by the reception which his plan of an esplanade had received at the last meeting, the British Ambassador presented a draft protocol as basis for discussion. Some of its points were accepted with but slight modifications. But the more essential features produced a lengthy discussion, which revealed more clearly than ever the divergence in point of view between the respective champions of the two contending parties. In Article ii of his *projet d'arrangement*, Bulwer proposed that a *rayon* or esplanade be staked out and that all houses within this area be demolished. Naturally the question of its extent brought considerable difficulty, for the Turks (reconciled, it would seem, to the principle of emigration with indemnity) proposed demolishing the whole Turkish quarter, and, as this included some Serbian houses, the proposal, of course, brought vigorous protests from Moustier, and in the end the question had to be taken *ad referendum*. Also the suggestion that Serbia indemnify the Turks who had been pillaged during the recent events met with objection from Lobanov, who, in turn, protested that he must refer to his Government. Bulwer's proposal that the two forts on the Danube and the one on the Save be retained, while the two in the interior be demolished if a military commission should declare them unnecessary for the defence of the country, foundered on the opposition encountered from Moustier and Lobanov, who wanted all five forts destroyed or handed over to the Serbians. Moustier said that if the Conference insisted on preserving the citadel to Turkey (and he felt, himself, that the Serbians might be trusted to defend the city), it ought certainly to give way in respect to the other forts. This, of course, was raising again the question whether these defences were intended against the Serbians or a foreign enemy, but Prokesch and Bulwer steered clear of the implication by resting the case on the Porte's rights under the Treaty of Paris. The Turkish Ministers then declared that they might consent to the demolition of the two forts in the interior, but that they would not relinquish the three others; in other words, they declined to go beyond the British

proposal. Finally, the proposal to limit Michael's forces to 12,000 provoked the resistance that might be expected; and Lobanov was equally opposed to another provision of the *projet* that the citadel might bombard the city provided the consuls were notified twelve hours beforehand. According to Moustier's account, Lobanov wanted the Serbians indemnified for their losses in the bombardment, but he "had to retire in face of the storm which this question threatened to raise."<sup>17</sup>

One might think from this recital that the Conference had made no headway. Yet at least the principle of a *rayon* in front of the citadel had been accepted, and no objection had been raised to indemnifying all persons whose houses were to be destroyed. The Porte had also consented to the withdrawal of all Moslem residents from Serbia; while it was understood that Serbia should not give asylum to enemies of the Porte. Bulwer himself felt sanguine about agreement on the contentious points. "My notion," he wrote to Russell, "is that the French have engaged with Russia to get all they could for Serbia, but that they are not willing to provoke war by insisting on more than can be got, and that thus, when they see that the Porte will give no more than she had offered . . . they will give way."<sup>18</sup> Moustier himself telegraphed Thouvenel after the meeting that he feared that "we have snatched the extreme limit of possible concessions," and that it would be "wise to judge the thing from the point of view of Constantinople."<sup>19</sup> Thouvenel, in a telegram which crossed that of Moustier's, bade the French Ambassador, after trying to obtain concessions, avoid maintaining himself on a ground that would leave him in a minority.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, the fourth session, on 3 August, proved abortive. Moustier declared that he was without precise instructions, insisted that all the forts should be given up, and affected to believe that Bulwer was contending for more than Russell had authorised—an imputation which the British Ambassador emphatically denied. With more reason he refused to consent to the proposal, once more made, that the Serbians should destroy their barricades.<sup>21</sup> A few days later, after receiving a telegram from Thouvenel, despatched on the 8th,<sup>22</sup> Moustier told the Turkish Ministers that he was willing that the *rayon* should be extended to the Danube, provided that only a few Serbian houses were included and the cathedral, seminary, bishop's palace, and principal business street were left untouched; but his attempt to get some of the outworks of the citadel razed met with resolute opposition.<sup>23</sup> It seems clear from reading Thouvenel's despatches that Moustier had really a good deal of latitude,

and it is not improbable that he was hoping to snatch concessions by simply wearing down his opponents. At the fifth session, 13-14 August, he made Bulwer uncomfortable by reading an item from the *Times*, which showed the Serbians in a particularly favourable light. He then declared that France would give up two of the five forts for which she had contended, but begged that the Porte should give up one of the river forts in addition to the two already conceded in the interior; and he insisted that not a single Serbian house should be demolished, and that some guarantees should be devised against danger from the citadel.<sup>24</sup> For the present, however, Bulwer, Prokesch, and the Turks stood firm against further concessions, and Bulwer, with evident irritation, asked for Moustier's proposals in writing. The most aggressive move from the pro-Serbian cohorts was the pronouncement of Lobanov that Turkey should have no right to send vessels into the Danube.<sup>25</sup> Such, of course, was a means of rendering the citadel innocuous, but it was too transparent to win support even from Moustier.<sup>26</sup> Bulwer and Prokesch had formed the conclusion that Russia did not really want a peaceful settlement, but looked forward to civil war. The only hope lay in the fact that France, while reluctant to part with Russia (and the Ambassadors did not, of course, know of the secret protocol), might be persuaded that some adjustment was desirable for the present.<sup>27</sup>

Hence Bulwer did not give up hope that his rôle of umpire, in which he always found so much enjoyment, would succeed in bringing results. In an effort to draw France away from Russia by "insignificant concessions" (as he expressed it) he even consulted Prokesch on the advisability of the Porte yielding to Moustier in the matter of one of the river forts, and Prokesch responded favourably to the notion. It would have been useful information to Moustier and Lobanov had they known not only this, but that the Internuncio believed that Russia wanted a rupture and that the Porte, if forced into war, "would be ruined."<sup>28</sup> Rechberg, who had good reason to believe that he had discovered the secret protocol, was plainly worried over the crisis facing the Porte, and more especially as the belligerent mood of Serbia was, as he believed, abetted by France and Russia.<sup>29</sup> Undoubtedly the deadlock at Constantinople was wearing on the nerves of both London and Vienna. Russell, while standing firmly on the basis of the *projet d'arrangement*, telegraphed Bulwer that the Conference was wasting time, and that he must try to bring it speedily to a decision, as "the Serbians seem already to have begun hostilities and France and Russia raise new pretensions at every meeting."<sup>30</sup> There was not so much cause for alarm as

Lord John supposed, but naturally he did not know that Moustier—much more than Thouvenel—was responsible for the *impasse*. To a large extent it was a personal battle. The longer Moustier haggled, the more he might hope to extort; while Bulwer, on his side, chafed under the danger of seeing the initiative snatched by his rival—the “arrogance” of whose “pretensions,” he declared, “is difficult to stomach.”<sup>31</sup>

But France’s policy, as shaped by her Ambassador, had moderated at last. The draft which Moustier submitted to the meeting of 25 August met with less objection than might be expected, and, though Bulwer would not allow his colleague to grasp the initiative and presented a counter-project at the session of 2 September, it was readily observed that a compromise was possible. After much discussion at four more meetings (25 and 26 August and 2 and 4 September), Moustier gave up, it appears, all effort to obtain the three river forts,<sup>32</sup> consented to the destruction of the barricades, and abandoned his contention that a Serbian should serve on the military commission that should definitely fix the boundaries of the *rayon*: but he won his point that the size of the Serbian army should not be restricted by the Conference, the matter being left to be settled by direct negotiation between Michael and his suzerain. The points which caused the most contention were the question of the Serbian houses, which the Porte was willing to purchase from their respective owners (much to the dissatisfaction of Bulwer, who felt that the destruction of these houses should be a *quid pro quo* for the demolition of the Turkish quarter) and the question of an indemnity to be paid by Serbia to the Turks who had suffered during the days preceding the bombardment—to which Moustier objected on the ground that the Porte would not pay for the damage inflicted by the bombardment itself. When the Conference seemed to be deadlocked on these questions, Bulwer offered to accept the proposed settlement regarding the houses if Moustier would consent to the indemnity to the Turkish sufferers, and a bargain was thereby struck.<sup>33</sup>

The efforts to reconcile conflicting interests and susceptibilities having at last achieved their object, a protocol was signed by Aali and the Ambassadors on 8 September. The instrument was designed partly to make reparation for the past and partly to avoid conflicts in the future. All Moslems were to vacate the faubourg of Belgrade, transferring their property to the Serbian Government, which should pay them indemnities the amount of which was to be fixed within four months by a mixed Turkish and Serbian commission.



An open space, the perimeter of which was to be fixed by a military commission consisting of a delegate of the Porte and one from each of the signatory Powers, was to be carved out in front of the citadel, excluding all Serbian religious edifices and the like as well as business streets, while such Serbian residences as might still be comprised in the area were to be purchased by the Porte "with generous compensations" by arrangement with the Serbian Government. As a guarantee against the danger of another bombardment the Porte agreed to make public the instructions which would henceforth guide the governor of the citadel, and, while an examination should be made to ascertain if its defences were sufficient, it should also determine whether the outer redoubts on the south side might not be modified without harming the security of the fortress. The Governor should not interfere with the affairs of the city or Principality and should receive reciprocal respect from the Serbian Government. The Porte should demolish the two interior forts in Serbia, while retaining the three river forts as "indispensable to the general system of the defence of Turkey," but the size of the garrisons should be strictly proportionate to their defensive needs, and outside these points of defence, occupied in virtue of treaties, no Mussulman should reside. Losses sustained during the days preceding the bombardment were to be made good, the Serbian Government making restitution to the Moslems, while Serbians who suffered at the hands of the Moslems should be indemnified by the Porte. "The Sublime Porte having already declared that it will not keep in the fortresses more than the number of men needed for their defence, it considers as natural that the Serbian Government will not keep more than is necessary for the tranquillity and internal order of the State."<sup>34</sup> The Conference specifically left this question to be settled by negotiation between Serbia and the Porte.

Taking it all in all, the settlement was a moderate one, not, of course, reaching to the heart of the problem, but calculated to avoid any accidental collisions, though much of its efficacy must naturally depend on the good faith of both sides. For the present at all events Europe seemed to be relieved of a dangerous problem. "Thank God," wrote Thouvenel to Gramont, "the affair of Serbia is ended at Constantinople, and I hope that the Serbians will have the wisdom to content themselves with the results obtained."<sup>35</sup> But would they? One must not forget that the Serbians would never be satisfied as long as Turkish soldiers were garrisoned in their land.

## II

## THE RECEPTION OF THE PROTOCOL

No doubt Michael had placed great hopes in the ability of France to secure for him a pronounced diplomatic victory at Constantinople. Thouvenel had intended, as we already know, to get every possible concession for the Serbians, but he was too experienced a diplomat not to know that he would have to yield on some points, and he had been very anxious that Michael should accept the results of his efforts, whatever they might be. A telegram to Tastu, instructing him to "persuade the Prince and important personages to accept the decisions of the Conference"<sup>36</sup> appeared somehow to anger both Michael and Garašanin, and, though the French consul seemed to believe at first that he had succeeded, Michael talked so much about war that Tastu was in despair. The fact is that, since Thouvenel had fallen short of obtaining all that Serbia had hoped for, Michael wondered how it would do if he assumed that France herself was not satisfied. "Are you quite sure," he asked Tastu, "that the Government of the Emperor would object to my waging war against Turkey?"<sup>37</sup>

At the very least, this conversation showed that Michael was bitterly disappointed, and not averse to giving the consuls some ground for being disturbed. A few days later Lytton and Longworth had a talk with Garašanin, which also showed that Serbia was by no means reconciled with the parting of any of her hopes. Garašanin had sensibly remarked that the fundamental trouble was the existence of two incompatible races side by side, and that the Turks must therefore go. Elucidating his position more clearly, he declared that he meant the total withdrawal of the Turks from Serbian soil. The Englishmen answered that giving up the citadel was out of the question, though intimating that it was quite possible that all Turkish civilians might be required to leave.<sup>38</sup> It is probable that Prince and Premier now relinquished, if they had not done so before, any expectation of seeing the citadel abandoned, but new fuel had been added to their wrath when they discovered that it was not to be "disarmed" or its garrison reduced. And though Tastu succeeded for the moment in persuading Michael to accept the prospective decisions of the Conference,<sup>39</sup> it is probable that the Prince was only trying to pacify Thouvenel, on whom he was expending every sort of tactics. When it looked for a moment as if the creation of the *rayon* would sacrifice the cathedral, the seminary, and the chief business street of the Serbian quarter, Michael declared that it

would be better to be shot by the Turks than be dishonoured among his own people, and Garašanin had frankly admitted to Tastu that he had advised the Prince not to accept such a decision; he would not, himself (he added), take such a responsibility.<sup>40</sup> To Lytton, Garašanin spoke as if he might be forced to adhere to the decisions of the Conference, but that no such settlement could be stable. Lytton felt that nothing short of the demolition of the fortress would satisfy the Serbians, and that therefore all other concessions would be futile. "I do not think," he said, however, "that the Serbians will immediately take up arms because I do not think they can immediately do so, but I have no doubt that they will seize the first favourable opportunity for doing so."<sup>41</sup>

Evidently Michael began to think it might be wise to become intransigent again, for, when Moustier telegraphed Tastu what he conceived to be a victory for the Serbians and insisted upon the acceptance of whatever the Conference decided, the faithful agent found that he had made no headway after all. Michael would prefer to fight rather than yield what was expected of him, and thought that it would be better to fall under the ruins of Serbia than make so humiliating a retreat. Tastu believed that he would abdicate sooner or later, for it was evident (as Lytton had said) that Serbia was not strong enough to fight—a fact so clearly grasped by the Prince's Ministers that Garašanin, for his part, became actually ill from pondering over the possibility of war.<sup>42</sup> But the British consul was exceedingly anxious. Appearances indicated, he had written on 8 August, that the Serbians would make at least a feint attack on the fortress, and he himself thought that they would deliberately try to bring on a new crisis.<sup>43</sup> Harassed by that fear, he sent instructions to the British consul at Vidin to see if any efforts were being made to incite the Bulgarians.<sup>44</sup> There was no apparent danger in that quarter, but it is probably true that many Bulgarians, as well as Bosniaks, were enrolled as volunteers in the Serbian service, and the militia was engaged in most strenuous exercises to fit itself for any emergency.<sup>45</sup> It is not improbable that all the talk of war and sustained activity was very largely intended to intimidate the Conference; and one cannot be certain that it did not assist Moustier in forcing certain concessions from the Porte.

Whether a settlement which had been drawn up in part by one of the parties would be acceptable to the other was yet to be seen. The ugly state of affairs in Serbia<sup>46</sup> was well demonstrated by a scuffle between Turks and Serbs in Užice, one of the towns which the Turks were to evacuate, and one might wonder if the like would

occur in Belgrade when the Turkish residents began to leave. Certainly the protocol, when it was communicated to Serbia, found the Prince in no mood to accept it, and it was debated for several hours by his council without decision.<sup>47</sup> Yet it was something of a good augury that the fugitive citizens had begun to return and the shops once more to open.<sup>48</sup> Tassu had already expressed his belief that the Prince had adjourned all plans of resistance. But the diplomats would feel more at ease when the Prince had definitely and finally made known his attitude.

Bulwer, for his part, resolved to end the suspense by going to Belgrade in person and trying by his arguments to bring Serbia to reason. Arriving about the end of September, he had long conversations with Garašanin and Michael, and then waited to ascertain the effect. The chief argument he used was that Serbia had really won considerable concessions and that it would redound much more to the popularity of her Government if it represented the protocol as a victory than if it sulked and looked upon the whole affair as a defeat; as for protesting against the protocol—a move which Michael was meditating—this would be utterly futile, as Europe had made its decision, and such conduct would immediately place Serbia under suspicion. The position which Bulwer had taken was not, indeed, unassailable, and some of his reasoning could easily have been punctured, but, if Michael made any rebuttal, the British Ambassador did not care to mention it in the long account which he wrote of his interview with the Prince. Apparently Michael placed his objections chiefly on the fact that Serbian houses would be demolished for the benefit of the fortress, while others, damaged by the bombardment, were given no consideration—a point which induced Bulwer to telegraph and receive from the Porte a promise that the owners of such houses would be indemnified. Bulwer sensed that Michael's chief grievance was that the Conference had not formally condemned the Sultan for the act of bombardment; it was not material advantages but a moral victory that the Prince had wanted. This meant, of course, that the Serbian ruler was nursing a grievance that deterred him from making the best of things. At first, he was reported to have said that he would not protest against the injustice of the protocol, though he would "leave it in abeyance"; later it appears that he said that he would not accept the firman which communicated its contents, though he would strive to keep the peace, even removing the barricades.<sup>49</sup> But it seems that the Serbian Ministers were really anxious that the Prince should yield, and that the French consul, while sympathising

with Michael's position, earnestly begged him to make the best of the situation.<sup>50</sup> And so, at length, it was decided that the protocol should be formally accepted, and the barricades removed.<sup>51</sup> Though Bulwer plumed himself on the success with which he melted opposition, Vasić gave the chief credit to Tastu for having brought the Prince to yield.<sup>52</sup>

In all probability Michael came, albeit reluctantly, to the opinion that, however much he might quarrel with the Porte, he could not safely defy the Protecting Powers. A better policy was to give outward adhesion to the protocol and then wait for a chance to raise difficulties in the way of its execution—a manœuvre which might win some of the Powers to his side. For the moment he gained what satisfaction he could from keeping everybody waiting ten hours before he revealed his final decision,<sup>53</sup> and in his acknowledgment of the Porte's letter,<sup>54</sup> which had announced the sending of the firman, he gave vent to his dissatisfaction in no mistaken terms. The bombardment, he said, had not been condemned, either directly or indirectly, and, while the losses sustained by Mussulmans were to be indemnified, the innocent victims of the bombardment were not indemnified at all; moreover, though it was demonstrated that the citadel had not been attacked by the Serbians, but that, instead, it had "committed an aggression against a defenceless city, provision has nevertheless been made for its security, and the arrangement will involve the expropriation of some Serbian houses; and, finally, as to the moral guarantee against a recurrence of such aggression, recent events showed how well the excellent intentions of the Imperial Government can be eluded."<sup>55</sup> It may be felt that, if the Prince considered himself worsted, he had accepted his defeat with dignity, and that, though not addressed to the Powers, the protest implied in his letter was equally intended for them.

At all events, the firman was duly accepted. The Pasha, accompanied by two aides-de-camp and a secretary, repaired to the Prince and presented him with a red velvet bag containing the document. Michael simply replied, "I shall execute the firman, and you have been able to observe that I have already begun to do so." He then bade the Pasha be seated, and treated him and his *cortège* with much cordiality.<sup>56</sup> On 6 October the Prince made his acceptance even more formal by a public proclamation, as was customary on such occasions. Though the settlement did not correspond, he said, in all points to his wishes, he "would oppose no obstacle to the resolutions of the suzerain Power and the Protecting Powers."<sup>57</sup> We can well imagine the biting chagrin with which Michael bowed to his

fate, but his Ministers were certainly relieved that a truce had come in the struggle, Garašanin even allowing himself to speak of the protocol with gratitude.<sup>58</sup> As for Michael, though the winter put a stop to the training of the militia, he snatched at the consolation of pushing on once more his military preparations.<sup>59</sup> For the present, at all events, quiet seemed to reign. The citizens were relieved to be free of apprehensions, and, the reserves being sent home, the safety of the city was entrusted solely to regular troops.<sup>60</sup> The Turks retired from the fortified towns, including Belgrade,<sup>61</sup> and apparently the withdrawal was effected without serious incident,<sup>62</sup> though it is true that the Turkish commissioner who managed it reported that he had been hampered in various ways.<sup>63</sup> But Longworth was still disposed to question Serbia's good faith. "Little or no effort," he declared, "had been made to execute the protocol"—and by this he probably meant that no steps had been taken to indemnify the Turks whose retirement had been decreed by the firman of 1830. "It must be evident to everybody," he continued, "that the Prince is bent on going sooner or later to war."<sup>64</sup>

### III

#### A RIDDLE OF ARMS AND THE MAN

The surmise of Michael's intentions was based, apparently, on a reading of his character and his present mood. But events during the month of December lent a more definite colour to the supposition and gave the Powers new ground for feeling discomfiture and alarm. Michael, it appears, had recently contracted for supplies and ammunition from abroad. Some of this material was purchased in Belgium, while quantities of muskets were bought from a Russian arsenal, and a further consignment of lead and saltpetre formed part of a cargo sent by ship *via* the Danube. This vessel was stopped at Vidin by the Turkish authorities at the instance of the British, but not—it was alleged—until some arms, also in the cargo, had been landed at some point below Vidin and sent thence to Serbia. The fact of the shipments from Russia was not known until a long transport was discovered crossing the Principalities in the direction of Serbia. Since at first the destination of the arms was unknown, the consuls at Bucharest applied to Cuza, Hospodar of the United Principalities, for an explanation; but it was not till after the wagons had safely passed through his territories that this prince owned up to the truth that the arms were intended for Michael, who had secretly obtained the collusion of the Principalities earlier in the year. The Powers had quite failed to procure the sequestration of

the arms, since Cuza had put them off with vague assurances until the opportunity for sequestration had passed; and it is noticeable that Russia was suspected of harbouring some sinister design, and that no effort had been made to secure the co-operation of the Russian consul. When it was at length established that the arms were for Serbia, Gorchakov vehemently defended Michael, and refused to believe that he cherished any designs on the peace of the Balkans.<sup>65</sup>

There was, indeed, nothing unusual in the fact that the Prince of Serbia had bought arms; he had purchased some in Austria in 1860 and until now no plea had been made that he should have first consulted the Porte. While it is true that the firman of 1830 had restricted his militia to the figure necessary to maintain public order, nothing had been said of the extent of its equipment. But the size of the consignments (the number of muskets being estimated at anywhere from 25,000 to 150,000),<sup>66</sup> the secrecy with which they were obtained (though clearly that was Michael's own business) and the fact that his difficulties with the Porte were supposed to have been settled, led some of the Powers to fear that he was arming for war with his suzerain. The suspicion also that Russia might be abetting such a design (Longworth seriously believed that the arms were a present from the Tsar) produced additional uneasiness.

The British consul was the first to besiege the Prince and to demand an explanation. Michael "did not attempt to conceal or palliate the fact, but justified it on the ground of the autonomy and the full liberty of trade insured to Serbia by treaty." When Longworth called his attention to a commercial treaty with Great Britain, which prohibited the importation of arms into the Ottoman Empire, Michael simply answered that this was incompatible with the autonomy of Serbia. He might, indeed, have reminded Longworth that no objection had been lodged to his buying arms before, but he satisfied himself with insisting that, while his action was in no way a reflection on the guarantee of the Powers, he must be "prepared for eventualities." Garašanin delicately suggested that Serbia must be on her guard against Austria. Longworth was by no means convinced, however, and concluded that Michael meant to "resist the protocol if he fails to obtain a modification which would amount to a virtual abandonment of it."<sup>67</sup> Whether, indeed, Michael hoped to strengthen his diplomacy by some such means, or was simply preparing for war if force should prove necessary to uphold Serbia's rights, is not susceptible of proof.

As far as Michael's good faith was concerned, much depended on whether he had ordered the weapons before or since the protocol. If

before, as Gorchakov contended, then it was a natural result of the bombardment of the capital; if after, then it looked as if he meant to defy the protocol.<sup>68</sup> Michael himself declared that they were ordered prior to the protocol; and since the discovery of the arms was not many weeks after that instrument had been signed, it seems fair to give him the benefit of the doubt, despite Longworth's firm conviction that he was lying.<sup>69</sup> As to the purpose of the arms, Michael contended (and he even went so far as to write Napoleon and Lord John Russell) that they were required for his militia, and to Longworth he "solemnly declared" that he had "no hostile intentions against the Porte."<sup>70</sup> When Vasić, following instructions he had received from Rechberg, took him to task both for the unnecessary quantity of arms and for the clandestine way in which he had got them, Michael protested that Rechberg had no knowledge of the needs of his militia, and that how they were transported was the affair of his contractors. "I make no concealment," he added, "of the fact that I will erect an arms factory, whereby my need of arms will be cared for for all time." To the Austrian argument that the guarantee of the Powers was sufficient to protect his State, he answered, "I would like to add that even if both sides were to blame for the friction between Turks and Serbs, and even if a few shots were fired at the fortress, the bombardment remains unpardonable, and I got no satisfaction through the Powers. . . . One does not know what the future hides in her boot, and events may show that Serbia may far better rely on her own strength than on the guarantees of other States."<sup>71</sup> Of course, there was a good deal of bravado in this, considering the fact that Europe would not have permitted him to engage in war with the Porte, even if begun in self-defence; yet the patriotic resentment of the Prince and his dignified defence of his country's interests may well evoke our sympathy.

But Michael was slow to recover from the annoyance which distrust of his motives had provoked. The Vizier had written on 15 December, requesting an explanation of such a large quantity of arms, which, he declared, were not justified by any internal exigency, and which, until a satisfactory explanation should be given, the Porte must consider as "an infraction of arrangements concerning the Principality of Serbia and hostile to its interests."<sup>72</sup> Such a protest was hardly more than a form, and Michael's reply was of the same character—pleading, of course, that the arms were for the public security (he had a duty towards his own people to think of as well as that towards his suzerain!), and deprecating the distrust of his motives; it was not the first time that he had bought arms from



abroad, and heretofore the Porte had made no objection; and he thought it quite imprudent, he added, to wait until some danger from without should be at hand<sup>73</sup>—a remark which Longworth considered “offensive railery.”<sup>74</sup> This formal interchange of sentiments might well have ended the matter, but some of the Ambassadors, notably Bulwer, were not disposed to let the Prince off so easily, and it was decided to renew their request to him to send a special courier to give the proper assurances to the Porte. Moustier, who had fought off the idea of sending a commissioner to investigate the matter at Bucharest and Belgrade, had himself proposed this solution.<sup>75</sup> But they entirely reckoned without Michael. Garašanin merely sent word to the Serbian Kapu-Kiaya at Constantinople that he was to renew the formal assurances which Michael had made and repeat verbally any additional ones required.<sup>76</sup> According to Prokesch, the Serbian agent reported a “favourable reception,”<sup>77</sup> and thus, as far as the Porte was concerned, the matter was closed.

Perhaps, if it had not been for British distrust of Russia, the affair would not have attained such unjustified proportions. It appears that in August rumours had reached the British Cabinet of the secret protocol, which, as we have noticed, had preceded the Conference at Constantinople. Pursuant to instructions from Russell,<sup>78</sup> Cowley taxed Thouvenel with the matter, but the French Minister merely answered him evasively, saying that if he denied it, his statement would not be credited, but that he could say positively that no engagement had been made contrary to the Treaty of Paris.<sup>79</sup> It was evident that the British regarded anything like a clandestine compact with Russia as contrary to the spirit of that friendly entente which England and France had preserved ever since the Crimean War. As London was not to be put off by circumlocutions, and as Cowley persisted in his efforts to run the rumour down, Thouvenel agreed at his request to speak to the Emperor, who subsequently affirmed (according to Cowley’s rendering of Thouvenel’s account) that he had no engagements with Russia regarding the Eastern Question, and that he was free to act as he pleased.<sup>80</sup> Someone, obviously, was lying; but the British, for their part, were in no wise deceived.<sup>81</sup> Soon afterward a parallel effort to extract the truth from Gorchakov met with similar evasions. But later the Russian statesman admitted that the points contained in the protocol had been discussed with the Cabinet at Paris, and he practically acknowledged the fact of an agreement, though he refused to designate it as a “protocol.” To the Saxon Minister at St. Petersburg he seems to have let out that support of Serbia was

France's concession for Russia's recognition of the King of Italy.<sup>82</sup> The affair ended, then, with the discovery that the protocol was, indeed, a fact, though not of so serious nature as had at first been supposed. Yet the episode was not without its lesson. Hence, when shortly afterwards the arms crisis arose, the British Government was not a little excited over Russia's supposed designs on the peace of the Ottoman Empire, and Gorchakov was continually bombarded by protests or demands for explanation.<sup>83</sup> But, whether or not he had really abetted Michael, the vice-chancellor avoided every trap designed to make him admit collusion, and contented himself with justifying the Prince's action and affirming that he would guarantee the arms would not be used for an attack on the suzerain Power.<sup>84</sup> The suspicion that Russia covertly sought a revision of the Treaty of Paris was certainly not unnatural; but there was nothing to substantiate it beyond the supposition that helping Serbia to arm herself might lead at some future time to a pan-Slavic aggression against the Porte.

The question of how Russia viewed the recent crisis in the Balkans was of no concern to Michael, who had at least had the satisfaction of seeing a partial evacuation of his land, and, if he had to take a half-hearted step to placate his suzerain in the matter of the arms, the fact remained that all the arms were his, and even the stubborn British had not ventured to suggest that he should give them up. In respect to limiting the size of the militia he was free to take his time in commencing a negotiation with the Porte, and it was soon evident that he had no intention of taking this too seriously. In July, the Porte wrote that it was time to consider the question of the militia, but there seems to be no evidence that the letter was ever answered.<sup>85</sup> With the exception of Longworth, none of the consuls seemed to believe that Serbia should be called upon to reduce the present size of her militia,<sup>86</sup> and it is not improbable that Michael was thus encouraged to evade the prescription of the protocol. In any event, Serbia determined to give her attention first to the question of the indemnities intended by that instrument.

T. W. RIKER.

<sup>1</sup> Bulwer to Russell, no. 465 B confidential, 23 July, 1862. F.O. 78/1655; Moustier to Thouvenel, no. 123, 23 July. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 354; Prokesch to Rechberg, no. 55 A-C, 24 July. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/76. Velyk's report, which was transmitted to the next session, is reproduced as no. 34 in "Correspondence relating to the Bombardment of Belgrade in June, 1862." (*Parl. Papers*.)

<sup>2</sup> Bulwer to Russell, no. 465 B confidential.

- <sup>3</sup> Moustier to Thouvenel, telg., 23 July. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 354.
- <sup>4</sup> Thouvenel to Moustier, telg., 27 July. *Ibid.*
- <sup>5</sup> Russell to Bulwer, telg., 24 July. F.O. 78/1645.
- <sup>6</sup> Prokesch to Rechberg, no. 55, *reservé*, 24 July. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/76.
- <sup>7</sup> Rechberg to Prokesch, telg., 26 July. *Ibid.*, XII/77.
- <sup>8</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, 21 July, "Corresp. rel. Bomb. of Belg.," no. 28.
- <sup>9</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 42, 21 July. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.
- <sup>10</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, 21 July, "Corresp. rel. Bomb. Belg."
- <sup>11</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 35, 21 July. F.O. 78/1672
- <sup>12</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 42.
- <sup>13</sup> Bulwer to Russell, no. 480, 29 July. F.O. 78/1655; Moustier to Thouvenel, no. 125, 28 July. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 354; Prokesch to Rechberg, no. 56 A-D. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/76.
- <sup>14</sup> Moustier to Thouvenel, no. 126, 29 July. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 354; Bulwer to Russell, no. 489, 29 July. F.O. 78/1655.
- <sup>15</sup> Rechberg to Prokesch, 31 July. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/77.
- <sup>16</sup> Thouvenel to Flahaut, no. 76, 22 July; telg., 25 July; Flahaut to Thouvenel, no. 43, 29 July. *Aff. étr.* (Angleterre), vol. 722.
- <sup>17</sup> Moustier to Thouvenel, no. 132, 6 August. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 355; Prokesch to Rechberg, no. 58 A-C, 4 August. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/76; Bulwer to Russell, no. 503, 6 August. F.O. 78/1656.
- <sup>18</sup> Bulwer to Russell, no. 504, 6 August. *Ibid.*
- <sup>19</sup> Moustier to Thouvenel, 1 August, telg. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 355.
- <sup>20</sup> Thouvenel to Moustier, 1 August, telg. *Ibid.*
- <sup>21</sup> Moustier to Thouvenel, no. 133, 6 August. *Ibid.* Bulwer to Russell, no. 504, 6 August. F.O. 78/1656, Prokesch to Rechberg, no. 58 C, 4 August. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/76
- <sup>22</sup> Thouvenel to Moustier, no. 65, 8 August. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 355
- <sup>23</sup> Moustier wanted the principle adopted that if Serbian troops attacked the citadel they might be fired on, but that the city should not be bombarded.
- <sup>24</sup> Moustier to Thouvenel, no. 134, 12 August. *Ibid.*
- <sup>25</sup> Bulwer to Russell, no. 530, 14 August. F.O. 78/1656; Moustier to Thouvenel, no. 138, 20 August. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 355; Prokesch to Rechberg, no. 61 A-C, 14 August. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/76.
- <sup>26</sup> When his proposal failed to carry, Lobanov told Bulwer that he would sign no document that did not yield all the fortresses to the Serbians and prohibit the Turks from using their cannon at Belgrade or exercising any armed intervention without the previous consent of the Powers, Bulwer to Russell, 14 August, telg. F.O. 78/1656.
- <sup>27</sup> Bulwer to Russell, no. 503, 6 August. F.O. 78/1656; Prokesch to Bulwer, no. 58 A-C, 4 August. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/76.
- <sup>28</sup> Bulwer to Prokesch, 15 August, and Prokesch to Bulwer, 15 August annexes to Prokesch's no. 62 B. *Ibid.*
- <sup>29</sup> Rechberg to Prokesch, 11 August, 14 August, and 17 August. *Ibid.*, XII/77.
- <sup>30</sup> Russell to Bulwer, 20 August, telg., and 22 August, telg. F.O. 78/1645.
- <sup>31</sup> Bulwer to Russell, 20 August. *Russell Papers*, G. & D., Pub. Rec. Off.
- <sup>32</sup> Apparently even as late as the conference of 26 August, Moustier—if we may believe Prokesch—talked about the advisability of giving up all the fortresses in addition to the requirement of expelling the Moslem inhabitants—thus placing Serbia in the same position as the Danubian Principalities.
- <sup>33</sup> On the meetings of 25 and 26 August; Bulwer to Russell, no. 585, 3 September. F.O. 78/1657; Moustier to Thouvenel, no. 145, 26 August. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 355; Prokesch to Rechberg, nos. 65, 65 A-E, 65 C, 28 August. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/76. For the meetings of 2 and 4 September: Prokesch to Bulwer, no. 67, 4 September. *Ibid.*; Moustier to Thouvenel,

3 September, telg., and 5 September, telg. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 355; Bulwer to Russell, no 585, 3 September, and no. 598, 11 September F.O. 78/1657.

<sup>34</sup> Enclosure 1 of no 42, "Corresp. rel. Bomb. Belg.," *Parl Papers*, 1863, vol lxxiii.

<sup>35</sup> Thouvenel, *Le Secret de l'Empereur*, p. 383.

<sup>36</sup> Thouvenel to Tastu, 24 July, 1862, telg. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), Belgrade, vol. 14.

<sup>37</sup> Tastu to Thouvenel, no. 96, 27 July *Ibid.* Tastu had complained that those who had "an empire over" Michael were a party "composed of the least practical and least intelligent" Tastu to Thouvenel, no. 94, 18 July *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Lytton to Fane, no 9, 2 August F.O. 7/635.

<sup>39</sup> Tastu to Thouvenel, no. 99 bis, 6 August. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), Belgrade, vol. 14.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Lytton to Bulwer, no number, 7 August. F.O. 7/635.

<sup>42</sup> Tastu to Thouvenel, no. 100, 10 August. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), Belgrade, vol. 14.

<sup>43</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 43, 8 August F.O. 78/1673.

<sup>44</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 54, 18 August, inc. *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 47, 19 August. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.

<sup>46</sup> At Sabac the Turkish population were reported to have been removed rather summarily; Vasić to Rechberg, no 42, 21 July *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> Tastu to Thouvenel, no. 103, 22 September *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), Belgrade, vol. 14.

<sup>48</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 51, 16 September. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.

<sup>49</sup> Bulwer to Russell, no. 1, 3 October. F.O. 78/1658.

<sup>50</sup> Tastu to Thouvenel, no. 104, 7 October. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), Belgrade, vol. 14.

<sup>51</sup> Bulwer to Russell, no 1.

<sup>52</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 57, 3 October *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133. Vasić wrote that Bulwer seemed to doubt, after all, of the success of his visit, but one would not gather that from Bulwer's own dispatches.

<sup>53</sup> Tastu to Thouvenel, no 104

<sup>54</sup> *Arch. dip.*, 1862, vol. 2, pp. 139-40.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 140-2.

<sup>56</sup> Tastu to Thouvenel, no 10, 12 October. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), Belgrade, vol. 14.

<sup>57</sup> *Arch. dip.*, 1863, vol. 2, pp. 142-3.

<sup>58</sup> Dozon to Thouvenel, no. 109, 5 December. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), Belgrade, vol. 14.

<sup>59</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 77, 19 November. F.O. 78/1673.

<sup>60</sup> Dozon to Thouvenel, no. 107, 11 November. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), Belgrade, vol. 14.

<sup>61</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 60, 13 October. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.

<sup>62</sup> Dozon to Thouvenel, no. 107. The Moslems at Sokol had made a slight resistance.

<sup>63</sup> Longworth to Erskine, no. 65, 2 December. F.O. 78/1673.

<sup>64</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 60, 9 November, 1862. F.O. 78/1673

<sup>65</sup> Riker, *The Making of Roumania*, chap. xiii.

<sup>66</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 394-5.

<sup>67</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 87, 9 December. F.O. 78/1673.

<sup>68</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 89, 19 December. *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 4, 15 February. F.O. 78/1749.

<sup>70</sup> Longworth to Russell, 17 December, telg.

- <sup>71</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 69, 28 December. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/133.
- <sup>72</sup> Fuad to Michael, 21 December, annex to Rechberg's, 21 December, to Prokesch. *Ibid*, XII/77.
- <sup>73</sup> Michael to Fuad, 27 December, annex to Rechberg's, 29 January, to Prokesch *Ibid*, XII/80.
- <sup>74</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 1, 5 January, 1863. F.O. 78/1749.
- <sup>75</sup> Moustier to Drouyn, no. 14, 15 January, and no. 18, 22 January. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 357.
- <sup>76</sup> Botmiliau to Drouyn, no. 6, 17 February. *Ibid.*, Belgrade, vol. 14.
- <sup>77</sup> Prokesch to Rechberg, no. 10 B, 27 February. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/78.
- <sup>78</sup> Russell to Cowley, no. 821, 7 August F.O. 27/1426.
- <sup>79</sup> Cowley to Russell, no. 984, 14 August. F.O. 27/1444.
- <sup>80</sup> Cowley to Russell, no. 996, 15 August. *Ibid.*
- <sup>81</sup> Russell to Cowley, no. 862, 21 August. F.O. 27/1426.
- <sup>82</sup> Lumley to Russell, no. 112, 16 September F.O. 65/607.
- <sup>83</sup> These numerous dispatches are found in F.O. 65/598 and 65/610.
- <sup>84</sup> Napier to Russell, no. 523, 31 December. F.O. 65/610.
- <sup>85</sup> Prokesch to Rechberg, no. 57, 16 July. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/78; Vasić to Rechberg, no. 19, 25 August, *ibid.* XXXVIII 137.
- <sup>86</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 20, 8 September. *Ibid.*

## THE ADAPTATION OF THE LATIN ALPHABET TO RUSSIAN

At a time which has seen the abandonment in Turkey of the Arabic system of writing in favour of the Latin alphabet and an increased though not, indeed, wholesale turning away from the use of black-letter in Germany, when the Cyrillic alphabet has been replaced by Latin characters in White Russia and, following the general trend, there is talk of a similar change in the spelling of Great Russian, the problem of adapting the Latin alphabet to the last-named language gains an importance that it did not possess when all that was being sought (an ideal never completely realised) was a standard system of transliteration for the quotation of Russian names and words in non-Russian publications.

Save in the academic field of Russian studies no such standardization has, of course, even been achieved. We are all familiar with the chaos which reigns, for instance, in England, where the peculiarities of English spelling, combined with a tendency to borrow foreign transliterations, make it possible to represent the name of one distinguished Russian writer in a great variety of ways which may be summarised as follows:—

Ch(Tch, Tsch) e(é) kh(k,h, c, ch) ov(w, f, ff).

Nor is the state of affairs much different in the other languages, each of which does its rather indifferent best to represent the Russian sounds with the orthographical apparatus at its disposal. Swedish using *sj* for the sound transliterated in French by *ch*, French using *tch* where German has *tsch*, and so on.

The system to be explained in the present article was originally devised as a standard transliteration for all languages using the Latin alphabet, and this was one reason for the avoidance of diacritic signs rarely available save in countries like Czechoslovakia. If, as has been done in White Russia, it should be decided to use a diacritic alphabet modelled on the Czech or Polish, the problem of quotation would resolve itself into one of practical convenience; everyone should spell Čechov with a Č just as Čapek should be (but very rarely is) spelt with a Č.

But it is permissible to argue, on what may be termed æsthetic grounds, that the alphabet selected for use in Russia itself should be as free as possible from diacritic signs. If this be objected to as constituting a move away from the ideal of Pan-Slav unity, it may be pointed out that uniformity is by no means found in those Slavonic languages which already use the Latin alphabet, that

side by side with the common use of *c* for *ts*, and so forth, there appear many divergencies of greater or less degree; compare, for instance, *ń* in Polish, *ň* in Czech, and *nj* in Croat and Slovene; *v*, *š* and *ňě* in Czech and the corresponding Polish *w*, *sz* and *nie*. It is no doubt true that a uniform system of spelling would facilitate the reading of one Slavonic language by speakers of another, and if some such system were agreed upon there would be strong reasons for bringing Russian into line with the rest. But though it has been suggested, for instance, that the spelling of Polish should be adapted to the Czech system, it does not seem probable that this or any other standardisation will be realised for a long time to come.

It is by no means desired to depreciate the merits of the Czech diacritic system, which is certainly scientific and unambiguous to a degree that we in England might well envy. But its keenest advocates would be compelled, I believe, to admit that (while Kopitar no doubt went rather far in his reference to *Fliegendreck*) it does leave something to be desired from the æsthetic point of view. It seems safe to advance the thesis that, other things being equal, a page of print free from diacritic signs is more beautiful than one in which they abound, that a page of Latin or English—though here beauty is perhaps dearly bought at the price of orthographic chaos—is more pleasing to the eye than, for instance, a page of Wendish or Roumanian. And it is here suggested that this is an element of the problem which should be considered by the framers of the new system for Russian.

If the use of the Latin alphabet unadorned be conceded as an ideal, it remains to be seen whether it is possible to devise a system combining the avoidance of diacritic signs with at least as great a degree of phonetic adequacy as that obtaining in the present Cyrillic spelling of Russian. The following system, it is claimed, satisfies these requirements. It is, apart from one or two tentative changes to be explained in their place, a systematic and unambiguous transliteration of the present post-revolutionary spelling; it follows what may be termed the general lines of European orthography, with definite reference to the æsthetic effect of the printed word; and it avoids all diacritic signs save for the apostrophe as at present used in place of the old "hard sign," a very occasional diæresis, and the optional though highly desirable use of an acute accent as suggested at the end of this article.

(1) The first problem consists in finding a letter to represent the "soft sign" in place of the apostrophe or tick generally used in scientific transliterations of Russian. Here it is suggested that the

letter *y* should be used, as it already is used in one European language (Hungarian). The only other possibility, the *j* used in Croat and Slovene, is rejected on æsthetic grounds as being too closely bound up with various consonantal sounds in many European languages, and also because this letter may be usefully employed elsewhere. Thus : *daty, tolyko, kosyba*. (See also 5 below.)

(2) It follows that another letter must be used for the Cyrillic *ѣ*, which is represented by *y* in Polish and many European transliterations of Russian. For this purpose *u* is proposed, a choice which might be defended on philological grounds (*ѣ* generally coming from an Indo-European *ū*) as well as by the fact that it is also used in French (and Classical Greek), to represent a special development of an original *u*. Thus : *bulu, buly, stolu* (plural, not dative singular).

(3) Cyrillic *ѣ* must therefore be transliterated otherwise than by *u*, and here again the French (and Greek) spelling is proposed; this may also be defended on etymological grounds, as *y* often, though not always, comes from an Indo-European diphthong *ou* or *au*. Examples : *rouka, golovou*.

(4) The other "hard" vowels present no difficulties. *ѧ* would be represented by *e* at the beginning of words (*etot, emaly*), while in those comparatively rare cases where it occurs in the body of a word it might be distinguished from "soft" *e* by a diæresis : *Rodě*.

(5) The transliteration of the "soft" vowels would depend on their position in the word. When initial or preceded by a vowel, *ѧ*, *ю* and *ѣ* would be represented by *ya, yu* and (when so pronounced) *yι* : *yazuk, moyu ; yurodstvo, tvoyu ; moyi, yimi* (but *itog*). It will be observed that there is no possibility of *y* in this position being taken for the "soft sign"; while *yu* is suggested as a convenient and equally unambiguous abbreviation for *you*. The same combinations would also be used to represent the "soft sign" followed by a soft vowel : *rubya* (рыбѣ). *Е* would be *ye* when initial (*yedva*) or preceded by the "soft sign" (*oudivlenye*), but simply *e* when following a vowel (*dobroe, taet, oudivlenie*). After consonants *e* and *i* would, of course, be used (*sosed, sprosil*), while *ѧ* and *ю* would be represented by *ia* and *iu*, both to avoid a superabundance of *y*'s and also to render possible the distinction between consonant + soft vowel and consonant + soft sign + soft vowel. Thus : *podniala, liubovy*. It is also suggested that it would be desirable systematically to represent the special pronunciation of the Cyrillic *ѣ* sometimes indicated by a diæresis (ѣжа); this should be spelt *yo* or *io*, according to position (*volka, moyo ; siostru*). In this case *ě* after a hissing consonant would be represented by *o* : *yescho* (for *sch* see



below). In the few cases where *i* precedes a hard vowel, or follows a vowel and is not pronounced *yi* (e.g., поцѣтине), a diæresis might be placed on the *i*; *idiot* (идиот) would thus be distinguished from *idiot* (идѣт).

(6) As *й* after a vowel is spelt *yi* (or *ï*), as shown above, the letter *й* may be represented by *i*. Thus: *moi, dobruï*.

(7) *ч* and *ш* would be spelt *ch* and *sh* as in English: *cheture, pishet*. *Sch* might be used for *щ* instead of the rather cumbrous *shch*, as *еч* and *щ* are pronounced identically. (In this connexion it may be remembered that *счастье* used to be spelt *щастіе*). Thus: *yescho, ischet*. For *ж*, instead of the *zh* (analogous with *sh* and *ch*) used in many English transliterations, but not found in any European orthography except, of course, in compound words, the letter *j*, which has that value in French and Portuguese, might well be employed: *jelanie, torjestvo*. Similarly, the Cyrillic *х* would not be represented by *kh*, which as a regular consonant-group occurs only in Wendish, but by the letter *c*. The frequency of this sound in Russian appears to justify its representation by so convenient a letter, which does after all often represent a guttural in many European systems of spelling. Thus: *pricod, priecal*. In this case *ц*, for which *c* is used in the Latinised Slavonic alphabet, must be represented by some combination of consonants (as *z* will be required elsewhere); *ts* would appear to be the obvious solution, but would cause ambiguity in the fairly numerous words containing *tc* plus a soft vowel, with their very different pronunciation (отсидеть, etc.). It is therefore proposed that *tz* (a combination familiar from German) should be used (e.g., *tzaritzza, kolytzo*), and that where the group *тз* occurs the two letters should be separated by an apostrophe (*ot'zvouk, ot'zavtrakaty*).

(8) There appears to be no reason, other than tradition, why *r* should not be spelt *v* when so pronounced; this has been done in the specimens below.

(9) One diacritic sign which does seem eminently desirable, at least to the foreign student of Russian, is an accent to indicate the stressed syllable such as is found in Spanish. Whether this would be a useful thing from the point of view of the native speaker of Russian it is difficult to say, though one would imagine that it would be a great help to the correct pronunciation of words, and especially proper names, learnt from books. It might also be used, if so desired, to establish uniformity in the pronunciation of those words which are at present stressed in various ways. If one bears in mind, firstly, that the orthography of Czech and Hungarian goes

so far (unnecessarily far, in the opinion of some critics) as to indicate the length of every vowel in these languages; and secondly, that the vast majority of Russian words may be correctly pronounced from the way in which they are spelt, provided the rather complicated rules have been mastered *and the stressed syllable is known*, the arguments in favour of such an accent are fairly powerful. In Spanish an accent is used in all words not stressed according to a few simple rules, and a similar system might be adopted in Russian. It might be agreed, for instance, that all words not stressed on the penultimate syllable (counting, perhaps, as one syllable two final vowels like *ия*, *ое*, etc.) should bear an acute accent on the vowel of the stressed syllable; stressed prepositions might be indicated in a similar way. Thus: *sobaka*, *coroshee*, *armiya* (no accent); *golová*, *skóvorodou*; *zá more*. This system has been adopted in the third of the specimens below.

(10) The representation of the other letters (*з, с, к*, etc.) requires no comment from the English point of view

It is realised that the adoption of this system, while dealing fairly lightly with names like *Tolstoi*, *Dostoevskii*, *Tourgenev*, and even *Checov*, would produce, in the case *e.g.* of *Gogoly* and especially *Gorykii*, effects rather strange to the eye accustomed to the conventional European transliterations (or mis-transliterations). It must therefore be emphasised that the present orthography is offered, in all humility, for use in Russia. And if, as is by no means outside the bounds of possibility, it should ultimately be decided to represent the "soft sign" by the letter *q*, and to spell the last name *Gorqkiy*, we should be no more justified in refusing to follow suit than we should be in referring to Chopin by the English approximation *Shopang*!

#### Summary of System

а	a	я	ya (ia)
э	e (ě)	е	ye (e)
и	u	и	i (yi, i)
о	o	ё	yo (io)
у	ou	ю	yu (iu)
ья, ъе, ъи, ъё, ъю—ya, ye, yi, yo, yu			
й i			
ь	y	ж	j
ч	ch	х	c
ш	sh	ц	tz
щ	sch	тз	t'z

*Specimens*

(a) Poidou tepery nezavisimo ot vsec sobiraty gribu a to moyi priobreteniya nezametnu, — skazal on i poshol odin s opoushki lesa, gde oni codili po shelkovistoi nizkoj trave mejdou redkimi, starumi beriozami, v seredinou lesa, gde mejdou belumi beriozovumi stvolami sereli stvolu osinu i temneli koustu oreshnika. Otoidia shagov sorok i zaidia za koust bereskleta v polnom tzvetou s yevo rozovo-krasnymi seriojkami Sergei Ivanovich, znaya, chto yevo ne vidiat, ostanovilsia. Vokroug nevo bulo sovershenno tico. Tolyko vvercou berioz, pod ktorumi on stoyal, kak roi pchol, neoumol-kaemo shoumeli mouci, i izredka donosilisj golosa detei.

(b) Petroushka ! vechno tu s obnovkoi,—  
S razodrannum loktiom ! Dostany-ka kalendary.

Chitai, ne tak, kak ponomary,

A s chouvstvom, s tolkom, s rasstanovkoi.

Postoi-ka. Na liste cherkni na zapisnom

Protivou boudouschei nedeli :

K Praskovye Fiodorovne v dom

Vo vtornik zvan ya na foreli.

Kouda kak chouden sozdan svet !

Pofilosofstvoui — oum vskroujitsia ! . . .

(c) V odnóm iz stolichnuc ouchrejdenii po léstnitztám codili lomovikí v tiajoluc sapogác, snosili vniz stolú, shkapú, pulynue sviazki boumág i klali yic na vozá, chtobu vezti v drougóe pome-schenie.

Mejdou lomovikami sovalasy staroushka v bolyshóm platké i iz-pod rouk zagliáduvala vverc po léstnitze, gde snovali vzad i vperiód liudi, i sheptala pro sebiá :

— Góspodi, bátiushka. . . kak v lesóu.

— Poustí, starouca, nogou otdavliú. Chto tebé nado tout ?

— Posobie, bátiushka, prishlá poloucháty.

W. A. MORISON.

# CURRENT RUSSIAN LITERATURE

## II. VLADIMIR SIRIN

UNTIL some years ago it could have been said with some show of reason that the trouble with Russian literature outside Russia was that it had no undergrowth. Since then the position has changed; in spite of the unfavourable conditions (otherwise unfavourable than in Soviet Russia) several young writers of promise have made their appearance (Vladimir Sirin, Nina Berberova, Gayto Gazdanov, Yury Felzen—to speak only of the novelists), and some of them have already fulfilled that promise. The most original and accomplished among them is doubtless Vladimir Sirin, (this is a nom-de-plume, his real name being Nabokov, he is the eldest son of the late V. D. Nabokov, the well-known jurist and politician assassinated in Berlin in 1922 by a political fanatic of the Right).<sup>1</sup>

Sirin began his literary career as a poet by publishing, in 1921, a book of mediocre youthful verse, slightly reminiscent of Fet and Alexey Tolstoy. His second book of verse (*Cluster*) showed a much higher level of craftsmanship and had a strong personal accent; yet it was still very far from foreshadowing his later works in prose or even his later verse, among which there is a delightful long poem about Cambridge, (he was educated at Cambridge, reading simultaneously French literature and zoology; butterflies are his passion, only second to literature).

In 1923 he published translations of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* and Romain Rolland's *Colas Breugnon*, and after that there began to appear in various Russian periodicals abroad his short stories, which from the very outset revealed a striking ease and assurance of style, a very keen instinct of observation, a predilection for original plots and unexpected climaxes—rather unusual in a Russian writer—and a peculiar care for construction, also in contrast with the loose and formless structure of a typical Russian story.

In 1926 appeared his first novel, entitled *Mashenka*. Though not yet a mature work, it contains already the main elements of Sirin's technique. Novelists can be divided into several categories according to their attitude to the reality which they have to treat as their artistic material. There are writers who merely tend to reproduce photographically the reality they see; this way of faithful and detailed reproduction can bear not only on external, but on

<sup>1</sup> An obituary of the eminent Russian public man appeared in this *Review* Vol. I., No. 2, p. 443, Dec. 1922).—ED.

psychological processes. There are those who shun that reality altogether and betake themselves to the realm of pure fantasy. There are those who select from reality and transform it artistically, who *re-create* life, but hold to its laws and probabilities, giving the illusion of naturalness without being photographic and overfaithful, (this latter category would comprise such writers as Balzac and Tolstoy). It seems hard to include Sirin in any of these categories. He is a realist in the sense that he uses material with which real life provides him and is endowed with an exceptional visual keenness; but what strikes us in him is the mixture of realism and artificiality. He does not content himself with recreating the natural flow of life, he artificially organises his real-life material. His artificiality is deliberate, it is not a defect, it is not due to his inability to hit the mark, so to speak—it is entirely desired, a part of his artistic *credo*. Art must be artificial. An artist must neither reproduce the reality just as he perceives it, nor even transform it creatively and selectively and yet obeying its laws; he must create on a plane parallel to that of the real life. Real people and real life must be his subject-matter, but he must not loosen his grip on them, he must not let their world, the world of his novels, have an independent verisimilar existence—as do Balzac or Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky or Hardy; his world must obey the laws established by him, its creator and arbitrary master; the reader must be constantly aware of the author's will directing and shaping the destinies of his characters. Where other writers would deal with probabilities of life, Sirin prefers to choose bare possibilities. It is not accidental that coincidences play such an important part in his novels. He uses them not as one of the many elements of reality, he emphasises and generalises them, makes them a starting-point and a springboard of his novels, deliberately uses them as one of his artistic devices. This gives an appearance of artificiality to his novels, though they are peopled with real human beings and describe real life.

Take *Mashenka*. It deals with facts of real life, definitely circumscribed in time and place, and that life is described with masterful realism and truthfulness of vision, (the humdrum life of an ordinary Russian boarding-house in Berlin during the first years of the emigration and the pastimes of a well-to-do youth in a pre-revolutionary country house are excellently described)—yet many people, on laying down the book, would probably say: "How unreal all this is, how untrue to life!" Does it mean that Sirin has failed? Not at all, for he was out to describe not a probable course of events, but one that is just barely possible, though not improbable, one that

without being unreal is not natural and ordinary. Sirin loves playing a sudden turn upon his readers, springing a surprise on them, winding up his story with a totally unexpected climax. *Mashenka*, for instance, ends in a quite unexpected way, and this gives it a peculiar freshness and originality. But those unexpected, and seemingly unnatural, artificial climaxes always have a significance on a different and deeper plane.

It is strange that Sirin's *Mashenka* passed almost unnoticed; it was fresh and original, very nearly perfect in construction—no looseness whatever about it, a thing rather unusual in Russian literature, reminiscent of Pushkin's and Lermontov's prose. One of its critics laid particular stress on the mastery with which the every-day life of a Russian boarding-house in Berlin was drawn, and hailed in Sirin the first "*bytopisatel*" of the Russian emigration, expecting the young author to follow up *Mashenka* with something more in that line. Sirin's next novel, however, belied that expectation. It did not contain a single Russian character, its action was set in the German bourgeois milieu, its theme was entirely psychological.

It is called *King, Queen, Knave*. As the title suggests, Sirin chose here a trite, hackneyed subject, the eternal triangle of husband, wife and lover. Yet so original is his handling of this subject, so peculiar the architectonic of the novel and so fresh and striking its verbal texture, that the impression of freshness and originality prevails despite the banal theme. There are only three characters in the novel: Drayer, a wealthy business man; Martha, his young and pretty wife; and Franz, a poor relation of Drayer, a shy, self-conscious young man. Drayer is a most curious, elusive person; outwardly a perfect bourgeois, very sober and matter-of-fact, he hides under this matter-of-factness a poetical imagination, a passion for far-off wanderings, an interest in things out of the ordinary, a subtly ironical (and yet romantic) attitude to life. Martha, who is essentially much more *terre-à-terre* than her matter-of-fact husband, has long grown tired of Drayer's seeming indifference, of his sudden and incomprehensible moods. She falls in love with Franz and makes him fall in love with her. Gradually she conceives the idea of putting Drayer out of the way. The psychological interest of the novel lies in the presentation of the slow maturing of that idea in Martha's mind, of the way she infects with it Franz, who becomes her passive and involuntary accomplice. She considers different means of achieving her end, studies various methods of poisoning, but they all prove impracticable. Then an opportunity presents

itself to Martha. They all go to the seaside. Martha proposes an excursion in a boat, and conceives an elaborate plan which is to end in the drowning of Drayer. Though the whole thing does not look very natural, the reader is prepared to see it succeed. But with Sirin one never knows what he has up his sleeve. The climax of the story is again unexpected, though in a way quite usual. Whether consciously or unconsciously (all the time we are left ignorant as to whether he is aware of Martha's affair with Franz), Drayer thwarts Martha's plan. Martha catches a bad cold and dies of pneumonia, and Drayer, who was seemingly so cold and indifferent, realises how he loved and still loves her.

There is an air of deliberate unreality about Drayer, Martha and Franz, which is further emphasised and enhanced by the introduction of two queer, almost fantastic minor personages. One is the old inventor of "robot" mannequins with whom Drayer is in business negotiations—there is a subtly symbolical meaning in this bringing in of mannequins, it throws back a reflection on the living characters of the story—they are themselves like mannequins or those card figures they are supposed to impersonate; they seem to move about in a flat, one-dimensional world. The method of realistic description used by Sirin, his uncannily acute vision of the smallest external details and his knack of putting his visions into striking verbal shapes, gives a peculiar effect to this air of eerie unreality. Still queerer is the other fantastic personage—Franz's landlord, a funny old juggler who calls himself "Menetekelperes," and gives us to understand that Franz, Martha and the rest of them are but emanations of his mind. In his person the author, who until then has kept aloof from the world created by him (there is, indeed, very little subjective element in Sirin, and from his novels you never learn what are his feelings, views, likes or dislikes), seems to peep into the novel and remind us that he is the sole and arbitrary creator and master of this world which he has at his mercy.

Sirin's short stories published after *King, Queen, Knave* (but in part written before it), in a volume entitled *The Return of Chorb* (together with his later poetry), reveal in miniature the same qualities which characterise his novels—a predilection for unusual situations, a great skill in handling them, an almost uncanny visual keenness, and a great assurance of style. Some of these short stories are little masterpieces. What makes them so different from any other stories in Russian literature (including Chekhov) is the amount of conscious artistic effort you feel in them, of joyful resistance to the material the author had to handle, of his pleasure in

twisting it this or that way, of making it flexible and submissive. Seldom does one get from literature such an impression of the artist's own creative joy. The more unpleasant is the subject—and Sirin often chooses human baseness for his subject, his characters are often repulsive, though in a way very different from Dostoyevsky's—the more you are aware of that creative joy. One of the best stories in the book is *The Return of Chorb*. A very simple theme of a man's grief at the sudden loss of a beloved person and the living-down of that grief is treated in a most original way. In these short stories Sirin shows his great versatility; there are no two of them written in the same manner. Different influences may be traced here and there, but they are welded into something quite original. There are, for instance, one or two stories with a touch of Hoffman-esque element, but they also contain something you will never find in Hoffman. One story (*Podlets*) distantly resembles Chekhov in manner, but it is a story Chekhov would never have written. An influence of Bunin can be traced in Sirin's language, in his descriptions, in his visual acuity; but his art of composition, his skill in handling the plot, make him quite unlike Bunin. A comparison has sometimes been drawn between Sirin and Proust, but "creative memory" and attention to details are, to my mind, the only things he has in common with the great French writer.

In 1929 Sirin wrote a remarkable story called *Pilgram*. It is a study of the abnormal onesided mentality of an otherwise rather commonplace German, owner of a small zoological shop in Berlin, who has a crazy passion for butterflies and is obsessed by a dream of travelling all over the world, to see with his own eyes the exotic butterflies he so much loves and of which he has such priceless collections in stock. But this is only a dream, he is old and ailing, business is bad in the post-war slump, and there is little chance of his dream being realised. Then one day he has a visit from a famous entomologist who, after some bargaining, after keeping him for several days in suspense, buys one of his most precious collections and pays a good price for it. At last Pilgram's dream is going to come true—he will go to Spain, thence over to Africa, to India, to the Far East. He has a wife, a simple-minded old creature, who has no sympathy with her husband's dreams of exotic multi-coloured butterflies. He keeps her in the dark about his plans, and on the day of his proposed departure, after completing all preparations, buying a ticket for Madrid, etc., he sends her away on some errand, then collects his things, the money—he intends taking all of it, leaving his wife nothing. Pinned on the mantelpiece he leaves a



note for her, and is ready to start when he remembers that he has no small change, only banknotes. He goes to fetch his money-box, and in opening it scatters the coins on the floor. He stoops to pick them up. Here Sirin, with his usual ingenuity, breaks the story, shifts it, and tells us how Eleonora—Pilgram's wife—returned home to find their room in a state of complete disorder. Before she has time to think of a burglary she sees the message left by her husband. Bewildered, puzzled, she sits down on the bed, trying to compass what has happened, unable to decide on some course of action, unable to grasp the meaning of her husband's departure with all their money, just after prosperity and happiness seemed to dawn on them. I will quote in full the concluding passage of the story to show the effective unexpectedness of its ending:—

“ Yes, Pilgram had gone far away. He probably visited Granada, and Murcia, and Albarracin; he probably saw the pale night moths turn round the tall, dazzling white street lamps in the Sevillian avenues; he probably got, too, as far as the Congo and Surinam and saw all those butterflies he had dreamt of seeing—the velvety black ones with crimson spots between their firm veins; the rich blue ones, and the small mica-like ones with antennæ resembling black feathers. And in a way it does not matter in the least that, entering the shop in the morning, Eleonora saw the valise and then her husband sitting on the floor, amid scattered coins, his back against the counter, his face set askew and grown blue, long dead.”

For sheer brilliance of writing and effectiveness of construction, *Pilgram* is one of Sirin's masterpieces. And in spite of the inhuman detachment with which the story is told and the inhuman crankiness of Pilgram himself there is a poignant human note in the impression it leaves on us. To realise Sirin's loneliness in Russian literature, one has merely to imagine the way in which, say, Gogol, Turgenev, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky or Chekhov would have treated the same subject, (this is always a good test; in his remarkable essay on Tolstoy's novels Constantine Leontyev imagined how Pushkin would have written *War and Peace*; Mikhailovsky applied a similar test to the stories of Gleb Uspensky).

In 1929, too, Sirin wrote his most ambitious and significant novel—*Luzhin's Defence* (*Zashchita Luzhina*). It is also a study of abnormal, cranky mentality and psychology, that of a chess wonder-kind who grows to become a sort of chess maniac. *Luzhin's Defence* lacks perhaps the compositional unity and simplicity of *King, Queen, Knave*. Its psychological theme is more complex, and so

is also its structure. Yet in a way Sirin achieves here a still greater economy and simplicity—instead of three characters, as in *King, Queen, Knave*, we have only one who matters—Luzhin himself. But there is a greater variety and a more detailed handling of secondary characters. In harmony with its theme, the novel is constructed like a complicated game of chess, full of intricate combinations—this chess construction is introduced intentionally, it is called upon to reflect the thematic design and Luzhin's obsession, after a certain moment, with the idea that life is but a game of chess played against him.

The main interest of the novel lies in the inner tragedy of Luzhin, who has no other interest in life but chess, and in his one-sidedness, his lack of ordinary human qualities, appears to us almost as a monster. Yet there is, behind this monstrosity, something tragically and pathetically human which makes a level-headed Russian girl fall in love with him and, to her mother's horror, become betrothed to him. But in the middle of an international tournament in Berlin, in which Luzhin has to contest the world championship against the Italian champion Turati (the description of their chess duel is a thing quite unique in literature), Luzhin goes mad. His slow and gradual return to reason, to the understanding of the outward world, which he perceives as a child and from which chess has disappeared completely, is presented with great mastery. All goes well till chess makes a sudden reappearance in his life, his gift and passion return to him, and at the same time his madness acquires a new turn, takes the form of chess persecution, and he finally decides to "drop out of the game"; he breaks the window of the bathroom and throws himself out of it.

After *Luzhin*, Sirin wrote three more novels—he is a prolific writer, and in this I perceive a certain danger for him. *The Spy* (*Soglyadatay*) is a very short novel, rather a longish short story, a weird and ultimately not very convincing study of multiplication of personality, of a man who, after committing suicide or failing to commit it—it is not quite easy to make this out—spies on himself in an after-death (or what he thinks to be an after-death) life, but in an earthly environment, and studies his mirror-like broken personality as reflected in various personages he meets. There are some brilliant passages in this story with its intermingling of the real and the fantastic, but as a whole, as I say, it is not very convincing. Through the mouthpiece of its hero Sirin expresses one of the important points in his artistic *credo*: "I have realised that the only happiness in this world is *in observing, in spying, in looking*

*with wide-open eyes at oneself, at others—in drawing no conclusions, in simply gazing.”*

Sirin also voices here his philosophy of life, which is somewhat akin to Tolstoy's historio-sophical ideas in *War and Peace* :—

“ There are no laws—a toothache loses a battle, a rainy day cancels a proposed insurrection—everything is vacillating, everything is due to chance, and vain have been the efforts of that ramshackle and grumbling bourgeois in Victorian check trousers, who wrote the obscure work called *Capital*—a fruit of insomnia and megrim. There is great fun in asking oneself, when one looks back at the past : What would have happened if— . . . in substituting one contingency for another, in watching how from a grey minute of life, gone imperceptibly and fruitlessly, buds forth a marvellous rosy event which at its appointed hour had failed to bud, to shine forth. Mysterious is this ramification of life ; in each past moment one feels one is at a crossing—it was so, but it might have been otherwise ; and the countless flaming furrows stretch, doubling and trebling, over the dark field of history. . . . ”

Sirin's next novel, called *The Feat* (*Podvig*), is somewhat disappointing, too. In sheer brilliance of style, of descriptions, of psychological portrayal of minor characters, it can match with his best work. But the figure of its hero lacks inner conviction. He is a young Russian émigré who, after a few years spent at Cambridge (there is an obvious element of autobiographical reminiscences in the outward skeleton of the work), a life with his mother and stepfather in Switzerland, and a somewhat strange love affair with a Russian girl he met in London, who is also loved by his English friend, Darwin, decides, for no obvious reason, out of nostalgia or an inborn passion for wanderings, to go somewhat mysteriously, after elaborate preparations, to Russia, or rather to the vague and unnamed country of his dreams and reminiscences. With his disappearance into Russia the story ends.

Sirin's latest novel, *Camera Obscura*, has not yet been published in book form ; in it he tried his hand at a new genre—that of cinematographic dynamism.

Sirin's un-Russianness has been pointed out by several critics. This is certainly true of his technique. His interest in his plot, his careful construction, his inventiveness and “ artificiality ” make up a whole that is very un-Russian, though separately these elements can be found in individual Russian writers. Besides, Sirin has no interest in ideas, in the social background, so characteristic of the Russian traditional novel. Finally, Russian literature has always been notorious for its interest in, and sympathy with, men, for its

## OBITUARY

### LORD TREOWEN

(16 July, 1851, to 18 October, 1933)

IN 1920 the School of Slavonic Studies, which had only been founded in 1915, was still a department of King's College, and it was proceeding to strengthen and reconstitute an Advisory Slavonic Committee which was already attached to the School. Among eminent public men who accepted membership of this Committee was the late Lord Carnock, who had recently retired from the post of Permanent Secretary of the Foreign Office. Himself unable through failing health to accept the chairmanship of the Committee, he proposed the election of Major-General Lord Treowen, earlier well known under the name of Sir Ivor Herbert, both as a distinguished soldier and as a sturdy Liberal Member of Parliament; and Lord Treowen accepted this post.

In his younger days, in the time of Alexander III of Russia, he had served as Military Attaché to the British Embassy in St. Petersburg under one of the most outstanding of British Ambassadors, Sir Robert Morier, who had also in his service that eminent Oriental scholar, the late Sir Charles Eliot. Lord Treowen retained to the end a genuine affection for Russia. He spoke Russian and had many entertaining stories in that language. He had at times difficult questions to deal with, one of which was a hare-brained and unprepared schoolboy excursion of the present Lord Baden Powell, which he smoothed into insignificance in a way that was at once fatherly and firm. He had much admiration for the Russian army.

Apart from his Russian connections, Lord Treowen had many firm friends among the Polish aristocracy, and at all times was in the greatest sympathy with the Polish national cause. It was a deep satisfaction to him that he was able to see Poland again take her place on the map of Europe and to witness the restoration of a Polish Embassy in London.

Under the wise guidance and constant care of Lord Treowen, the School of Slavonic Studies progressed every year to a greater stability. Not confining himself to the Advisory Committee, he also accepted membership of the Board of Slavonic Studies, the university authority concerned with recommendations to the Senate on all points of detail affecting syllabuses of courses and the work of individual students. Whenever in London, he attended all the somewhat meticulous meetings of this Board, and more than once made the journey from Monmouthshire, where he was Lord Lieutenant, in order to be present; in cases of his inevitable absence,

there was always a letter from him of explanation and apology. But, of course, his principal significance to the School was his leadership of it as a public institution which aimed at filling an enormous gap in British university studies. He was specially interested in the preparation for the consular service and in the army classes for military interpreterships, which he did what he could to regularise with the War Office. On the other hand, he spared himself no time or trouble on behalf of individual students of the School, whether it was a case of recommending them personally for employment or interviewing a colonial High Commissioner for the extension of a scholarship.

When in 1932 the School was promoted to the status of a special department of the University of London, with its own Council under the direction of the Senate, the Advisory Committee was entrusted with the task of selecting the members of this body, and here again Lord Treowen's guidance was invaluable to the School. At a unanimous request of this Council, at the age of 81, he accepted the post of the first Chairman of the School in its new status. The meetings of the Committee of Management were held in his own house. He missed no meeting either of this Committee or of the Council until his fatal illness this autumn. Before every meeting he went through with me in the fullest detail every question to be considered, mastered it completely, and gave a straight and simple direction to the discussions of the Council. It was only in this September that I stayed several days with him in Monmouthshire in order that he might be as fully posted as possible on all the tasks of the new session. The first conspicuous task was a series of lectures by some of the most prominent public men in Poland, and Lord Treowen had engaged to take the Chair at the first of these lectures, by his friend Prince Radziwiłł. It was on the day of this lecture that he died.

The trouble which Lord Treowen took for the School impressed us all the more because of the numberless other good works in which he was engaged. Apart from his numerous duties as Lord Lieutenant, he was also President of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire at Cardiff, but there was hardly a public interest in Monmouthshire with which he was not actively identified.

This fine soldier and great gentleman had a personal care for everyone connected with the School, whatever their rank of service, and his complete simplicity and great natural dignity won him the sincere affection of all of us.

BERNARD PARES.

## PRINCE A. D. OBOLENSKY.

THIS talented and enlightened man, who died in September last, had at one time played an important part in the Russian bureaucratic *milieu*. He will go down to history as the man to whom Count S. Witte entrusted the drafting of the historic manifesto of 17 (30) October, 1905, and who cleverly and skilfully carried out that task.

Prince Alexis Dmitrievich Obolensky belonged to that branch of the stock of Rurik (the Chernigov branch) which gave Russia many prominent men, not only in military service, but also in civil administration, during the Moscow and Petersburg periods of Russian history. His father had been prominent in the reign of Alexander II as Chairman of the Committee which drafted the new liberal Press Act of 1865. His uncle was a well-known archeograph and editor of historical documents, and Director of the Moscow Archives of the Ministry of Justice. His elder brother, Alexander, was Deputy Governor-General of Warsaw, and as such showed himself, during a somewhat difficult period, an enlightened administrator of whom the Poles, as far as I know, keep a kindly memory; later on he was a Member of the Council of State. As a glass industry owner, he was chairman of the Russo-French Chamber of Commerce in St. Petersburg. His other brother, Nicholas, began a brilliant career which was suddenly broken off because of the independence of his character.

Prince Alexis Dmitrievich was District Marshal of the Nobility in the Province of Kaluga, and then made an early and rapid official career as Director of the Nobles' and Peasants' Banks, Assistant Minister of the Interior and afterwards Assistant Minister of Finance, in charge of the spirit monopoly. His work in the Ministry of Finance brought about a *rapprochement* with Count Witte and he became a genuine admirer of that great statesman, though, of course, he did not sympathise with all Witte's characteristics and methods. In the first Russian "constitutional" Cabinet, headed by Witte, Prince A. D. Obolensky held the important office of the Procurator of the Holy Synod, and in this capacity he linked his name with the introduction of religious tolerance in Russia. He was himself a religious man, a faithful son of the Orthodox Church, and in his last years religious interests and occupations seemed to play a particularly important part in his life.

He was in general a man of genuine spiritual impulses and real intellectual interests. Related to the brilliant family of the Princes Trubetskoy, he, like the latter, fell strongly under the influence of the personality and ideas of Vladimir Solovyev, whose cult he maintained lovingly and steadfastly. In the name of the famous philosopher he used to organise dinners of philosophers and people interested in philosophy. At first they used to be held in the Donon Restaurant; but during the war these Solovyev dinners or "symposia" were held at Obolensky's house. These dinners, at which people met to converse in the name of the great Russian philosopher, publicist and poet, have left in me, as one of those who attended them, a most pleasant memory, chiefly owing to the charming courtesy—in the best and highest sense of this word—of their organiser and host. They used to bring together, in a worthy and becoming manner, many enlightened Russians of different age, social position and views. Sometimes foreign guests were also present. Thus, I remember to have made, at one of those dinners during the war, the acquaintance of the now famous philosopher and writer, Count Keyserling, a Baltic German, then still a Russian subject.

Prince Alexis Obolensky remained long in Soviet Russia, and it was only after hard and painful experiences that he managed to leave the country. He settled in Dresden, and there he died at the age of seventy-eight. Not only a highly educated but a genuinely enlightened man, he showed in personal intercourse that charming combination of really good upbringing, fruit of an age-old culture, with personal gentleness which was so often to be met in our upper class. He was a kindly Russian and a good European.

PETER STRUVE.

## JÓZEF WEYSSENHOFF (1860-1932).

JÓZEF WEYSSENHOFF, the Polish novelist who died last year, began his literary activities towards the end of that period of Polish literary history (called positivism), the most eminent representatives of which were Prus and Sienkiewicz, and the beginning of a new period which was being evolved in conjunction with the anti-positivist reaction then prevalent in Europe.

By the character of his work and talent, however, and the technique of his style in the writing of fiction, he belonged rather to the older generation of writers, although he survived them by many years. The world and the people of his novels savour still of the second half of the 19th century. It is the world of landed gentry, traditional in Polish literature. The characters are landowners, lovers of country life, of horses and hunting. They are simple, brave, healthy, cheerful folk, as yet uninfected with the "fin-de-siècle" malady, but, on the other hand, they fail to realise the vital problems of that period of history. From the point of view of the artist, Weyssenhoff's attitude towards his characters is on the whole objective—epic. Very occasionally one senses light touches of irony, but it never colours the general tone of the novel and it is by no means always even clearly conscious—as, for example, in his first popular work of fiction: *The Deeds and Thoughts of M. Podfilipski*, a psychological study of a certain cosmopolitan and somewhat degenerate type of aristocrat.

It is not in irony and, therefore, not either in satire nor even in certain political or social tendencies of his various novels that the real strength of Weyssenhoff is to be found. Nor does it lie in the traditional technique of his works. His true merit is as a *poet* in touch with nature in his own country, where he regards it with the eye of an artist who is at the same time a country squire and a sportsman. It is here that his pen creates a whole world of living creatures, human and animal alike. Here are revealed to us all the sounds, colours, lights, shapes and movement of the forests, waters, meadows and marshes—the landscape of Poland in her varying aspects and districts, in her varying, but chiefly summer, moods and seasons. It is here that Weyssenhoff describes with incomparable vividness life lived close to nature, and the drawing of strength and health from communion with her.

His two most outstanding novels are: *The Sable and the Girl* (translated into English by K. Żuk-Skarszewska) and *The Forest*. The subject of the first is the ancient Lithuania of history, immortalised by Mickiewicz; that of the second is Polesia, the country on the eastern borderlands of Poland. Two countrysides, each with its own separate people and its own geographical structure, are presented by Weyssenhoff with equal plasticity and knowledge. The structure of these novels is simple, the plots unsophisticated, the characters commonplace, the happenings of their lives ordinary. A spirit of pure art breathes, nevertheless, through these works, which might be compared with Turgenev's *Sportsman's Sketches*. It is



true that Weyssenhoff's novels do not possess that revealing significance which characterises the tales of Turgenev (the "discovery" of the Russian peasant), but they approach very near to them in style and treatment and surpass them by richness of expression in the portraying of nature and her influence.

The descriptive style of Weyssenhoff possesses all the qualities of the brilliant, tranquil, controlled narrative: clarity, conciseness, economy of words, harmony of musical and pictorial elements together with simplicity and precision. Here we have no "modernist" exaggeration, no superabundance of epithets and similes, no blurring of outlines and contours. It is realism of a noble and inspiring kind. There is in the writer's attitude towards nature neither metaphysics nor mysticism, nor do we find romantic fancies, but in their place we have the joy of a true artist mingling with that of a healthy, peaceful-minded man.

Such was Weyssenhoff in his best works, and therein lies his significance in Polish literature.

M. KRIDL.

## EDGAR MACNAUGHTEN

THIS Review ought not to pass without a tribute to Edgar MacNaughten who truly gave his life for Russia. He was a noble servant of that great and beneficent institution, the American Y.M.C.A. In the War he devoted himself to helping Russian War prisoners in Austro-Hungary. Later he was in Siberia during the period of Kolchak's rule, and afterwards did striking work in famine relief in Soviet Russia. His twin worker for Russia, Paul Anderson, has testified to the "intensity of his love for Russian undertakings and the large plans he always fostered." "His visions and his plans for Russian youth," Mr. Anderson continues, "were of the same stuff, for he was always practical, in the best sense, putting into practice that which he believed to be the ideal . . . . He was ahead of us in experience, and his wisdom gave him patience." He was active in every way in which he could further the religious and moral development of the young Russians of the emigration through the Russian Student Christian Movement, which relied with the fullest confidence on his great good sense and his never-failing affection.

It was his work for the emigration which brought that bright life to an early end. He was indefatigable in seeking support in his own country for the Russian refugees and literally spent himself in this work. The free training college for clergy in Paris, which is the germ of great things for the future of Russian Christianity, owes him an enormous debt. All this work he continued to the very end, even in the intervals between injections of morphia. The Soviet Government honoured itself as well as MacNaughten when it recognised his famine relief work in Russia by establishing a scholarship in his name and placing his picture in the "corner of honour."

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# HISTORY

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## SOVIET LEGISLATION (VIII)

*(Selection of Decrees and Documents)*

*Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).*

**On the obligatory delivery of grain to the State by kolhozy and individual households out of the 1933 crop, in compliance with the Decree of 19 January, 1933.**

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) call the attention of all party and soviet organisations to the specific peculiarities of grain collection in 1933.

This year, in distinction from former years, we have not the grain collections which were made on the basis of not quite exact contracts with the peasants, but grain deliveries based on a firm and rigid law; these deliveries must be fulfilled by the kolhozy and by the individual peasants. This means that no evasion of grain deliveries within the fixed time-limits must be allowed under any circumstances.

In distinction from former years, the grain deliveries to the State will be made not in accordance with changing programmes, but in correspondence with firm and rigid regulations fixed in the law; this must strengthen the position of kolhozy, create economic stability and guarantee the possibility for kolhozy and individual peasants to ascertain exactly their incomes. This means that no additional and extra deliveries of grain are to be allowed in future under any circumstances.

In distinction from former years, when the first two or three months of the grain collection campaign, July, August and September, were wasted and spent "in preparations for the campaign," and in the following months there were attempts to make up for lost time by means of reprisals, during the present grain delivery campaign the decisive months of the campaign must be the first three months, July, August and September. Past experience shows that the first three months decide the success of the grain collection campaign, because quantities of grain not collected during these months cannot be collected during the rest of the year. This means that the grain deliveries must be started from the first days of threshing and that the kolhoz grain trade must be stopped from the first days of the grain delivery campaign.

The Council of People's Commissaries and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) resolve:—

(1) To stop the kolhoz and individual-peasant grain trade and also the purchases of grain by the "Zakupkhab" in the republics of Central Asia and Transcaucasia as from 25 June, 1933; in Ukraine, Crimea, North Caucasus, Lower Volga, Central Blacksoil Region, Middle Volga, the Tartar republic, Alma-Ata and the southern districts of Kazakstan—

as from 1 July, 1933; in the remaining regions, provinces and republics—as from 1 August, 1933.

(2) To instruct party and soviet organisations to organise the grain deliveries in kolhozy as well as in the individual sectors, from the very beginning of threshing.

(3) To apply the law on the obligatory deliveries of grain to members of the kolhozy who had sown grain cultures in their orchards and kitchen gardens, calculating the quantities to be surrendered on the basis of the area actually sown and at the rate of 5 per cent. less than the quantities fixed for the individual peasants or 5 per cent. more than the quantities fixed for the kolhozy.

(4) To instruct party and soviet organisations to exercise their rights in the management of the grain delivery campaign; they must remember that the strengthening of the grain-collecting apparatus does not remove the responsibility of the party and soviet organisations for carrying out the grain delivery campaign, but, on the contrary, emphasises this responsibility. To regard secretaries of the provincial party committees, presidents of the provincial executive committees, secretaries of the district party committees, and presidents of the district executive committees, presidents of the village soviets, presidents of the kolhoz boards of directors, secretaries of the kolhoz party cells and chiefs of the political departments of the machine and tractor stations, as personally responsible for the grain deliveries in their corresponding provinces and districts.

(5) To forbid all Government authorities, without any exception, including the grain-collecting organisations, to demand any extra or additional deliveries of grain from kolhozy and individual peasants; to warn all party and soviet organisations that persons responsible for demanding extra deliveries will be prosecuted as criminals.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,

V. MOLOTOV (SKRYABIN).

Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks),

I. STALIN.

20 June, 1933.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 21 June, 1933, No. 155-5086.)

*Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).*

**On the delivery of grain to the State by the sovhozy, out of the 1933 crop.**

The sovhozy, as State undertakings whose total production belongs fully to the State, must carry out the fixed grain deliveries before any other organisations and within the time limits fixed by the Government.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) resolve :—

(1) To instruct the People's Commissariat for Sovhozy, the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, the People's Commissariat for Supplies, the directors of sovhozy, and the chiefs of the political departments of the sovhozy to deliver grain, during July, August and September, to the amount of 73,827,000 puds.

(2) To confirm the attached schedule of grain deliveries by the sovhozy of all systems during July, August and September in correspondence with the different republics, provinces and regions.

(3) To cancel the last year's practice of appointing special vice-directors responsible for the grain deliveries. To confirm that the only person who is personally responsible and is liable to criminal prosecution, is the director of the sovhoz ; he has no right to shift this responsibility on to anyone else, including the branch managers. To instruct the directors and the chiefs of the political departments in the sovhozy to organise harvesting, threshing and transport in such a manner as to be able to transport the grain to the receiving stations directly, immediately after the threshing has begun.

(4) The Council of People's Commissaries and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) call the attention of the secretaries of the provincial and regional party committees and of the Central Committees of national parties, and also of the presidents of the provincial and regional executive committees and of the Councils of People's Commissaries of autonomous republics to the fact that they are responsible not only for the fulfilment of the grain delivery programmes by kolhozy and individual peasants, but also for the timely and full delivery of grain to the State by the sovhozy of their province, region or republic.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,  
V. MOLOTOV (SKRYABIN).

Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki),  
I. STALIN.

21 June, 1933.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 22 June, 1933, No. 156-5087.)

*Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR, and of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.*

**On the amalgamation of the People's Commissariat for Labour of the USSR with the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.**

In order to meet the requests of the workers' trade-union organisations and to secure the better execution of duties imposed on the People's

Commissariat for Labour of the USSR, the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR, and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions resolve :—

(1) To amalgamate the People's Commissariat for Labour of the USSR, together with all its branches and departments, including the Department of Social Insurance, with the apparatus of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, centrally as well as locally, and to charge the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions with the duties which formerly had been carried out by the People's Commissariat for Labour and by its local branches.

(2) To instruct the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions to prepare, in a month's time, a project of concrete measures in correspondence with this decree and to present this project to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,  
M. KALININ.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,  
V. MOLOTOV (SKRYABIN).

Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions,  
N. SHVERNIK.

Moscow, Kremlin, 23 June, 1933.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 24 June, 1933, No. 158-5089.)

*Resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).*

## **On the establishment of Political Departments in the Railway Transport.**

### **I**

#### **TASKS OF THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENTS.**

The railway transport is the chief nerve of the economic life of the country, the material foundation of liaison between towns and countryside, between industry and agriculture, between various provinces of the USSR, and between the front and the rear. The weakening of the railway transport and its irregular work mean the weakening of the whole of the national economy, the weakening and the disruption of the defence of the country.

The present moment is characterised by the fact that signs of some weakening of the railway transport are noticeable and that some irregularities in its working are apparent. Up till now, there is no danger of a progressive increase of such alarming signs. But there is no doubt that, should such signs be on the increase, we may be faced with the menace of dissolution of all our national economy and of the defence of the country.

The greatest menace is not so much in the fact that the signs of

weakening and irregularities of working of the railway transport have become noticeable. The most serious menace is that the majority of the railway workers do not notice or are trying to suppress them, do not reveal and liquidate them, but try to hide them.

With whom rests the responsibility for the disorders in the railway transport? Of course, the responsibility rests, first of all and above all, with all the Communists and active non-party workers of the railway transport, without any regard to their position. Communists and non-party activists, and only they, are called upon to manage the railway transport. They must be held responsible for its shortcomings, and for the irregularity of its working.

In order to raise the railway transport to the proper standard and develop it properly, the transport workers must first of all improve their qualifications, must study thoroughly the technique of the business, must master the technique, must become real experts and masters of the business. And what are the actual conditions? Half-knowledge and technical illiteracy are, as before, the characteristic features of the majority of Communists and non-party activists. There is a good deal of noise and bragging about the mastering of technique, but there is no real mastery at all.

In order to develop the railway transport properly and finish with its shortcomings, we must raise the spirit of conscientious discipline and labour competition among railway workers, finish with inefficiency, and develop a sense of the greatest responsibility; we must do everything possible to make the railway transport work as regularly and precisely as clock-work. But what have we actually? Inefficiency, weak labour discipline, and irregular working of transport are, so far, not liquidated. Even more, Communists and non-party activists not only do not oppose slackers and other transgressors of labour discipline, but, on the contrary, are loafers and slackers themselves.

In order to develop railway transport properly and raise it to the necessary standard, we must carry on a systematic struggle against class enemies and make war on kulaks and other wreckers; we must inoculate transport workers with a sense of revolutionary watchfulness; we must courageously reveal shortcomings in the working of the railway transport and burn them out with the hot iron of honest Bolshevik self-criticism. But what do we have actually? Political blindness and naive tolerance to wreckers and other class enemies, absence of self-criticism and cowardly suppression of mistakes are still predominant features of a great number of Communists and non-party active transport workers.

There is no need to say that as long as these crying shortcomings in the work of Communists and non-party activists remain, irregularities and disorders in the working of railway transport will remain.

In order to develop the railway transport and raise it to the proper standard, it is necessary to liquidate these scandalous shortcomings in our

work. The Political Departments are being established in order to facilitate and accelerate the fulfilment of these most urgent tasks.

The task of the Political Departments is to secure, on the basis of persuasion, by methods of organisational, educational and political influence, the establishment of "a conscientious iron discipline" (Lenin) in the railway transport, the creation of a fresh mighty increase of socialist competition and shock-work, and to raise all the party and political activities among railway workers and clerks to a higher level.

The task of the railway transport Political Departments is, further, to develop a struggle against alien and hostile class enemies (wreckers, thieves, robbers, slackers, etc.), to find, unveil and remove them from the railways, to carry out necessary measures against thefts, to secure proper guarding and careful handling of the State socialist property.

The task of the Political Departments is, further, to organise a real mastery of railway transport technique by Communists and non-party activists, to help them to improve their qualifications and thus to give them an opportunity to become real masters of the business entrusted to them.

While discovering and mercilessly expelling from the Party and Komsomol organisations opportunist and socially alien elements which, under the cover of party membership, are conducting disruptive work, the Political Departments must raise the educational and political standard of party members and non-party activists and increase their competence for leadership by organising and rallying the fully reliable non-party active elements around the party organisations.

While establishing party control over all branches of railway transport, the Political Departments must wage irreconcilable war on the fear of self-criticism and the bureaucratic methods of railway management; they must secure precise work, unconditional obedience and responsibility in all the links of the railway transport system, unconditional and speedy correction of the mistakes and shortcomings disclosed.

## II

### STATUTE OF THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENTS

#### *I. Rights and Duties of the Political Departments*

(a) The Political Departments manage, with the same authority as the party committees, all party and Komsomol organisations, candidates' groups and sympathisers' groups in the railway transport, including the right to recruit and admit new members.

(b) The Political Departments distribute the party members throughout various transport undertakings, confirm the elections of secretaries of party cells, and control the transfer of Communists from one post to another.



(c) The Chiefs of the Political Departments must work in accord with the local party committees—district committees, provincial committees and the central committees of national parties—which, in their turn, must render full-hearted support to the Political Departments; in order to establish the liaison between Political Departments and party committees, the Chiefs of the Political Departments must be included in the corresponding party committees (district committees, provincial committees and central committees of national parties).

(d) The functions of the control commissions in respect of Communists employed in railway transport are to be handed over to specially organised district and railway party commissions attached to the Political Departments; the members of these commissions are to be appointed by the Central Control Commission of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki).

## *2. Structure of Political Departments.*

A Political Office, composed of a Chief, his substitute, and two assistants, is to be organised in the People's Commissariat for Transport. The Chief of the Political Office is to be the substitute for the People's Commissary for Transport in all political matters and is to be directly subordinated to the People's Commissary for Transport as well as to the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki). The Political Office of the People's Commissariat for Transport is to control the work of the Railways and District Political Departments. The Chief of the Political Department of the People's Commissariat for Transport is appointed to his post and removed therefrom by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki).

The Railway Political Department is to be composed of a Chief, his substitute, and an assistant. The Chief of the Railway Political Department is to be a substitute of the Head of Railways in respect of all political matters and is to be subordinated to the Chief of the Political Office of the People's Commissariat for Transport. The Chief of the Railway Political Department controls the work of the District Political Departments, of the party organisers in the repair shops and factories attached to the Commissariat for Transport, and at the most important railway junctions. The Chiefs of the Railway Political Departments are appointed to their posts and removed therefrom by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) on the representation of the Chief of the Political Office of the People's Commissariat for Transport.

A District Railway Political Department is to be composed of the Chief, his substitute, and an assistant. The Chief of the District Political Department is to be a substitute of the District Chief of the Railway in respect of all political matters and is to be subordinated to the Chief of the Railway Political Department. He controls the party cells established at the railway stations, and also the cells of the "permanent way"

and "liaison" branches of the railway service. The Chiefs of the District Political Departments are appointed to their posts and removed therefrom by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) on the representation of the Political Office of the People's Commissariat for Transport.

An Institute of party organisers is to be established at the most important railway junctions and at the shops under the management of the People's Commissariat for Transport, in accordance with a list approved by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki); party organisers are to be directly subordinated to the Chief of the Railway Political Department. The party organisers at the railway junctions and in the shops are appointed to their posts and removed therefrom by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) on the representation of the Chief of the Political Office of the People's Commissariat for Transport.

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki).

10 July, 1933.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 11 July, 1933, No. 172-5103.)

*Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki).*

**Regarding the formation of Funds for the needs of the kolhozy and distribution of grain between members of the kolhozy in accordance with the number of working days.**

In connection with the fact that some kolhozy have already fulfilled the yearly programme of grain deliveries, the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) resolve:—

(1) After fulfilment by the kolhozy of their yearly obligations in respect of grain deliveries, the payment in kind for the work done by machine and tractor stations and the return of seed-loans, the kolhozy must form **seed funds** for autumn and spring sowing, **insurance seed funds** to the extent from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. of the yearly seed requirements (in correspondence with the yield of crops), and **forage funds** in correspondence with the yearly requirements of the socialised live stock.

(2) The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) instruct soviet and party organisations not to form any other funds except those mentioned above.

(3) All grain which will remain in a kolhoz after the fulfilment of the above-mentioned obligations and the formation of the above-mentioned funds is to be distributed in full among the members of a kolhoz in accordance with the number of working days.

(4) The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) note once again that no extra deliveries of grain to the State can be allowed and the persons responsible for initiating such plans will be criminally prosecuted.

Chairman of the Council of the People's Commissaries of the USSR,

V. MOLOTOV (SKRYABIN).

Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks),

I. STALIN.

2 August, 1933.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 3 August, 1933, No. 191-5122.)

*Resolution of the Council of Labour and Defence.*

**On the exploitation of tractors.**

The Council of Labour and Defence notes that the utilisation of the powerful technique with which the State has provided kolhozy and sovhozy is unsatisfactory. The People's Commissariat for Agriculture, the People's Commissariat for Sovhozy and their local departments, the sovhozy and machine and tractor stations have not reconstructed their work in correspondence with the new tasks which are imposed on the managements of these bodies by large-scaled mechanised agriculture.

The exploitation of tractors is conducted in a disorderly manner. Lack of responsibility and poor management of tractor utilisation result in many sovhozy and machine and tractor stations in low productivity of tractors, their damage and their speedy incapacitation.

Up to the present, permanent staffs of fully qualified tractor-drivers have not been formed, the fluidity of labour is very considerable, labour discipline is slack, and the selection of tractor-drivers is not organised. Owing to these reasons the staffs of tractor-drivers are infested with unsuitable elements.

Repairs of tractors are badly organised. Major repairs are done by a large number of poorly equipped shops, which have no properly trained technicians. The quality of repairs, as a rule, is of a very low standard.

Some improvement in the repairs and utilisation of tractors, which took place during the spring sowing, summer ploughing and harvesting periods of 1933, was achieved not as a result of a systematic utilisation of tractors, but of straining of all the forces of the party, soviet, economic

and other government organisations and of the political departments attached to the machine and tractor stations and sovhozy. Anyhow, these efforts have laid foundations for improvement in the utilisation and repair of tractors.

For the Chairman of the Council of Labour and Defence,

V. KUYBYSHEV.

For the Secretary of the Council of Labour and Defence,

I. BOLSHAKOV.

21 September, 1933.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 24 September, 1933, No. 236-5167.)

## CHRONICLE

RUSSIA. (UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.)

### *Foreign Relations of USSR.*

THE past summer and autumn marked important successes in Soviet foreign policy.

Negotiations for a new trade agreement with Great Britain were resumed in London on 10 July at the point at which they had been broken off at the time of the arrest of the British engineers. Two committees, one dealing with the form of the prospective agreement and the other with the question of the balance of trade between the two countries, had then been functioning, and these now resumed their work. At the reopening of Parliament on 21 November the Prime Minister announced that the negotiations were progressing favourably.

Trade negotiations with France, after preliminary conversations which had lasted some months, were officially opened in September. There is a marked tendency towards a Franco-Soviet rapprochement. The former Prime Minister, M. Herriot, paid a visit to the USSR in the autumn, where he received a great welcome. This was followed by a visit from the Minister of Aviation, M. Cot, who flew over with a number of high French aviation experts with the object of studying the progress of Soviet aviation in view of possible technical co-operation. He visited the principal aviation works, the Institute of Aero-Dynamics, and was entertained by the highest Soviet officials. Relations with Poland have also undergone a change, and a general tone of cordiality has replaced the former acrimoniousness. Mutual *de facto* and *de jure* recognition was exchanged with Spain, and M. Lunacharsky was appointed Soviet Ambassador in Madrid.

On the other hand, Soviet relations with the German Government have become distinctly less friendly, chiefly on account of raids by Nazi

storm troopers on premises occupied by Soviet citizens, and arrests of journalists. After the arrest of Soviet foreign correspondents, who arrived in Leipzig for the Reichstag fire trial, though refused permits to be present, the Soviet Government recalled all the journalists from Germany, and expelled German correspondents from the USSR. Eventually the incident was patched up, but relations with the Nazi Government cannot be described as cordial.

*U.S.A. recognises USSR.*

The greatest triumph of Soviet diplomacy was undoubtedly the recognition of the USSR by the United States, and this on the initiative of President Roosevelt. On 10 October the President addressed a letter to M. Kalinin, president of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, stating that from the beginning of his administration he had thought it necessary to make an attempt to end the regrettable and abnormal relations existing between the peoples of Russia and the United States. Though the difficulties which had created this situation were very great, he thought they could be overcome by friendly discussions, and he would be pleased to receive any representative nominated by the Soviet Government to discuss personally with him all questions dividing the two countries. In his reply, M. Kalinin welcomed the President's step and expressed the certainty that all difficulties could be overcome if normal and direct relations existed between the two countries. M. Litvinov, Commissary for Foreign Affairs, would be ready to proceed to Washington as soon as a date could be fixed. M. Litvinov eventually left Moscow at the end of October. On his arrival in Washington he was received by President Roosevelt with whom he had several prolonged interviews, at some of which Mr. Cordell Hull was present. Conversations were also carried on at the State Department. On 16 November the President addressed to M. Litvinov a letter announcing his decision "to establish normal diplomatic relations" with the Soviet Union, to which M. Litvinov replied that the Soviet Government was "glad" to take complementary steps. Other letters followed in which M. Litvinov, on behalf of his Government, gave the pledge to respect the right of the United States to order its own life, to refrain from any subversive propaganda and restrain all persons or organisations under control of the Soviet Government from any activities tending to undermine or injure the existing social order of the United States. Full religious freedom was ensured to all American citizens within the USSR. The Soviet Government is furthermore prepared to conclude a consular convention, granting the rights previously set forth equal to those enjoyed by a most-favoured-nation in that respect. M. Litvinov also communicated to the President the Soviet Government's decision to waive all claims arising out of American intervention in Siberia during the Civil War, which claims should be regarded as finally disposed of by the present agreement. Mr. W. Bullitt and M. Troyanovsky were respectively designated for the posts of

Ambassador in Moscow and Washington. At the time of going to press, there is still much speculation in America and elsewhere as to a trade agreement between the two countries, but beyond the fact that conversations are going on, nothing definite is known, and silence is maintained in official quarters. In the USSR American recognition was hailed as a great triumph and another proof of the colossal growth of Soviet Russia as a power in world affairs.

*Non-Aggression.*

Not least among M. Litvinov's diplomatic achievements should be placed the conventions defining the term of "Aggressor" as accepted by the Security Committee of the Disarmament Conference, which he concluded in London during the session of the World Economic Conference with two groups of Powers. The first convention with Afghanistan, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Persia, Roumania and Turkey was signed on 3 July. The second, similar to the first, but including an article extending the right of adherence to other countries, was signed on 4 July between the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Roumania and Turkey. A separate convention was signed between the USSR and Lithuania on 5 July, and on 22 July Finland notified her desire to join the London Convention of 3 July.

*USSR and Turkey.*

In the East, the friendship with Turkey was strikingly emphasised during the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Turkish republic. A Soviet delegation headed by M. Voroshilov, Commissary of War and Marine, received a rousing welcome and was the object of public ovations both at Angora and during a tour of Turkey.

*USSR and Japan.*

In the Far East, on the contrary, the situation after a temporary improvement is again exceedingly strained. The negotiations for the sale of the Russian part of the Eastern Chinese railway to Manchukuo, opened in Tokio under the auspices of the Japanese Government, are at a deadlock. Numbers of arrests of important Soviet officials by order of the Manchukuo public prosecutor have taken place on the railway, and the Manchukuo authorities refuse to recognise any successors appointed by the Soviet director. The Soviet Government openly accuses the Japanese of instigating these incidents with the object of ultimately seizing the railway. A note (one of many) to that effect was handed to the Japanese Government by the Soviet Ambassador in Tokio, but the Japanese denied all previous knowledge of the plans of the Manchurian authorities. The Soviet official Press then published a number of documents purported to be secret reports to Tokio by the Japanese Ambassador in Manchukuo and the Japanese Consul-General in Harbin, containing detailed plans of action against the Soviet officials by Manchukuo authorities

with the object of a gradual seizure of the railway in order to influence the Tokio negotiations, yet in such a way as to avoid suspicion of any connection between them. Some of these plans had actually been carried out, and although semi-official statements to the effect that these documents were unauthentic appeared in the Japanese Press, no official repudiation of them was given. Feeling in the USSR ran high. Rumours of concentration of troops on either side of the frontier and war preparations were freely circulated in certain sections of the world Press, but though relations between the USSR and Japan remain strained, there appears to be little likelihood of an open breach.

*The harvest.*

At home the main issues centred round the harvest and sowing of winter crops. The harvest this year was announced as a record one throughout the country, and certainly weather conditions were exceptionally favourable and in those districts where sowing was done in time the crop was a heavy one. As, however, figures of the crops gathered have not been published, the total amount is unknown. The area sown was 18 million hectares less than in 1932, and large areas which were sown long after the end of the sowing period could not be expected to yield a good harvest. In ordinary circumstances they would have yielded nothing at all, but in a good year, such as the present, a certain amount of grain was probably gathered. So that any speculations concerning the exact amount of the Russian harvest must remain mere guesswork. During harvesting the "political sections" were the driving power in the countryside, and a ruthless application of last year's law against "grain stealers" and other "class enemies" was enjoined. As usual, a regular war went on in the villages, and even children were drafted into special "brigades for guarding the crops" by spying on the peasants and detecting "grain-barbers" (who clipped the ears off standing corn) and thieves. Great efforts were made to ensure quick and efficient harvesting, but according even to Soviet information operations were again protracted, large quantities of corn were left standing or lying too long in the fields, threshing was delayed, and considerable losses were incurred. Owing to the deficiency of transport, "mountains of grain" are reported to be lying rotting in the open at railway junctions and landing-stages; so, how much of a really good harvest will be available for the people, remains a question. The official Soviet Press abounds in descriptions of the "New era of prosperity" which has opened for the collective farms, when according to M. Stalin's new slogan "all kolkhozniki (collective farm members) are to become well-to-do." Private letters from the USSR written by persons in different walks of life, and the testimony of various eye-witnesses who visited Russia already after the harvest had been gathered, point to the contrary. The food situation, according to them, may be somewhat improved in large centres, but remains acute elsewhere, and the countryside is no exception. Grain collection this year was applied

more ruthlessly than ever, and most territories have already delivered their annual quota. The free sale of grain and its produce is not permitted till January, but speculation is rife and prices are exorbitant. In fact, information is so contradictory as to render any determined judgment extremely difficult. Autumn sowing again lasted far beyond the proper season, but according to official reports a somewhat larger area than last year was sown in season.

### *Transport.*

The state of the railway transport is causing keen anxiety, both as regards the condition of the rolling stock and permanent way, and the administrative side. The blame, as usual, is laid on "saboteurs" and "wreckers," and to purge the system of these elements "political departments" similar to those created last year in the country, have been established on all the railways at the principal junctions, railway works, repair shops, etc. Picked Communists with wide prerogatives were placed at their head, and "cleansing operations" are now in full swing.<sup>1</sup>

An important water-way, "the Comrade Stalin White Sea-Baltic Canal," 227 kilometres long, connecting the Baltic with the White Sea, was opened in July. The canal was built entirely by convict labour drawn from the concentration camps of the OGPU and under the control of officers of that body. The engineering staff consisted mainly of "wreckers," undergoing penal servitude, and the mass of the workmen represented an assemblage of "political," "social" and ordinary criminals. The canal took 20 months to build under conditions of great natural hardship in the wilds of Karelia. Locks and dams were erected, the level of lakes raised, thousands of hectares of virgin forest cleared, etc. A large number of workers received full, and others partial amnesty on the completion of the work, and 500 persons on the recommendation of the OGPU were restored to full civic rights.<sup>2</sup>

A great triumph of Russian aviation was the ascent on 30 September, into the stratosphere of three Soviet aeronauts, Prokofiev, Birnbaum and Godunov. The ascent, in ideal weather, was made from the Moscow aerodrome in a balloon built and equipped entirely in Soviet factories and by Soviet engineers, and the height reached was 19,300 metres, thus beating Prof. Piccard's record in 1932 by 300 metres. Wireless communication with the earth was maintained throughout the flight, and the descent near Kolomna was accomplished without a hitch.

<sup>1</sup> Legislation on this subject is printed on p. 455.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> See also p. 407.—ED.



## REVIEWS

### CZECH LITERARY HISTORY SINCE 1930.

As no independent review on literary history exists, familiarity with the present stage of research must be obtained from the following periodicals: *Philological Leaves* (Listy filologické), which is concerned with Slavonic and classical philology; *The Journal of Modern Philology* (Časopis pro moderní filologii) for Slavonic, Teutonic and Romance philology; *The Journal of the Moravian Matice* (Časopis Matice Moravské); and *The National Museum Journal* (Časopis Národního Musea), in which the interest in history predominates over that in philology; *Bratislava*, the journal of the Šafařík Learned Society, which is concerned with general literary research; and *Our Science* (Naše Věda), the organ of scientific criticism and of information on "words and things."

**A. History of Literature.** Several general works on the history of Czech literature have been published in these three years. There is first the four-volumed *History of Czech Literature* (Dějiny české literatury) (1931), by Professor Jaroslav Vlček (1860-1930). This work, which was published after the author's death, covers the period from the earliest records to the heyday of romanticism, and has had a great influence on the more recent attitude to literary history. The intellectual currents and movements throughout the centuries under survey are carefully studied in their relationship to the literature and the writers. Vlček was an outstanding representative of the positivist school of Scherer and Sainte Beuve, and has produced an artistic work of a wide and generous scope. It is regrettable, however, that he was not able to revise it before his death and include the numerous source references which have been accumulated by research.

*The History of Czech Literature* (Dějiny literatury české) of Jan Jakubec (b. 1862) is an excellent substitute for Vlček's work, which is now out of date in many respects. Jakubec is a professor at the Caroline University of Prague, and in 1921 published the first volume of his History, covering the period from the earliest times to the end of the 18th century. The second volume, which deals with the years between the national regeneration and the political awakening of the fifties, is appearing in parts and is nearly completed. His great work with its footnotes, which embody a wealth of material derived from the sources, offers in reliable and detailed form the results of modern information and research, and is an essential reference book for every specialist.

There are also manuals, suitable for foreigners and private students, which cover clearly and concisely a big field. The chief of these is Hanuš Jelínek's *Histoire de la littérature tchèque des origines à 1850* (Paris, 1932), which is based on the scholarly conclusions reached by Vlček and Jakubec. The author, a distinguished poet, critic and translator, familiar with the Romance field, skilfully brings out the connections between political history and literature, and as a result of correlating the facts with those

in French literary development, has succeeded in writing a work of considerable interest for foreigners. *Die Tschechische Literatur*, written for Walzel's series of Handbooks by Professor Arne Novák, of Brno University, is concerned only with literature and criticism. It is a book of first-rate importance with its independence and outspokenness of outlook, and is in advance of the author's previous *A Bird's Eye View of Czech Literature* (České písemnictví z ptáčí perspektivy) (2nd ed., 1929), which was also chiefly written for foreigners and has been translated into many languages. Novák's new book is of special importance because it is the first work to assign a place in the history and development of our literature to the enormously rich collection of folk traditions, riddles, songs and sayings known up to and before the 17th and 18th centuries—the anonymous products of the baroque and rococo periods in Bohemia. The same importance as for Novák's and Jelínek's books cannot be claimed for Benjamin Jedlička's *History of Czech Literature* (Dějiny českého písemnictví) (1931); the part so far published covers the period from the regeneration to Svatopluk Čech, and is largely a compilation, and has the added drawback of being unreliable in its references.

*The History of the Czech Drama* (Dějiny českého dramata) (1929), and *The modern Czech novel* (o českém románu novodobém) (1930), by Jan Máchal (b. 1855), professor at the Caroline University of Prague, are written from a predominantly sociological standpoint. The former presents in an attractive and readable way a sketch of the Czech drama from medieval times up to the realism of today, while the latter is concerned with the development of the novel during the 19th century. Both works replace Máchal's previous writings on these subjects. A rather particular literary genre is represented by two monographs, replete with valuable bibliographical data, on periodicals and newspapers in Bohemia. The one is Josef Volf's *History of Newspapers in Bohemia* (1930) (Dějiny novin v Čechách), which deals with the earlier period, (it may be pointed out *en passant* that the oldest Czech news-sheet dates from 1495). The other, F. Roubík's *Periodical Literature in Bohemia between 1848 and 1862* (1930) (Časopisectvo v Čechách v letech 1848–1862), links up with Volf's little work in regard to the period studied. Literary history, considered from the angle of the different geographical areas and cultural milieus of our writers, has not yet been made a subject of special research in Czechoslovakia, though a good start has been made by Emil Félix's *Literary Plzeň in outline* (1930) (Literární Plzeň v obryse), which gives us a picture of the intellectual life, up to the end of the 18th century, of the town which provided Bohemia with the first printed edition of the Trojan chronicle (1468).

**B. Monographs.** Good work has been done by Ryšánek, Souček and Jakobson in the field of old Czech literature. The first-named, professor at the Comenius University of Bratislava, has, with his usual expert knowledge, concentrated on the Štítný and Hus periods in his

*Strahov fragments of Štítňý* (1930) (Strahovské zlomky Štítenské), in which he gives a critical valuation of Tomáš Štítňý's powers as a translator. Stanislav Souček, professor of early Czech literature at the Masaryk University of Brno, has investigated in *The Rakovník Christmas Plays* (1929) (Rakovnické Vánoční hry) a hitherto inadequately known subject, pastoral Christmas poetry—which is for the most part anonymous and belongs to the 17th century—and has thrown fresh light on the dramatic plays of the Jesuits. To this distinguished scholar, who has further enriched Czech scholarship by his recent notice of unknown works by Comenius, is also due a rectorial address on *Comenius and the Czech literature of his time* (1931) (Komenský a české písemnictví jeho doby).

In *The Oldest Czech Religious Poems* (1929) (Nejstarší české písně duchovní), Roman Jakobson, a Russian resident in Czechoslovakia, has made a new attempt to set out the Old Slavonic and Greek influences in our oldest poems, *Lord, have Mercy on Us* (Hospodine, pomiluj ny) and *Saint Wenceslas* (Svatý Václave).

The centenary of Dobrovský's death, not only the patriarch of Slav studies, but also the spiritual leader of Czech philology and literary history, in whose honour the First Congress of Slavonic Philologists was held at Prague in 1929, has fittingly been made the occasion of a number of studies of this many-sided personality. Three miscellanies dealing with this great scholar have been recently published. That issued at Prague with the title *Josef Dobrovský, 1753–1829*, is sponsored by J. Horák, M. Murko, and M. Weingart, who have had the assistance of numerous foreign Slavists, and is especially concerned with illuminating Dobrovský's connections with Slovakia. The miscellany published as a separate volume of the periodical *Bratislava* (1929), under the editorship of A. Pražák, and that from Brno, entitled *Dobrovský and Brno*, by F. Wollmann and E. Dostál, both bring out Dobrovský's importance for Czech scholarship. The keen interest taken by the father of Slavonic studies in the Lusatian Wends is shown in J. Páta's *Josef Dobrovský and Lusatia* (1929) (Josef Dobrovský a Lužice). Important contributions to Dobrovský's personality have been made by the Prague professor, M. Weingart, in his lecture, *To the Immortal Memory of Josef Dobrovský* (1929) (Nesmrtelné památce Jos. Dobrovského), and by Arne Novák in his monograph, *Josef Dobrovský* (1928). In his *Beginnings of regeneration historism in Prague periodicals and M. A. Voigt* (1929) (Počátky obrozeneského historismu v pražských časopisech a Mik. Ad. Voigt) Jan Strakoš, a vigorous young literary critic, has taken up the cudgels against the prevailing opinions on the Czech national regeneration, which was generally regarded as being due to Western influence, reforms at home, the humanist tradition and the historical and linguistic interest taken by scholars of the *Aufklärung* period in our past history. Following Voigt's doctrine, he shows how the patriotic rôle played by the Catholic priesthood and their national consciousness offset the indifference to the national cause displayed by the nobility, and stimulated the quickening national

sense. Emanuel Chalupný's revised monograph, *Karel Havlíček* (1930), is worthy of serious attention. The value of this work of the lecturer on sociology at the Masaryk University lies in its assessment from a determinist standpoint of Havlíček as a social and political type. It contains an abundance of new, well arranged facts, and many of the conclusions arrived at are based on unpublished manuscript material of Havlíček written before his death. In a useful selection from his occasional writings, *Speeches and Addresses* (1931) (Řeči a proslovy), and in four essays entitled *The 'Thirties* (1932) (Léta třicátá) Arne Novák, the literary historian of Brno, shows to the full his extensive learning and gives us excellent examples of his characteristic style. J. Staněk and A. Veselý have written a book on the late Moravian writer, Sokol, entitled *K. Elgart Sokol: The man and his work* (1930). Czech literary criticism is the theme of Pavel Fraenkl's instructive *Development of modern Czech literary criticism* (1930) (K vývoji novodobé české literární kritiky).

For further knowledge of Slovak literary history we are indebted to two important works by Albert Pražák, professor at the Comenius University of Bratislava. In his big *Literary Slovakia from the 'fifties to the 'seventies* (1932) (Literární Slovensko let padesátých až sedmdesátých) he has traced with conspicuous ability the political, cultural and literary position of Slovakia from the breakaway of Štúr to the beginning of Magyar oppression, which was evinced by the confiscation of the possessions of the Slovak matica in Turčianský Svätý Martin. In his other work, *The Czechs and Slovaks* (1929) (Češi a Slováci), he gives an admirable and precise summary of his earlier studies on the political and cultural relationship of the two sister peoples.

The works which reflect the influence on Czech literature of an individual or a religious group form a branch of their own. Miloslav Hýsek, professor of Czech literature at the Caroline University, was inspired by the memorial lecture on Comenius to write *Comenius in belles lettres* (1931) (Komenský v beletrii). This is a detailed and thorough work which is especially concerned with the political and educational importance of Comenius for the national consciousness at a time when his religious ideals were foreign to the bulk of the people. With the second volume of his *Jews and Judaism in the Czech literature of the 19th and 20th centuries* (1930) (Židé a židovstvo v české literatuře 19 a 20 století), O. Donath finishes off the period from Vrchlický up to the present time. The author has chosen an interesting field, though he might have done better to make himself more conversant with the material that has been so painstakingly collected by other scholars.

Some of the university holders of posts concerned with Czech literary history have celebrated their jubilee lately, and this has been the occasion of special miscellanies. In addition to articles by friends and students, the volumes of this character which have been published contain either biographies of the scholars honoured or bibliographies of their writings. Hýsek, the editor of *Philological Leaves*, published in 1930 a

miscellany called *Philological Leaves in memory of Jaroslav Vlček* (Listy filologické památce Jaroslava Vlčka), the founder of modern Czech literary history, who died on the eve of his seventieth birthday. Professor Novák's admirers presented him with an admirably got-up volume, *Studies and Reminiscences* (Studie a Vzpomínky), in honour of his fiftieth birthday, and, in celebration of a similar occasion, F. Tichý and J. Jirásek have ready *Slovak miscellanies* (1931) (Slovenská miscellanea) for Professor Pražák, who has done work mainly connected with the literary history of Slovakia.

**C. Methods.** Efforts are being made to adopt the methods of the modernist school in Czech literary history. Positivist methods are out of favour, and modern research aims at the closer linking up of the literary-aesthetic standpoint with that of linguistics, and at combining psychological investigation with a study of the novo-idealistic mental processes of the writers and poets under consideration. The former of these two lines of investigation, which was initiated by the Russian formalist school, was made known in Bohemia by the series of systematic studies of J. Mukařovský, a lecturer at the Caroline University. His chief writings in this field are *Mácha's May* (1928) (Máchov Máj) and *The Euphony of Theer's Campaigns in Quest of the Ego* (1931) (Eufonie Theerových Výprav k já).

Typical of Mukařovský's attitude towards a poetical work is his examination of the extent to which the laws of artistic form can be determined by an investigation of the structure, and in this inquiry he takes as little account as possible of the personality of the writer. Form is also the starting point of criticism for F. Soldan, a young literary historian, who has written a monograph (1930) on Karel Hlaváček, a poet of the nineties. In his desire to do justice to this representative of Czech decadent poetry, he utilises freely the sociological exposition of contemporary society. O. Fischer's pioneer book, *The spirit and the word* (1929) (Duše a slovo), bridges the gap between the formalist and the psychological schools of research. This scholar has successfully brought the psychological point of view to bear upon Czech artistic problems. Accepting the fruitful results of the formalist school, he has endeavoured to strike out a new line by investigating the mutual influences of psychology and the creative impulse. His pupil, V. Jiráť, has followed much the same lines in his *Two translations of Faust* (1930) (Dva překlady Fausta), which gives us a comparative study of the versions of Vrchlický and Fischer and comes to very interesting results in regard to the style and poetic methods of both these writers.

The psychological trend in literary criticism is most strikingly characterised by J. V. Sedlák, who, after outlining the aims of the new science in his article, *Literary History and Literary Science* (1929) (Literární historie a literární věda), has attacked the problems of poetic rhythm in his book on the subject, published in 1929. His methods have found practical application in his monograph on Petr Bezruč (1931). Starting from the theories expounded in Germany by Dilthey and his successors, Sedlák

utilises the basic experiences of a poet to explain the whole of his poetic personality, and at the same time also pays due attention to stylistic matters.

The generation problem which has hitherto received scant attention was chosen by Pražák as the subject of his address on being appointed University Rector. The lecture, which has been published in an enlarged form under the title of *Struggle of the generations in literature* (1930) (*Zápas generací v literatuře*), deserves attention for its penetrating handling of a mass of comparative materials derived from the great literatures of other countries.

**D. Editions.** Czech scholars have not only been busy in introducing new methods, but have also realised the importance for serious research of producing critical editions of texts, historical documents and records. At the instigation and with the close co-operation of the Prague professor, M. Hýsek, the Czech Academy of Sciences is engaged in publishing a complete collection of literary reminiscences and correspondence under the title of *Memoirs* (Paměti). Four volumes have so far been issued. First come the memoirs from the regeneration period of F. M. Pelcl, then we have the valuable biographical memoirs of the late A. Stašek, and lastly the correspondence in the volumes of O. Březina, in which the letters to F. Bauer, written between 1887 and 1901, when Březina was still a young man, are documents of real importance for research.

The Library of the Prague Slavonic Institute (Knihovna Slovanského Ústavu v Praze) also provides material of great value for Bohemian sources by its publication, under M. Weingart's supervision, of J. Kollár's *Dissertations on Slavonic Reciprocity* (*Rozpravy o slovanské vzájemnosti*). It has also published the first translation into Czech, by Jungmann, of the Lay of Igor, which was discovered by V. Francev among the manuscripts of the Prague National Museum. In addition to these official works, critical editions of our older writers have been undertaken by private publishers. The following works represent merely a selection: The works of K. H. Mácha (3 vols., 1928-29), edited by F. Krčma; the four-volume edition of M. Novotný of B. Němcová's works (1928-30), the Poems of A. Jirásek (1930), edited by M. Hýsek, and the collected works in three volumes (1930) of K. Hlaváček, for which A. Hartl is responsible. All these publications provide in the textual part much previously unknown material, and the detailed notes greatly enrich our knowledge of Czech literary history.

Prague.

A. GRUND.

*Fifty Years of Europe.* By J. A. Spender. London (Cassell & Co.). 21s. net.

IN the years preceding the war few journals held so high a record for sanity, persuasiveness and inside information, as the *Westminster Gazette*; and its editor, Mr. Spender, was known to possess and to deserve the close

confidence of the Liberal leaders in foreign no less than in internal policy. He therefore may be said to have unique qualifications for attempting a survey of general European policy in those spacious but fatal years, and the fact that his angle of approach is journalistic rather than narrowly historical may be regarded as offering almost as many advantages as handicaps. As he himself points out, "There has been much talk since the war of the evils of secret diplomacy, but the danger of a rash and inexpert handling of publicity are written just as large in the records. In their private talks statesmen and ambassadors are frequently seen deploring the excesses of a press which they themselves have incited to take a high line at some critical moment" (p. 239). Mr. Spender is one of those rare journalists who can write such lines with a clear conscience, for his influence was constantly exercised in the direction of peace and understanding and against the excesses of "yellow" diplomacy or journalism.

This volume fully justifies the curiosity with which most historical students are likely to take it up, and the first sense of disappointment at the rather scanty references to diplomatic material will be diminished by a closer study. The main emphasis throughout is admittedly laid upon the documents of *Die Grosse Politik*—that monumental series of 53 volumes in which the features of German diplomacy from 1870 to 1914 are petrified for all time—and it must be admitted that too little attention is paid to the French and even the British series, of which 14 and 10 volumes respectively are now available for the same period. One of the motives which weighed with the British and French Governments in their decision to follow the German example of documentary publication was the fear lest otherwise what might be called "the German thesis" should be left in possession of the field. Mr. Spender's acute analysis goes far to demonstrate (what was already slowly becoming obvious to close students of the Kaiser's prolific marginalia, the Willy-Nicky correspondence, the Bulow memoirs and similar testimony) that *Die Grosse Politik* is the greatest of all self-revelations, and indeed an immense homily on the text, "By their works ye shall know them."

The severity of his judgment upon Bismarck will perhaps surprise some readers, but it is just here that his judicious, yet ample quotations from Bismarck's and his son Herbert's memoranda and despatches provide irrefutable evidence at once of his bullying habits and of his tortuous insurance policy. "Fomenting quarrels in which Germany might be the tertius gaudens had become a regular part of the Bismarckian technique" (p. 523). He gives a fair summary of Bismarck's four main aims—"to keep Austrian policy within bounds," never to risk the hostility of England and Russia at the same time, to tempt France into diverting her energies "from Europe to overseas regions," and not to challenge England on the seas (p. 127). There was, however, another no less fundamental aim which underlay his Eastern policy and indeed his whole system of alliances—namely, to avert at all costs the necessity of

having to choose between Austria and Russia. This was especially apparent in the crisis of the seventies, but it influences his conduct to the very end; it is an over-statement to say that "at every critical moment he gave his vote to Austria" (p. 97).

Mr. Spender is not unnaturally more familiar with the last two decades of his period, and this doubtless explains how certain errors of fact have crept into the earlier portion. On p. 37 he says that in 1875 "the two Principalities of Montenegro and Servia rose in rebellion and declared war on the Turks," whereas of course it was Bosnia-Hercegovina who rebelled in 1875 and the two Principalities only went to war in July, 1876. He is also a year wrong in dating the Austro-Russian agreement of Reichstadt, which followed this outbreak of war. It is true that Reichstadt was "unknown to Bismarck" at the moment, but it was intimated to him by Andrassy two months later. The Bulgar rebellion was in 1876, not 1877, and the Congress of Constantinople is altogether omitted from the very slight outline of events. Again, the secret Austro-Serbian treaty was in 1881, not 1880. The Skiernewice (spelt Skiemiwice) meeting was in 1884, not "ten years after Reichstadt" (p. 300); and it was not there, but in the first League of the Three Emperors (June, 1881) that Austria's right to annex Bosnia "at the moment she shall judge opportune" was recognised. In commenting, most aptly, on the lack of references to Bismarck by British statesmen in the sixties, he has forgotten the notable exception of Morier.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Spender's estimate of William II and his entourage is both vivid and convincing, reinforced as it is by a series of personal impressions (*see* pp. 278-96) of statesmen and diplomats. What emerges most clearly and repeatedly are William II's inveterate habit of imputing motives and sowing discord, and the corollary of this, the misjudging of opponents—"the almost unlimited absurdity which attended the Kaiser's judgment of foreign statesmen." Mr. Spender assigns due importance to the rivalry of the Emperor and King Edward, but probably regards it as too familiar to require detailed treatment; he prefers to stress the "disconcerting" failure to understand "C.-B.," and "the tissue of absurdities" directed against Grey, who, though a man without guile, if ever a British statesman earned that description, was none the less grotesquely denounced as Machiavellian. Mr. Spender's summary of the Bosnian crisis, as a decisive turning point in the pre-war drama (p. 406) deserves special praise, and he brings out clearly the injustice of Aehrenthal's criticism of Grey and the extent to which the latter was swayed by the desire to secure fair play for the Young Turks (p. 305), but he does not perhaps sufficiently bring out the fact that Grey in 1908-9 (in contrast to the quite different situation of 1914) made it clear from the

<sup>1</sup> In the later portion there are only the most trifling slips. But Bulow was not a Count in 1878 (p. 103). The famous castles of Buchlau and Konopischt are both described as "villas"! (pp. 286, 362) Sazonov was Foreign, not *Prime*, Minister



outset to both groups that his backing of Russia in the Serbian question would be diplomatic, but not military. It was to a great extent the knowledge of this (and of France's parallel reluctance to risk war over such a question) that led Germany to present her ultimatum to Russia and compelled Russia to accept it instead of taking the risk of war without allies. But it was this which made it all the more difficult for Russia to yield to Germany again over the same question in 1914 or for her associates to dissociate themselves from her under circumstances which would have ended the Entente and destroyed Russian influence in the Near East for an indefinite period.

From the survey of the final six years there emerge very clearly two things—the "continuous and precise" character of French policy, and Austria-Hungary's gradual wresting of the initiative in policy from her German ally. He is surely right in arguing that the naval rivalry was "the one road on which reconciliation was impossible" (p. 194), and that "the refusal to heal the breach with England had delivered German policy into the hands of Austria" (p. 316). To me at least his vindication of the military conversations of 1906 (p. 260) seems quite unanswerable. One of his many effective phrases may be quoted in conclusion. "The idea embodied in the Kellogg Pact that war is not a legitimate instrument of policy is repeated in these days as if it were a self-evident truth. It is, on the contrary, a daring, if most welcome, innovation in the thought of the world. If we may judge from their practice, not one of the nations which engaged in the Great War could have subscribed to it" (p. 416).

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

*Stratford Canning.* By E. F. Malcolm-Smith. London (Benn). 18s. net.  
8 illustrations.

MR. LANE POOLE'S classic Victorian biography of "the Great Elchi," published as long ago as 1888, has long been out of print; and now that the Stratford Papers at the Record Office and British Museum are open to students, much new material has become available. It was therefore a happy idea on the part of Miss Malcolm-Smith to attempt a new estimate of one of our greatest ambassadors, and previous research in the British, Austrian and Russian archives well qualified her for the task, though the absence of French sources is reflected in a certain anti-French bias, probably absorbed from the private papers of her hero. The book is well (sometimes picturesquely) written and better proportioned than that of Lane-Poole, who dwelt too long on the early life and apparently had no space left for the very enlightening aftermath of the Crimean War. It cannot, however, be said that Miss Malcolm-Smith throws much new light on her subject; and while bringing out more clearly Stratford's incredibly domineering temper and occasional outbursts of rage, she adheres in the main very faithfully to conventional interpretations of the man and his policy. Perhaps the most striking details about Stratford

are his innate distaste for diplomacy, and the manner in which fate, not once but many times (at first in the shape of his great cousin George Canning), drove him back to the scene of his early triumph in the East, to the city which he seems always to have secretly detested, despite its marvellous beauty and fascination. Small wonder if the Ambassador should have gradually come to believe in something little short of a divine mission to regenerate Turkey—and thereby promote British interests!

Miss Malcolm-Smith admits that Lord Aberdeen's views on Turkey have been "justified at the bar of history" (p. 252), and that even Stratford himself in his old age, during the crisis of 1875-8, no longer took the Turkish side (she might have dwelt upon his close relations with Gladstone at that period and the fact that Gladstone dedicated to him his famous Bulgarian pamphlet and was merely quoting from him when he used the winged phrase "bag and baggage"). But none the less she attempts to absolve Stratford from the main responsibility for the Crimean War; and in this she is not convincing, even though she is fully entitled to argue that the Cabinet at home must share the blame. That Aberdeen, Clarendon, Graham, Herbert and the others supposed him to be working for war and yet lacked the courage or resolution to recall him, is a highly damaging proof of their weakness and "drift." But she fails to give the reasons which actuated them, and when she asks, "What can be said of a Prime Minister who kept such a dangerous instrument . . . ?" etc., she overlooks the fundamental fact in the home situation, that Palmerston alone outweighed Aberdeen and most of his colleagues, that Palmerston had public opinion behind him and was steadily fanning it to a frenzy, and that Ministers, not without reason, feared that Stratford's return would be at once followed by his open alliance with Palmerston, which in its turn would precipitate events in the international field. Miss Smith goes straight on to quote Stratford's own phrase, "War is the decree of the Fates and we shall surely have it" (p. 266), which shows that he was at the very least fatalistically inclined, if not actively promoting war. Miss Smith is right to stress the part played in mobilising British opinion by its detestation of the Russian autocracy and its recent role in the Polish and Hungarian questions. But she takes a much too conventional view of "the minor war" waged between the French and British Ambassadors at Constantinople—forgetting that Stratford had quarrelled violently not only with Thouvenel, but with a series of ambassadors and chargés before him. Indeed, his attitude towards an allied nation in the midst of war, and in the period immediately following, was altogether unpardonable; and it is to be regretted that Miss Malcolm-Smith passes over, all too lightly, the characteristic events of August, 1857, when he risked a rupture with France, Russia, Prussia and Sardinia, which was only averted by the happy coincidence of the Osborne visit of Napoleon III.

Miss Smith is far too favourable to Stratford's chief instrument Reshid Pasha and fails to mention that even he was utterly tired of

Stratford's tyranny. She treats the question of Roumanian unity as "comparatively unimportant" and only looks at it from the diplomatic point of view; yet even from this angle it very nearly provoked an European conflict, thanks largely to Stratford's influence being consistently thrown on to the wrong side.

A few minor blemishes may be mentioned. It is strange to find a reference to the "exquisite calm" of Lord Ponsonby (p. 208) and to find the Testament of Peter the Great accepted as genuine. On page 232 the Cossacks are treated as "more akin to the hordes of Genghiz Khan and Timur than to the peoples of Western Europe." "European Spain" (p. 78) is hardly a possible phrase. "Napoli di Romania" is surely "Nauplia" in English.

With all his passionate faults Stratford Canning was a great and loveable man, whose personal honour can never be questioned, even when he was led into such errors as the backing of Vagorides in the Moldavian elections. But it may be claimed that his truest title to greatness is derived from his share in the Treaty of Bucarest in 1812, and above all in the emancipation of Greece, rather than in his doubtful role on the eve of the Crimean War. Perhaps the incident which illustrates most strikingly his honesty and periodical far-sightedness was his intense disgust at the clause in the Treaty of Paris which precluded the Powers from all interference in the cause of reform. This, he at once perceived, means that reform was foredoomed to failure; and so the event proved.

It is to be hoped that the reception of this book will encourage Miss Malcolm-Smith to pursue her studies further in the history of the Near East.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

*Soviet Literature: An Anthology.* Edited and translated by George Reavey and Marc Slonim. (Wishart & Co.) Pp. 430. 8s. 6d. net.

THE object of this Anthology is to give "a comprehensive panorama of Soviet literature since 1917, a panorama composed of organically inter-related events in Prose, Poetry and Criticism." It is more than doubtful whether an *anthology* of this or any other kind could usefully serve such a purpose. But, as a first attempt to offer English readers such a comprehensive picture of Russian post-revolutionary literature, it must be welcomed. Prince D. S. Mirsky's very good book on *Contemporary Russian Literature*, published in 1926, carried the historical narrative only as far as 1925 and perforce dealt in a very summary and inadequate way with the latest stage in that period. It is a pity, however, that the editors of the present anthology do not even mention his book, for whoever approaches the study of contemporary Russian literature and wishes to "bridge the gap" between Chekhov and Babel or Pilnyak (to use Mr. George Reavey's expression in his Editorial Foreword) will find D. S. Mirsky's book almost indispensable.

As regards the translations of Soviet Russian literature, their number

is fairly great, as may be seen from a list appended to Messrs. Reavey's and Slonim's *Anthology* (the list is besides not absolutely complete), but the choice of works rather strikes one as strange and haphazard: it certainly does not give a complete idea of present-day Russian literature.

Last year Professor Konovalov edited a Soviet anthology (*Bonfire—Stories from Soviet Russia*), but its purpose was altogether different from the present anthology; it was a limited one, namely, to give a picture of life in Soviet Russia as portrayed in literature, and on the whole the book served that purpose admirably.

The Anthology compiled and edited by Mr. George Reavey and Mr. Marc Slonim is divided into three sections: Prose, Poetry, and Criticism. Each section has several subsections, some of the headings of which seem to me meaningless and irrelevant (e.g. under the heading "The Writers of Everyday Life and the Civil War" we find assembled most heterogeneous writers and works). Each section is also preceded by a short introduction. Those to Fiction and Poetry are written by Mr. Reavey, while Mr. Slonim writes about Criticism, it is also he who contributes a general historical introduction entitled "The New Spirit in Russian Literature," indicating, in a sufficiently clear and impartial way, the main lines of development of Russian literature in modern times. Besides this, there are short bio- and bibliographical notes on each author which help the reader to take his bearings.

In the composition of the book and in the treatment of its subject by the two editors, there is a certain inconsistency. It is due, I think, to an avoidance of the main problem which arises when one approaches Soviet literature. What is Soviet literature, what is its place in, or relation to, *Russian* literature? Is it something quite separate and homogeneous, an outgrowth of a definite social and political environment, of the Soviet régime as such, or is it only a stage in the continuous development of Russian literature, a stage indissolubly bound up with all its previous history? In other words, is *Soviet* literature (the word Russian being deliberately omitted) something organic and homogeneous, which is to be treated as such (and then its treatment cannot follow the strict chronological lines), or is it only a part of a whole, circumscribed in time and space? The editors of this anthology, as I have said, seem to avoid this problem. But in what utterances they make and in the actual structure of the book there is no consistency. Mr. Reavey's Foreword ignores completely the principle of continuity, and he seems at least to think that since the Five-Year Plan in literature the latter is tending to become a homogeneous whole. He considers the Five-Year Plan in literature to have been a success; his co-editor, as he himself mentions, disagrees with him on this point. Indeed, in his introduction, Mr. Slonim seems to recognise—and quite rightly—the principle of the essential *continuity* of Russian literature. It is certainly impossible to get away from the fact that the most important phenomena in contemporary Russian literature—the poetry of Pasternak, the novels of Leonov, Fedin and

Kaverin, and even the much talked-of "Socialist Realism" (the latest slogan in Soviet literature), when stripped of their purely accidental revolutionary paraphernalia—are rooted in the pre-revolutionary past. Mr. Slonim is quite right in treating the Five-Year Plan in literature as only one moment, and rather unimportant at that, in the development of modern Russian literature, and to point out its disintegrating effects.

The whole structure of the Anthology reflects these conflicting tendencies: on one hand, to represent Soviet literature as something more organic than it really is, on the other hand, to confuse the lines of demarcation. If Soviet literature is to be treated as a distinct organic whole and a period in itself, we must clearly see its boundaries and not fall victims to chronological illusions. The principle of continuity is apparently illustrated in Messrs. Reavey's and Slonim's Anthology by the bringing in of writers like Andrey Bely and Alexey Remizov (of whom only the former is a Soviet writer in the strict formal sense); both in fact have exercised a great influence on young Russian literature, especially in the sphere of form. It is to be doubted, however, whether, from the point of view from which the Anthology is compiled, the criterion of influence is in itself sufficient, and whether Remizov, who lives and works outside Soviet Russia, ought to have been included at all. On the other hand, equally unjustifiable seems to me the inclusion of Anna Akhmatova, who does live in Russia, though she has published practically nothing since 1922. She is not an active force in present-day literature and, if she continues to write, it is not accidental that her writings are not published; one can say with certainty that the future historian of Russian literature will not include Akhmatova in the Soviet period. To include her in a Soviet anthology is a mistake of bad taste and of short-sighted historical judgment. This applies *a fortiori* to Nikolay Gumilev, who was executed in 1921 at the hands of the Cheka, whose poetry belongs entirely to the post-symbolist period, and who is not a living influence in Soviet Russian literature. In any case there is no justification whatever for including a war poem of Gumilev written in 1915. The fact that in Mr. Reavey's Anthology it appears over the date "1923" is quite incomprehensible; is it an oversight, a misprint, or is Mr. Reavey not aware of the fact that the 1923 edition of Gumilev's *Quiver* (*Kolchan*) is merely a posthumous reprint of a book which appeared in 1915, when Gumilev was actually at the front? Be that as it may, it is a very misleading mistake, for an English reader might take the poem *The Spirit Sun* (*Solntse dukha*) to be a hymn to the Soviet régime, whereas it is a glorification of the war. Nor do I see any reason for including Blok's poem dated 1913. Whether Blok—even considering his *Twelve*—belongs to the Soviet period of Russian literature, is rather doubtful.

There is nothing, on the other hand, to justify the omission of Osip Mandelstam, if Blok, Gumilev and Akhmatova are included. But even apart from that, Mandelstam is a poet whom one would hesitate to relegate entirely to the pre-Soviet period.

Equally strange is the omission of a novelist like Alexey Tolstoy, even allowing for the apology in the foreword attributing it to reasons of space. His *Peter the First* is one of the best literary works of the last few years; what is more, it represents a genre and a tendency which play a not unimportant part in contemporary Russian literature; this genre—the historical novel—is not at all represented in the anthology under review. Several other writers are omitted with due apologies, but no apology even is made for writers like Ilya Erenburg or Ovady Savich (his *Imaginary Interlocutor* is an interesting novel).

As regards the selection of extracts, it is a pity that so few complete stories are given, and of these not all are the best and the most representative of their authors (I am thinking in the first place of Babel and Katayev). Among the poets, Pasternak, who is no doubt the most remarkable and perhaps the only poet in Russia of today, has a whole subsection to himself under a not very illuminating title, "A Poet and the Revolution," but the choice might have been better, and the English rendering is far from conveying the subtle charm of the originals.

The section on Criticism has obviously been sacrificed to requirements of space. It is practically confined to official pronouncements of certain literary groups. The omission of Trotsky and of some of the most important "Formalists" is more than regrettable, it is unjustifiable. This section hardly reflects the main problems which concern Soviet literature—the problem of creative freedom, and the problem of proletarian art as something organic and essentially different from the normal "bourgeois" art.

Throughout the book there is an annoying lack of uniformity in the transliteration of Russian names. GLEB STRUVE.

*The Homesick Million: Russia-out-of-Russia.* By W. Chapin Huntington. Boston, Mass., The Stratford Company, 1933. \$3.00. Pp. ii + 307.

THE author has had a splendid and gallant thought—to write a book about the Russian Emigration. He has fulfilled his task excellently; his book is fair in appreciation, gentle in criticism, measured in statement and objective in approach. As far as can be judged, it is accurate except in a few minor points, e.g. Milyukov is stated to have been Prime Minister (p. 179). It is also a little out-of-date, e.g. the Exarchate is not mentioned, and the long-drawn crisis of the gold standard has disturbed some of the author's more optimistic conclusions about the economic position of the Emigration. Perhaps a more serious criticism is that rather too much space is given to the Grand Dukes and rather too little to the really constructive features of Emigration life. But the Emigration is a vast fact; the stranger will speak of it as he sees it, and unquestionably the author has seen much. Moreover, he has set out to describe rather than to appraise. The criticism only has point in as much as his description

gives a picture, and that picture includes all the author's subjective valuations. But mere description would have been less interesting and, as it is, the author's method has enabled him to indicate with a sure hand all the burning problems.

One important aspect of Mr. Huntington's picture deserves emphasis, since it provides a clear answer to the grotesque and prejudiced misunderstanding whereby those who little know the Emigration impute to them a purely political significance, and that a significance of a negative and reactionary character. Certainly, the Emigration is a political fact, but it is not a political party and never has been. It is a whole culture and, as the author shows, a culture rich in every conceivable way. Untrue also is the current opinion that the Emigration consists of embittered people who have learnt nothing. Throughout Mr. Huntington's pages it is obvious that they have learnt and are learning much. The author limits his scope and does not give us a survey of Emigration thought; he prefers to depict a school for character rather than a school for thought. In a sense, doubtless, this is a sound approach, particularly for a stranger. Nevertheless the thought is there, and it is possible that the book overestimates the relative importance of the "traditionalist" outlook, which surely must have diminished by the measure that under the strain of circumstances politics have yielded place to social service. This transfer of emphasis is shown right up to its conclusion in a body of young people who are, compared with their fathers, "politically more conservative, socially more radical," and even this political conservatism becomes historical and cultural. Few responsible members of the Emigration expect a restoration; they "accept the Revolution" and do not seek to "revise the already fulfilled judgment of God."

It follows that only the superficial observer can press against the Emigration the accusation of disunity. Disunity there is of the kind that paralyses political action. But political action is not the purpose and does not fulfil the meaning of the Emigration. The initial failure in the Emigration itself to grasp this increasingly obvious fact split the church in exile. This is the most distressing circumstance in the whole story. But the author's narrative gives the event its proper setting; there has been no ultimate division in the faith of the Emigration. All that is best in the Emigration turns to the cathedral of St. Alexander Nevsky ("the very heart of Russia-out-of-Russia") and to St. Sergius' House (which "may one day more than compensate for the loss" of "outward unity"). At an appalling cost, amid personal tragedies, wounded and crippled, the Emigration represent the free spirit of Russia engaged in self-criticism to the limit of endurance. They are a fact of the first importance not only to Russia but also to the world at large. Their faith and their devotion have done much. The same gifts will sustain them in what Mr. Huntington notes as the last of their trials, the return of the Emigration to Russia.

No one can remain unmoved by this pilgrimage, and Mr. Huntington is to be thanked for this opportunity to envisage it as a whole.

A. F. DOBBIE-BATEMAN.

*Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Political, Economic and Social History, with special reference to the Reign of Leopold II.*  
By Robert Joseph Kerner. New York (Macmillan Co.), 1930.  
20s. net.

MR. KERNER is to be congratulated on this scholarly and authoritative work, which is not likely soon to be superseded. The reign of Leopold II, brief though it was, was one of the most decisive in the whole history of the House of Habsburg, both from the internal and the international point of view: incidentally, it is a classic instance of the rapidity with which a highly dangerous internal situation can be transformed or remedied by skilful diplomacy and initiative in foreign policy. Leopold's premature death in 1792 was, in my opinion, an irretrievable disaster for all Central Europe, not merely because it removed a sovereign who was in the very prime of life and knew how to temper paternal government with progressive and mildly Liberal ideas, but also because his son and successor, Francis, who utterly lacked his intellect, his elasticity and his gift for compromise, plunged into the opposite extreme of autocratic reaction.

Professor Kerner approaches this fascinating and unduly neglected subject from the special angle of Bohemia, and here, too, the reign of Leopold was a turning point and marks the first faint signs of Czech national revival. The first section of the book gives an admirably lucid summary of Bohemian history since the disaster of the White Mountain in 1620 and the Ordinance of 1627, of the gradual strengthening of the bureaucracy during the 18th century, and of the conditions which led to the summons of the Bohemian Diet in 1790. He gives very fairly the rival theses, German and Czech, on the subject of Bohemian State rights and the constitutional or unconstitutional nature of the changes effected under Maria Theresa and Joseph II. He makes clear, incidentally, the disaffection among the Bohemian nobility at the beginning of Maria Theresa's reign, the undue financial burdens imposed upon Bohemia (four times as much as Hungary and twenty times as much as the Austrian Netherlands) and the gradual deterioration in the status of the peasantry. As Mr. Kerner neatly puts it, "in 1789 Bohemia was totally in the hands of the bureaucrats: it was officially German, tolerantly Catholic and wholly absolute in form of government."

Part II shows how the Diet, of which, of course, the feudal nobility were as yet in almost exclusive possession, asserted itself in certain directions and set on foot a short-lived constitutional movement. Parts III and IV are devoted to an equally penetrating analysis of commerce and industry, finance, serfdom, religion and education in



Bohemia before and under Leopold II. The first dawn of the national revival is quite logically treated in its bearing upon religious and educational problems.

There is a very full bibliography, and it is interesting to note that some of the original material on which the book is based was subsequently destroyed in the burning of the Palace of Justice in Vienna.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

*Istorija Jugoslavije.* By Vladimir Ćorović. Beograd, 1933. 614 pages.

THIS weighty volume, unhappily with only two footnotes, no bibliography and no index, but with many references to original sources interspersing the text, richly illustrated with copperplates and a few coloured pictures, was published on 1 January, 1933, in the series of the "Narodno Delo" of Belgrade, in which a number of popular works, both Yugoslav and European, have been published since the war.

The aim of this book is—as stated on the first page, and as we ourselves soon discover—"to expound truthfully and in a synthetical survey" the fate of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes from the earliest times until the present day. Although Jugoslavia, as a state and political unit, has existed only for fifteen years, and although its official name dates from 3 October, 1929, the "Jugoslav ideology which has brought it about" is by no means of recent date, and the story of the three peoples who now compose the Kingdom of Jugoslavia is not new to history. This story, which goes back more than a thousand years, makes up the history of Jugoslavia.

In spite of its popular appearance this work is, as one would expect from a historian of Professor Ćorović's type, a scholarly and critical study of all the aspects of the political and social life of the Yugoslavs. Right from his opening chapters, which deal with the coming of the Southern Slavs (i.e. the Yugoslavs and the Bulgarians) into the Balkans and their grouping into tribal units, he judiciously discriminates and weighs up all controversial opinions—relapsing sometimes almost into conversational discussions—and never fails to place before the reader an impartial conclusion.

The whole work is divided into five parts, or periods. The first comprises, roughly speaking, the time from the beginning of the 6th until the end of the 11th centuries. It was during this period that the Serbs and the Croats—of whom contemporary Byzantine historians speak as one and the same people from the linguistic and ethnological point of view—experienced the opposing political and religious influences of Rome and Constantinople, which gradually deepened and widened the gap between them and prevented them from uniting their forces at an early stage of their history. From the end of the 9th century, the Serbs entered more and more into the political and cultural sphere of Byzantium, while among the Croats connections with the Franks and the West were prevalent. The Byzantine influence to which they, too, were

subjected came through Dalmatia, but it was of the Romance and not of the Greek spirit. The Slovenes, in the meantime, came completely under the influence of German culture.

The second part deals mainly with the history of Serbia in the 13th and 14th centuries, under the able rulers of the Nemanja dynasty, but describes also the rise of Bosnia, in the early part of the 14th century, and the important rôle she played after the death of the greatest Serbian ruler, Tsar Dušan, in 1355, when the Bosnian King Tvrtko succeeded in establishing the first Serbo-Croat Kingdom and in crowning himself as "King of Rascia (i.e. Serbia), Bosnia, Dalmatia, Croatia and the Maritime lands" in 1390.

Like Tsar Dušan, he too was a man of great personality and ability, but while Dušan was above all a conqueror and "Lord of the Serbs, Greeks and Albanians," who aimed at establishing himself at Constantinople as Emperor of a state in which the Serbs would be in a minority, Tvrtko, favoured by Bosnia's central position and the existing political conditions, created a "national" Serbo-Croat state. Like Nemanja, who at the end of the 12th century had united two Serbian states, Raška and Zeta (Serbia and Montenegro), Tvrtko pursued a practical national policy without, naturally, possessing any national conception in the modern sense of the word. From the national point of view, the foundations of Tvrtko's state were on a firmer basis than those of Dušan.

Of the three Yugoslav peoples, the Serbs undoubtedly were the most active and the most stubborn. They maintained their independence longer than either the Croats or the Slovenes. The Slovenes never succeeded in freeing themselves from the Germans, the Croats, having for about two centuries maintained their independence, had in the end to recognise Hungarian supremacy in 1102 and, like the Bulgarians two centuries later, when conquered by the Turks (1396) showed little resistance to the enemy. The Serbs, on the other hand, fought the Ottoman lords for more than a century, but were finally crushed by superior forces.

At the end of the 15th century no free Yugoslavs were left and the tragic story of their life under foreign dominion is described in the third and fourth parts of this book. It is difficult to say which yoke, the Hungarian or the Turkish, was the more oppressive. Fugitives who had found refuge on Hungarian territory often preferred to cross the Danube and the Save again and return to their homes, though these were held by the Turks. However, the number of fugitives from the lands occupied by the Turks into those held by Austria and Hungary, was by far the greater. It was at this time that many Serbs of Serbia proper fled far north-west into Bosnia, Croatia and even Slovenia, with the result that the Serbs and Croats became very closely mixed and have ever since been intermingled to such an extent that it would be impossible to draw a line between them in Bosnia and Croatia.

But the mixing of the two peoples was effected also by the forcible transfer of a very large number of Serbs by the Turks into old Croatia, Dalmatia and Bosnia. This was done mainly in the first half of the 16th century, especially after the Turks had conquered Hungary (1526). Large portions of the original Croat territory were deserted and the Turks brought in many thousands of Serbs to till the land for them and feed their frontier garrisons. The movement of both the Serbs and the Croats towards the west and the north continued for several centuries and they succeeded—strange as it may seem—in expanding their settlements during the Turkish rule, over a much larger territory than that held by their medieval rulers at the height of their power. It stands to reason that the Serbs fused more with the Croats than with the Slovenes, who were further away from them, in the extreme north-west of the Yugoslav lands. In this fusion some Serbs who originally belonged to the Greek Orthodox church became Roman Catholics, like the Croats, but in all parts where they were brought by the Turks in large numbers and remained in a majority over the Croats they preserved both their name and their religion. Nevertheless the ties of blood held the Serbs and Croats, regardless of their religious confessions, close together in face of the Moslem rulers.

The fifth part of the book describes the rise of Serbia and her heroic struggle with the Turks in the 19th century. It deals also with the political and literary movement of the Croats, known as the "Illyrian Movement," started in 1830; the co-operation between the Serbs and Croats of Austria-Hungary; the agreement between the Croats and the Hungarians in 1867; and the wars between the Serbs and the Turks in 1876-78.

Finally, the closing chapters of this part deal with the events of the present century: the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, from which Serbia and Montenegro, which had obtained complete freedom in the previous century, emerged considerably enlarged. Their victories were greeted with open enthusiasm by the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes of the Dual Monarchy, and especially by the Serbs of Bosnia, whose dissatisfaction with Austro-Hungarian rule had been expressed since 1910 in several attempts on the lives of the Governors of Bosnia. The organised movement of Bosnian youth and their incessant protests against foreign rule culminated in the murder of the Austrian Heir Apparent at Sarajevo in June, 1914.

Professor Čorović, who is himself a Bosnian, gives a vivid picture of the Bosnian Youth Movement and shows clearly that official Serbia was in no way connected with either the movement or the murder of the Archduke. He concludes his excellent work with a description of Serbia's heroic part in the Great War and the work of Yugoslav emigrés during the war, in co-operation with the Serbian Government and the Allies, for the union of all Serbs, Croats and Slovenes into one state, under the sceptre of King Alexander.

D. P. SUBOTIĆ.

*Praktičan Englesko-Srpski Rečnik. Englesko-srpski dev.* (A Practical Dictionary of the English and Serbian Languages. English-Serbian.) By Ilija M. Petrović. Beograd (Geca Kon), 1933. 30 pages.

WITH the exception of Hill's Serbian-English and English-Serbian Vest Pocket Dictionary, by F. Bauer Czarnomski, published in London, 1920, this is the only English-Serbian dictionary printed in the Cyrillic alphabet. It is at the same time better than any of the existing ones printed in the Latin alphabet for the use of Yugoslavs, such as Š. Lochmer's English-Croatian Dictionary, published in 1906 at Senj, which is somewhat out of date and almost unobtainable; Louis Cahen's English-Serbian and Serbian-English pocket dictionary, published in London by Kegan Paul, 1916 and 1918; and F. A. Bogadek's English-Croatian and Croatian-English dictionary, published at Pittsburgh, Penn., 1926. None of these latter is much better than very bad.

For its size Petrović's dictionary is fairly good, and it contains, unlike the above mentioned, excepting Lochmer's, at least some phrases and idioms, though few and not well chosen. However, Yugoslavs desirous of learning elementary English, or rather American-English, will find this dictionary useful.

In compiling it and "in determining the meaning of English words," Petrović admittedly consulted only the following: *The Practical Standard Dictionary of the English Language* by F. H. Vizetelly, New York, 1925, and Webster's *New International Dictionary of the English Language*, Springfield, Mass., 1921. To indicate the pronunciation, he has adopted the phonetic alphabet passed by the "special committee of linguistic authorities," organised by Funk and Wagnalls Co., the publishers of Vizetelly's dictionary. In doing so, the compiler was probably guided not only by the fact that he had studied in the U.S.A., but also by the knowledge that since the war it is rather the American and not so much the English novelists that appeal to the majority of the Yugoslav reading public. While the novels of Sinclair Lewis, Upton Sinclair and Jack London, in both the original and Serbo-Croat translations, are prominent at most bookstalls, very few Yugoslavs have heard of Thomas Hardy, R. L. Stevenson or Aldous Huxley. Since, however, there is a public beginning to read and appreciate Galsworthy that will soon be acquainted with some of Stevenson's works in translation, Petrović might have consulted one or two English dictionaries; for, after all, England is the cradle of the English language and is nearer to Jugoslavia than the U.S.A.

There is a steady stream of Yugoslav youths coming to Great Britain, and if they learn English by means of Petrović's dictionary, they will have to learn on their arrival in England that, for instance, *bilious* does not mean *žučan*, *jedak*—if this is really its meaning in U.S.A.—and that the word "bestial" is not pronounced *bes'chol*! However, such and similar "differences" in the meaning and pronunciations should not seriously impair the value of this useful and well-printed dictionary, the appearance of which we are pleased to announce here. D. P. SUBOTIĆ.

*Jezdziec Miedziany. Opowieść petersburska Aleksandra Puszkina. Przekład Juliana Tuwima. Studium Wacława Lednickiego. (Warszawa, 1932.)*

*The Bronze Horseman*, the poem which holds perhaps the central place in Pushkin's work, both for its intrinsic significance and for its poetic merits, has appeared in Polish translation done by the gifted Polish poet Julian Tuwim. We must welcome the publication of this translation, which is first of all very near to the original; therein lies its unquestionable merit.

The verse treatment, however, gives rise to certain objections. Julian Tuwim has tried to reproduce exactly the formal peculiarities of the Russian original. He has therefore translated *The Bronze Horseman* in tonic verse with double and single rhymes. This means more or less taking risks with the Polish language. In Polish, the accent is fixed on the penultimate syllable, and this fact has naturally led Polish poetry to adopt the syllabic verse. Tonic verse sounds in Polish almost as artificial and strained as in French or Italian. (This is why the attempts made in Italy by Pietro Sessa and in France by I. Sidersky to render Russian poets in tonic verse have been unsuccessful.) It is practically the same as regards the rhymes. Because the accent is fixed on the penultimate syllable, Polish prosody rests on double rhymes. Single rhymes are very scarce in Polish because they can be supplied only by monosyllabic words. In trying to achieve formal identity the Polish translator has to end nearly half of the verses in monosyllabics which inevitably gives the translation an air of a *tour de force* or poetical trick, whereas the Russian original is, of course, quite free from this. Yet, despite these difficulties, which cannot be completely overcome, Julian Tuwim has succeeded in achieving excellent results; his single rhymes are comparatively natural and the octosyllabic (= four-footed iambus), even though it acquires in Polish a certain inevitable harshness, at times sounds almost like Pushkin's; it is a great merit and we want to lay all possible stress on it.

There are only two points in Mr. Tuwim's translation with which it is impossible to agree. First, the so-called "rhymoids" (incomplete rhymes) which in Pushkin's time were not used at all; (this refers in particular to single rhymes ending in a vowel and having no *consonne d'appui*; in fact, these are even no rhymoids, but simply bad rhymes, which in Russian one would meet only in the case of most inexperienced versifiers). Secondly, the irregular alternation of single and double rhymes; at times the translator introduces a new double rhyme where there ought to be a single one. This is a proceeding not only anachronistic as far as Pushkin's poetics are concerned, but altogether annoying. Probably for Mr. Tuwim, who was brought up on Polish prosody, the problem of alternation of double and single rhymes has hitherto not arisen. That is why he solves it in so inexperienced a way. Yet, if single rhymes are to be introduced into Polish poetry next to double rhymes, they must be subordinated to the general law of alternation. A violation of this rule in any language sounds discordant. Pushkin would never have accepted the alternation of rhymes which Mr. Tuwim allows himself.

Even if Mr. Tuwim has been unable to perform a poetical miracle, he has nevertheless given us an excellent translation and done a great cultural work. One must not forget that with every year the number of people in Poland capable of reading Pushkin in the original grows less and less.

This cultural feat is shared with Mr. Tuwim by the young Polish scholar, Professor Wacław Lednicki, who has accompanied the translation with a detailed study of *The Bronze Horseman*—one of the most circumstantial studies ever written about this poem. Not only the Polish, but even the Russian reader would find in Professor Lednicki's work a number of thoughts and observations, always curious, if not always unquestionable. Professor Lednicki has succeeded well in pointing out all the complexity of philosophical, historical and political themes intertwining in *The Bronze Horseman*, and in connecting it with a network of no less complex literary and biographical influences experienced by Pushkin at the time when he was writing his poem. Among Professor Lednicki's theses two are particularly valuable and interesting. The first bears on the duality which the author sees in Pushkin's attitude towards Peter the Great, towards Russian Imperialism and the State idea, which is Peter's legacy to the Russian nation. Both the Emperor and his historical legacy, according to Professor Lednicki, seemed to Pushkin a great historical necessity, but they called forth in him simultaneously enthusiasm and horror. The whole poem is built upon these mingled feelings, upon the conflict of Peter's *truth* with the *truth* of Evgeny rebelling against him; hence its puzzling, dual, changing colouring which has aroused such different interpretations in Russian criticism. The second thesis bears on the part played in the creation of the poem by Pushkin's relations with Mickiewicz and the Polish rising of 1831. While not denying that both the rising and Pushkin's polemic with Mickiewicz have their place among the many impulses experienced by Pushkin in creating *The Bronze Horseman*, Professor Lednicki convincingly refutes the exaggerations which in this respect are to be found not only in Polish, but also in Russian "Pushkinology."

In conclusion, a few words only about the somewhat unexpectedly sounding term: "Polish Pushkinology." It is used by Professor Lednicki and, though this may seem somewhat surprising, it stands for something that really exists. Polish study of Pushkin, the great Russian poet, does actually exist in the works of Spasowicz, Tretjak, Brückner, and especially Lednicki, and the existence of Pushkinology in Polish literature is not only real but deeply organic, for in some of its elements (and not the least important) the study of Pushkin is closely related to the study of Mickiewicz. One must welcome Polish Pushkinism, wish it prosperity and note with the greatest sympathy the valuable contribution made to it by Julian Tuwim and Professor Wacław Lednicki.

VLADISLAV KHODASEVICH.

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# THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW.

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## THE KING IN THE SQUARE

by ALEXANDER BLOK (1906)

Translated by OLETA JOAN O'CONNOR, and  
GEORGE RAPALL NOYES.

NOTE.—*Alexander Blok (1880–1921) was the leader of the symbolist school in Russian poetry. The King in the Square, written in 1906 and 1907, reflects his despair at the failure of the Russian revolutionary movement of the period.*

### CHARACTERS.

*The KING, enthroned on the terrace before his palace.*

*The ARCHITECT, an old man with loose-fitting dark clothes. By the lines on his face and his grey hair he suggests the KING.*

*The DAUGHTER of the ARCHITECT, a tall, beautiful girl in black silks.*

*The POET, a youth, guided in life by the ARCHITECT, with the DAUGHTER of whom he is in love.*

*The JESTER, a parasite of the theatre, and the representative of common sense. Sometimes he covers his gold-embroidered belly with a priestly cassock.*

*LOVERS, CONSPIRATORS, a COURTIER, a GIRL SELLING ROSES, WORKMEN, DANDIES, BEGGARS, PERSONS and VOICES IN THE CROWD.*

*RUMOURS, small and red, dart about in the city dust.*

### PROLOGUE.

*The city square. The background gleams with the white façade of the palace, rising above a broad, high terrace; on a massive throne sits the gigantic KING. His crown covers the ancient green curls rippling above his tranquil face, which is furrowed with deep wrinkles. His*



*slender hands rest on the arms of the throne. His whole attitude is majestic. At the very bottom, near the footlights, and under the high parapet of the quay, is a bench; staircases descend to it on both sides. The bench is on the shore of the sea, which comes up in a narrow channel from the distance, on the left side rounding the cape on which are the square and the palace, and merges with the orchestra and the theatre, so that the scene represents only an island—a chance refuge for the characters.*

*The sun has not yet risen. In almost complete darkness, the JESTER, who serves as a Prologue, rows in from the sea, ties his boat at the shore, takes out of it a fishhook and line and a small bundle, and seats himself on the bench.*

JESTER<sup>1</sup>:— Too lazy is the sun to rise,  
I sit here by the sea;  
Great lights may well to work despise  
But I,—that's not for me.

Without them I my way have found  
And rowed me to this place,  
By my good sense and wisdom sound  
To win, good sirs, your grace.

Well! There's a palace, deep in shade  
Here, terraced high, a throne;  
Whereon a king in crown arrayed  
Sits old and sad and lone.

Before the palace walk and chat  
The populace at play,  
'Tis only dog and democrat  
Who may not pass that way.

A path for decent folk runs by;  
A bench here, for the same;  
'Twas only as your Prologue I  
A place on it could claim.

In front, the orchestra's a sea,—  
Its waters dull and drear;  
As clear as crystal they will be  
When once the sun is here.

<sup>1</sup> The following song was translated by B.P.

My task is done ; my only wish,  
That you this scene should mark ;  
But common sense says when you fish  
You want the water dark.

(*The JESTER seats himself astride the edge of the stage and flings his hook into the orchestra. During the Act, for the most part, he is hidden behind the side curtain ; he appears only in scattered scenes*)

## ACT I.

*Morning.*

*Night struggles with dawn. Above the shore, hardly visible in the dusk, are two unknown persons. The first—in black—is leaning against the white stone of the palace. The other is sitting on the shore. A third is not visible ; he is somewhere near by, and only his voice is heard—broken and ominous.*

FIRST : Now day has begun to break.

SECOND : It is oppressive when day is awakening.

VOICE OF THE THIRD : Do not betray despair. Do not betray death.

FIRST : There is nothing for me to betray, comrade ; I no longer believe in anything. But I fear for others.

SECOND and VOICE OF THE THIRD (*Together*) : Fear not for us.

FIRST : For you I do not fear. The city terrifies me. All the inhabitants have gone mad. They build their happiness on an insane sort of illusion. They are expecting something from the ships that are coming today.

SECOND (*Clutching his head*) : My God ! My God ! Ships from the sea ! This is stark madness !—If they believe in that, why then there is nothing more to believe in ! Terrible times !

FIRST : It is absurd to say : terrible times. If we let our thoughts wander, every one will go mad. Let us find in ourselves the strength to live this day to the end, so that then—we may die.

SECOND : What happiness—to die !

VOICE OF THE THIRD : He speaks of happiness. Let us go alone—to burn and to destroy.

FIRST : Let him speak. It is nothing. His despair, too, is infinite.

(*They are silent.*)

SECOND : Neither roof nor family. Nowhere to lay my head. It is terrible.

FIRST : What need that man fear, if he pities nothing ?

SECOND : The morning dusk. Deathly oppression.

VOICE OF THE THIRD : To burn. To burn.

SECOND : I feel terror—pity.

VOICE OF THE THIRD : Then die, if you feel pity.

*(They are silent. Slowly the dawn breaks.)*

SECOND : Tell me, comrade, did you ever really believe in virtue?

FIRST : I give you my word for it. And I sought happiness. And

I loved cosy nooks where the air is full of perfumes, where a woman places bread and flowers on a table.

SECOND : You loved children?

FIRST : Let us stop this. I loved children. But I no longer have pity even for children.

SECOND : Answer me this last question : Do you believe that destruction is a liberator?

FIRST : I do not.

SECOND : Thank you. Nor do I.

*(They are silent.)*

FIRST (*Looking at the KING*) : He is dozing there above us. The beauty of his aged locks rules the world. For can such decrepit hands rule the world?

SECOND : And so you fear something. We are strong only with your strength. But if you are merely a vision—then we shall melt away in this wandering morning light. The people will not follow us. The people fear delusion.

FIRST : All will follow us. The hour is at hand—and all will follow us.

SECOND : They have families, houses.

FIRST : Their families are scattered abroad. Their houses are shaken.

SECOND : There is no place for a fire in them

FIRST : It is all the same—all will burn. The hard and the soft, the dry and the damp. From the damp there is more smoke.

SECOND : And the old man will burn?

FIRST : In him there is nothing to burn. Everything is petrified.

SECOND : So he will remain whole !

VOICE OF THE THIRD : Let us scatter him on the winds. Let us fling him into the sea.

SECOND : And no one will remember him?

FIRST : Whoever loves him will remember.

*(They are silent. The day flames forth.)*

FIRST : In the whole city I know only two living people. Every one fears the old Architect.

SECOND : And you fear him?

FIRST : No, he will not hinder us. The crowd is too petty to hearken to the will of a Titan.

SECOND : Who is the other?

FIRST : The other?—His daughter.

SECOND : Ludicrous ! You are afraid of a woman ! Your voice trembled !

FIRST : Do not laugh. I fear neither common sense, nor will, nor toil, nor the rough strength of men. I fear mad imagination, absurdity—what in former times was called a lofty dream.

SECOND : You fear religion, poetry ? Long ago the world left them behind. The world has forgotten about prophets and poets.

FIRST : It was so. But in the hour of death every one recalls the beauty that was forgotten. She infects them with her own mad beauty. Invisibly and secretly—she now rules the city. She yearns to breathe new life into the King.

SECOND : Can this be possible ? Can this hinder destruction ?

FIRST : Yes. They will fall at her feet. They will make her queen. They will begin to worship her in temples.

SECOND : Old dreams are not born again.

FIRST : But to follies all are ready to return. They are capable of crowning their own madness, when they have lost all hopes and all virtues.

SECOND : You are raving. You have gone mad.

FIRST : Let it be so. Without me you have no strength. Believe me, in her there is the creative intoxication of her father and the wrath of later generations !

SECOND : What shall we do ?

FIRST : Wait until this day is over. This evening she will speak with the people and with the King.

SECOND : Still a whole day ! Empty and bright ! Better to die !

FIRST : I swear to you : we shall all die before night.

VOICE OF THE THIRD (*like an echo*) : We shall die.

*(Complete daylight. The city is awakening—more and more audible is the music of the morning murmurs. From the distance, from the direction of the sea, the wind carries the thud of axes.)*

SECOND : Do you hear ? They have not yet lost hope. Hatchets are striking.

FIRST : They are striking, and they build. They are going to build to the last minute.

SECOND : They are finishing the mole. They are erecting some sort of structure for the reception of the ships.

FIRST : Let them hope We shall perish alone, if the ships come, or if her lofty dream is realised.

VOICE OF THE THIRD : The ships will not come. A storm will annihilate them. A burning wind will spread death.

*(They separate. The THIRD emerges from behind a rock. With his thin, lined face and lanky body he is more like a bird than anything else.*

*On the square before the palace the promenade begins Several DANDIES walk backward and forward. Two belated WORKMEN pass by)*

FIRST WORKMAN : Work has started. Hurry up !

SECOND WORKMAN : Yesterday one of them came to speak with us. He forbids building. He says that a storm will carry everything away.

*(They pass on hurriedly. The wind stirs up clouds of dust. A pale woman offers roses for sale. Not far from her pause a YOUTH and a MAIDEN.)*

MAIDEN : Raise your gaze to the heavens above.

This sunny day will assuage all your grief.

YOUTH : Always the clouds are floating above.

White are the towers that they drop in the seas.

MAIDEN : Sad are you, sad ! Do but look in mine eyes.

Read there my joy at this meeting with you

YOUTH : Now do I see that your eyes have grown dark.

Night is the goal to which youth draws you on.

MAIDEN : To joy ! To pure joy ; The seas sing their songs !

I fear from afar the fleet ships on their way !

YOUTH : I hear the far roar of tumultuous waves ;

I see that the blast has gathered the clouds.

MAIDEN : But the beams of the lighthouse still cleave through the mists ;

On the mole they will set bright fires that shall save us

YOUTH : Behold, o'er the foam stormy petrels now hover ;

On the crests of the waves they are rocked by grim fate.

MAIDEN : O'er the storm will ascend the gold rocket of hope

To guide on their way my mirth-bringing ships.

YOUTH : With the soul of a prophet I hearken to murmurs

Foreboding for us unescapable night.

MAIDEN : Look ! Sweet-scented roses the pale maiden carries—  
The innocent pledge of an untroubled day.

*(She goes to the VENDOR OF ROSES.)*

MAIDEN : Why are you pale ? Why do you tremble ?

VENDOR OF ROSES : I am dying from the burning sun, from the  
dust, from weariness, from hunger.

MAIDEN : You are dying ?

VENDOR OF ROSES : I will choke you with flowers if you do not give  
me bread.

MAIDEN *(Giving her money)* : Give me the roses. Go in haste.

*(The VENDOR OF ROSES departs.)*

Starving ! The morning has perished.

*(Up above two DANDIES meet.)*

FIRST : Tell me why they are really awaiting the ships so eagerly ?

SECOND : Really, I do not know myself. But does it make any  
difference ?

FIRST : I am glad to meet a sane man. Every one is so excited that  
he talks of nothing but ships. And, you know, a man begins to  
believe in them himself.

SECOND : Yes, say what you will, it is impossible to deny the  
influence of the crowd. It is contagious.

FIRST : The sillier it is, the more contagious.

SECOND : It's high time to do away with all these rumours by  
energetic measures. The government . . . *(They go out.)*

MAIDEN : How sad are those scraps of well-fed talk !

How grim are flowers in beggars' hands !

No more do I trust that my ships will come !

YOUTH : Then think no more of them.

Look at the flowers.

MAIDEN : These white flowers stifle me !

YOUTH : We will forget the flowers. Look in mine eyes.

These heavy roses are burning your hands.

MAIDEN : Into the sea do I cast them—forgotten.

*(They go down to the sea.)*

MAIDEN : Let us forget all our terrors,

Remembering only our love.

Float away, float away, my poor flowers !

*(She throws the roses into the water. The YOUTH, with a sad  
glance, follows the light movements of his beloved.)*

## ACT II.

*Midday.*

*The same setting—only the colours have grown dim and the outlines are blurred by the heat. The sea is motionless. The horizon is misty. A few idlers are on the square. Now and then workmen and ragamuffins pass by on the side. From the distance comes a feeble but incessant sound of axes.*

FIRST WORKMAN : At any hour they expect the ships.

SECOND WORKMAN : I'd like to know what they expect from them.

They speed up the building ; they make us sing songs that we may work more merrily.

FIRST WORKMAN : They build and build, but have not yet finished their building.

*(They go out. The doleful song of the workmen is wafted in from the distance. Two DANDIES pass.)*

FIRST : Some one said that the ships were already visible from the mole.

SECOND : A false report. It is the fishermen's boats that have rounded the cape.

FIRST : Ah, is it not all the same ! They have those ships on the brain. I should like to know who imagined all this nonsense ?

*(They go out. The JESTER strolls in, with a fishhook and line in his hands.)*

JESTER : Nasty weather. Even the fish won't bite. No one wants to come to the fishhook of common sense. Everybody has gone mad. Well, at last, the maddest of all are coming—perhaps I'll get a bite.

*(He goes behind the curtain. The ARCHITECT and the POET seat themselves on the bench.)*

POET : No longer does anybody sleep at night. On all faces there is anxiety ; all are waiting for something. Teach me to struggle against anguish.

ARCHITECT : You do not know yourself what your anxiety is about.

POET : If only I knew ! The hungry labour for bread. The insulted man takes vengeance. A lover says to a woman, " Be mine." But I am well-fed, and no one insults me. In women I love only fine hair, rippling voices, and a dream of the impossible. I have nothing to strive for—I am doomed to anguish.

*(The song of the workmen is faintly heard.)*

ARCHITECT : Be assured that alarm is useless. Do not think about the impossible. While the sea washes this shore, while the King rules the city—nothing will change but your wandering thoughts.

POET : The power of reflection hinders me from living. I know that the life of the city is just as illusory as my own. The sea seems to me to be of glass ; the people, dolls.

ARCHITECT : You are ill.

POET : It often seems to me that even the King . . .

ARCHITECT (*Interrupting*) : You are ill. Live more simply. You are a poet—a senseless, singing creature—and yet it is your fate to give voice to the thoughts of others ; only they are unable to utter all that you say. Woe to you, if you suggest to men their secret, mad thoughts.

*(A distant rumble and shouts, as if something heavy had fallen into the water. Workmen run across the square.)*

WORKMAN : The scaffolds have slipped ! Ten men have fallen into the sea !

SECOND WORKMAN : And a family without bread !

THIRD WORKMAN : Tell his wife to run to the sea : maybe it is still possible to save him.

POET : Today I feel that some unheard-of thing is brewing. The air is too hot. My soul is too empty.

ARCHITECT : You think that the world is coming to an end ? Perhaps you too are awaiting the ships ?

POET (*Enthusiastically*) : The ships will come !

ARCHITECT : Madman ! You lash their families, you lash their triviality ! But they are all better than you. You are broken ; you cannot breathe in either the sea or the dust. They at least know how to breathe the yellow, stinking dust—bow on your knees before them !

POET : You are killing me.

ARCHITECT : Unhappy creature ! Perhaps too many beggars have crawled in today from distant parts of the city, and with their snuffling voices have disturbed the nerves of the white-handed people ; perhaps many children have died and their mothers are weeping too loudly ; perhaps the burning wind has simply spread rumours and gossip throughout the city. That is all your anguish amounts to.

POET : Stop, you are slaying in me the last . . .



ARCHITECT : Such is your end of the world ! Somewhere dogs are fighting, or women are gossiping and whining ! You are dreaming about the last day ! By your very side they will work, starve, die—but only towards evening will you awake from your delirium.

*(The blows of axes begin again.)*

POET : Your words strike like axes into my very heart.

ARCHITECT : I am not depriving you of hope. But think of what I have said. Listen, listen, to the blows of the axes ; let them strike you still more painfully. Else your heart will become smothered and barren. And I shall turn away from you. I believe only in those who discriminate between good and evil. Farewell.

*(He goes out. A gust of wind flings up his wide garment. A cloud of yellow dust covers the square, the palace, and the KING. One can see little red RUMOURS springing out of the eddying dust. They skip about and scatter in all directions. The wind seems to whistle when they break into laughter. At this very moment, in the crowd of strollers, trembling voices resound.)*

VOICES IN THE CROWD : The King is ill ! Near death !

Conspirators want to burn the palace !

The King is arrested !

They have deceived us ! Can this be the King ?

*(The dust has vanished. As before, the palace and the calm figure of the old KING are visible. The crowd grows quiet. The promenade continues. At the same time cooling streams circulate in the air, as if the heat had subsided. Gracefully and slowly the DAUGHTER OF THE ARCHITECT emerges from the crowd—a tall, beautiful girl in stiff black silks. She stops at the edge of the quay right above the bench where the POET is sitting, crushed by anguish—and looks down at him.)*

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT : Dost thou hear me ?

POET *(Looking up)* : I hear music. The sea smells salty.

*(The wind has ceased, and the blows of the axes have subsided. For some time the distant music of the sea is heard, interrupted by the muttering of the JESTER.)*

JESTER : It is beginning. Just now a big fish bit. The enamoured simpletons will frighten away all my fish.

*(Silence. At the moment when the DAUGHTER OF THE ARCHITECT slowly descends, the sky becomes overcast with a thick fog, which leaves*

*visible only the bench, like an island, where the DAUGHTER OF THE ARCHITECT and the POET are seated.)*

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

When the dust settles down on the earth,  
And the sly red Rumours have hidden  
In their noonday burrows below—  
Then music is born in the sea,  
And the soul is cooled by the wind.

POET :       The white, filmy mist now descends,  
And melts with the beauty of love ;  
But the ancient sea has no power  
To drown with its many-toned song  
The Jester's voice, piercing and harsh.

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

Thou speakest as in a dream.  
Again do I know thy melodious soul  
And thy dark, vague words I love.

POET .       Dim are the words that I can speak.  
The tales of my soul are unuttered.

*(The sea sighs, gathering the mist.)*

POET :       A white sail melts in the distance.

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

With my vision thy soul is filled.

POET :       I see far away the ships, the ships . . .

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

I cast a spell—be faithful to me.

POET :       I see the shore of a fair new land. . . .

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

I recall my spells. Thou art free.

*(A breeze seems to rise, and the fog lifts ; the milky whiteness vanishes. The sun breaks through. But still all that is visible is the bench.)*

POET :       Flecks of foam from the sea have blinded mine eyes.  
Above the sea now thou hoverest.  
And behind thee rise the phantoms of ships.

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

Most faithful of all is thy child-like soul.  
Thou wilt sing unto me while we are together.  
And when I shall perish—still thou wilt sing.

POET : Be with me ! My wings become strong !  
 I am weak when the mob is raging,  
 I am weak when thy father speaks,  
 My heart is disclosed to none but thee—  
 Dark are the songs that fill my soul.

*(The silence is again interrupted by the snarling voice of the JESTER.)*

JESTER : Really, all this is too familiar. Whatever she may say, he likes it all, because he is a fool, and in love. But to the old curmudgeon, her father, of course he will not listen.

*(The JESTER creeps from behind the curtain. His disgusting profile, with the hook and line, for a moment hides the lovers from the theatre. Then he mounts the staircase and disappears in the fog.)*

POET : Anguish is garbed in the silver vestments of mist.

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

The beams of day pierce the heart of the mist.

POET : The voice of anguish has sounded.

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

'Tis the hoarse roar of the waves on the shore.

POET : How clearly the piercing voice of anguish resounds !

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

The sun is piercing its mantle and heart—

Now thou wilt be free.

POET : Soon the sun will set.

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT : At its setting thou wilt be free.

POET : Thy tales of freedom had made me a captive.

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

A tale is all life unto thee.

Hark, with thy sleepy soul,

To a tale of the evening life—

Thou who art enchanted by me.

POET : Yea, speak to me, princess, speak,

That before me bright dreams may flow,

Bright dreams of a fabled land.

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

I know a great book, about a bright land,

Where a beautiful maiden ascended

The death bed of an aged tsar

And breathed youth into his decrepit heart !

There o'er a blossoming land,

Ruleth a stately King !

Youth has returned unto him !

*(During the preceding scene the sea sings more and more loudly. At the last words of the DAUGHTER OF THE ARCHITECT the mist completely disperses, and dust begins to drift in, amid which red RUMOURS dart about. Through the rising uproar of the crowd that is gathering at the palace, again the blows of axes are clearly heard.)*

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

Life fled away for a moment,  
Now it has come back once more !  
Hear'st thou the builders at work ?  
Hear'st thou the muttering of others ?  
See'st thou the Rumours arousing the throng !

POET :     Alien to me are the visions ;  
              Alien to me are the words.  
              Only thy tale gives me breath—  
              Leave thou me not.

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

Ah, no ! I cannot abide here with thee !  
I must incarnate my tale in myself.  
Wait thou for me here at dusk ;  
Be true in thy soul to the King.  
This evening thou wilt be free.

*(She goes up the steps and mixes with the crowd, which, all the time, is murmuring hoarsely in the eddying dust. The POET, buried in his thoughts, remains below.)*

VOICES IN THE CROWD :

You heard that the ships came by night !  
Today the King nodded his head. . . .  
The King gave the order ! The ships went back again !  
Look up ! the King is not there !  
The King is here ! Nothing can be seen in the dust !

*(The voices are interrupted by strange sounds—it seems as if some one were sobbing. Through the dust one can distinguish the JESTER, who presses his belly against the parapet of the quay, right above the bench, and with both fists stops his mouth, in order to suppress his laughter.)*

JESTER *(Crying out through the rumbling)* : Your Grace ! How can I be of service ?

POET *(Quickly rising, and looking up at the JESTER)* : I have already seen you in a dream. Where is your fishhook ?

JESTER (*Bursting into laughter*): Here, here, here it is, with me!  
I am a fisher of men!

POET: Help me! Save me from anguish!

JESTER: While you and your lady were conversing, a whole political upheaval has ripened!

POET: The ships are near?

JESTER: What ships? Are you crazy? Join the party! You can't hang about without an occupation.

POET: What shall I do? Speak.

JESTER: Select quickly. I have brought two for you to choose from.

*(From behind the back of the JESTER, two men of birdlike appearance emerge on either side, one in black, the other in gold. They run down to the POET.)*

BLACK MAN: It is time! Come with us! Sing us songs! The city languishes without songs!

POET: Who are you?

BLACK MAN: Don't lose time! Sing of freedom! The crowd is excited—it will follow you!

POET: You are against the King?

BLACK MAN: Death to him!

POET: Leave me. She will not permit you to touch the shrine.

*The BLACK MAN runs off with curses.*

JESTER (*Shouting*): Speak to the other!

*(There is a murmur in the crowd. The GOLDEN MAN bows to the POET.)*

GOLDEN MAN: I am happy to talk with you. We cannot waste a minute. The crowd is in your hands.

POET: Who are you, golden bird?

GOLDEN MAN: A true servant of the King. A courtier. Your worshipper.

POET: What can I do for you?

GOLDEN MAN: Sing about the shrine. Guard the King from the turbulent mob. Every instant is precious.

POET: I will sing. Lead the way.

*(He goes up quickly. The GOLDEN MAN runs ahead, hoppity-skip. The crowd murmurs.)*

JESTER (*Bursting into laughter*): He bit! He bit! There's at least one person of common sense! Non-party man! Partisan of the government!

*(The JESTER mingles with the crowd. The POET, mounting above the crowd and standing on one of the steps of the platform, speaks amidst the abating storm of the people.)*

POET : It is all like a dream.

*(He turns his face to the crowd. It is speechless and ready to pay heed to his songs.)*

### ACT III.

*Night.*

*The same setting. Evening is falling. Leaden clouds hasten across the sky. From the distance the redoubled blows of axes are heard. Across the scene, unceasingly, people drift towards the sea, circling round the palace. Lively gestures, shining eyes ; the agitation has reached its highest point. On all faces are alarm and greedy hope. One of the crowd stops and leans on the railing of the quay. A second joins him.*

SECOND : You have lost all your strength.

FIRST : Yes, I feel a senseless terror. My heart will not hold out, if this lasts even one more day. Is it possible that the ships will not come even today ?

SECOND : They must be here today. Otherwise — we are lost. The people believe that the ships will bring salvation. If they do not come even today, their patience will break.

FIRST : The last, last hours !—Look, they are all going to the mole, and will wait there until night. What if they wait in vain ?

SECOND : The storm will drive them home.

FIRST : The storm will merely provoke them. All night they will burn and plunder. Then—an end of everything.

SECOND : Who instilled hope into us?—Only preparations for a triumphant reception, promises of eternal happiness !

FIRST *(Bending down low to the railing)* : I have moments of lucidity. As before death. Whither is this carrying us ? What made us believe ?

SECOND : Only catching at life. To believe in this is to catch at a straw.

FIRST : The axes are striking, striking. They strike ceaselessly. Where shall we take refuge from the blows of the axes ?

SECOND : From morning till evening they strike. They are building a tower, in order to shoot a rocket when the first ship appears on the sea.

FIRST (*Weeping*): My knees weaken. I haven't slept for so many nights! Rest! Rest!

SECOND: Have patience! Perhaps there is not long to wait.

(*There is no answer. The FIRST bends low over the railing. At this moment a beggar woman approaches, with a child in her arms.*)

BEGGAR WOMAN: Help, for God's sake! My husband was drowned in the sea. Give me something for bread.

(*The SECOND, not paying any attention to her expression, gazes fixedly into the face of the FIRST. The latter has bent completely over the railing and has lowered his head. People go past.*)

BEGGAR WOMAN: Good people, help, for the sake of my child!

(*Silence.*)

BEGGAR WOMAN: Today every one will be happy. The ships will come. I alone am without bread.

(*The child begins to cry. The BEGGAR WOMAN lulls him to sleep, retreating in astonishment. The SECOND clasps in his arms the FIRST, who has bent over the railing. The body falls to its knees. On the iron crossbeam lies his lifeless head.*)

SECOND (*Bending over the corpse, speaks in a low voice to the BEGGAR WOMAN*): He is dead. Listen. The dead give no alms.

(*The BEGGAR WOMAN crosses herself, draws back, and goes on. People pass by. Amidst them is the JESTER, in a priest's cassock and cowl. With curiosity he draws near to the corpse, over which the SECOND is bending helplessly.*)

JESTER (*Sternly*): Drunk?

SECOND (*Seriously*): Dead.

JESTER: Reason for death?

SECOND: Rupture of the heart. The alarming events of these days.

JESTER (*Shaking his head*): All would have gone well if he had applied to me.

SECOND: Who are you?

JESTER: A spiritual doctor.

(*A gust of wind throws open the cassock and tears the cowl from the head of the JESTER.*)

SECOND (*Doubtfully shaking his head*): A spiritual doctor does not wear a red cap. A spiritual doctor does not sew gold lace on his red belly. . . .

(*The cheeks of the JESTER shake with laughter. He quickly closes up his cassock. Evening quietly creeps on.*)

JESTER (*Sternly*): And you laugh? You laugh when your friend is dead?

(*Around them gathers a group of people from the passing crowd. With curiosity, they all try to get a closer look.*)

SECOND (*Gazing at the JESTER with astonishment*): I have seen your hypocritical face somewhere. I do not remember where—I have seen much in my life: in court, where you suggested death sentences to the jurors; or in church, where you preached meekness; or . . . yes! Here on the shore you were proving to the people that they did not need freedom.

(*Hatred wakens on the faces of those who surround them.*)

JESTER: Friends, deplorable things are happening here. Go your way. Be calm. In the name of God . . .

VOICE IN THE CROWD: A new lie! Do not take the name of God in vain! The truth! The truth! Under the cassock a sly heart is concealed!

(*The JESTER with a swift motion flings open his cassock. He seems to gain in stature in red and gold clothing. Above the crowd his fool's cap nods.*)

JESTER: You need truth? Here is truth! Crowd together, people! Gaze at me from the roofs, greet me in the streets, bow to the earth before me!

(*A terrible tumult amidst the increasing crowd. The JESTER shakes his cap a little, the bells ring.*)

VOICES IN THE CROWD: On such a night, masks on the streets! Where are we? Where are we? Night is near!

JESTER: Do you need truth? It is before you, people! Look at me! I am Truth itself—in red and gold nakedness! Remove the corpses from your streets!

VOICES IN THE CROWD: Terrible! That is a phantom above the dead man! The wind brings on ghosts! Rumours have hovered in the dust all day! Little rumours darted about under foot, red rumours shrieked in our ears, dusty rumours spread the alarm! Rumours have taken possession of the crowd! This is one of them! See, how it has become inflated towards night! Night is near! It is the voice of the people, it is common talk! The wind carries it all over the earth! Take heed, take heed!

JESTER: I am the voice of rumour! I have many faces, but in all the universe I bear one name! Common Sense is my name!

VOICE: Listen! Common Sense is talking with us!



JESTER : Poor sheep without a shepherd ! Let your hearts be calm !  
 I am the good shepherd ! Do not linger above the place where  
 suffering is in the air ! This turbulent night will pass ! Do not  
 linger ! Go back to your forsaken families !

VOICE : We believe you ! Our hearts are open ! Speak !

JESTER : I will herd you, my flock, with an iron staff ! If you are  
 not obedient to me, a terrible punishment will fall upon you !  
 The sea will scourge the madmen ! Leaden clouds will bury your  
 bewildered city beneath them ! Thus speaks Common Sense !  
 It punishes the seditious of soul ! My red gold merrily sings  
 before you ! But the merry red gold will bring you death and  
 conflagrations, if you tax the patience of Common Sense !

VOICE : Quieter ! Be calm ! It is terrible ! Woe to madmen !  
 On your way ! To the sea ! To the sea ! To meet the ships !

*(The crowd rustles and disperses. They carry away the dead body. Individual exclamations subside. The JESTER, wrapping himself in his cassock, again makes his way among the crowd. Soon no one remains on the scene. Loiterers hastily pass by to the mole, where the blows of axes subside. The ARCHITECT appears on the square.)*

ARCHITECT : They are finishing their building.

*(He stands in the middle of the square, and looks at the KING. The POET slowly enters at the right, following the crowd to the sea.)*

ARCHITECT : Are you, too, following the crowd ?

POET : All my life you have barred the way for me, although our  
 city swallows up and separates everyone

ARCHITECT : Yes, the city is leading everyone astray. But for me  
 it is easy to find the way, for I am aloof from all of you. You  
 greedily look one another in the eyes. I look over your heads and  
 clearly see my blue path.

POET : They call you a sorcerer. About you various rumours are  
 current.

ARCHITECT : The little Rumours will destroy all of you. They are  
 born in the dry, yellow dust, and penetrate with it into rebellious  
 hearts. A heavenly storm will descend and lay the dust, and you  
 will perish together with the dust.

*(The ARCHITECT gazes at the eddying clouds.)*

POET : I no longer wish to see you. I wished to learn wisdom from  
 you, but you are old and proud. You do not love me.

ARCHITECT : You would not have met me, if I did not love you.

POET *(Wringing his hands)* : What shall I do ?

ARCHITECT : Remain here. Do not follow the crowd. Do not sing rebellious songs for it. I bid you abide with the night. Let there be saved the solitary man who on such a night pronounced words of love.

*(The ARCHITECT withdraws. The POET descends to the sea and seats himself on the bench. The dusk rapidly thickens. The trumpet of the tempest sounds, the dust whirls round, a thunderstorm approaches, the crowd murmurs hoarsely in the distance on the mole, whence signal fires are visible. Above, over the bench, emerges the DAUGHTER OF THE ARCHITECT. The wind plays in her dark hair, in the midst of which is her bright face—like the day.)*

POET : I hear, I hear thine approach.  
Again thou dost rise o'er the dust  
Like a vision, one moment.  
In new dust thou wilt disappear,  
A new wind will bear thee away.

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :  
For the last time I descend unto thee.  
Tidings of ill have come to mine ears.  
Like black birds in the thick yellow dust  
Fragments of new plans now hover.

POET : Night is at hand.  
Above the sea the sky reddens.  
The leaden clouds drift along,  
Sleeping youth has awakened in me !

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :  
The glass of the sea is broken by winds !  
Within thy soul is the splash of the sea !  
Dost thou hear the cry of ill-omened birds ?  
Dost thou hear the splash of the leaden waves ?

*(The wind tears her black silks and tosses her hair. The darkness thickens.)*

POET : In this ominous hour, in this last hour, perhaps,  
Let me cleave with my lips to thy hand ;  
It shows white beneath the black cloud !

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :  
For the last time, touch my hand.

POET : This night for the first time I know thee.

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :  
For the last time thou dost see me.

POET :     Why did youth flame forth so brightly ?  
              Will life soon burn itself out ?  
              Has youth really gone, my princess ?

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

I have power over thy life.  
Whoe'er is with me, will be free.  
Ah, call me not thy princess !  
I am but the daughter of the mad crowd !

POET :     Even so the autumn wind whistled,  
              Even so the dust whirled in clouds,  
              When first I saw thy strange, slender form !

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

I sought in thee for a hero.  
I gaze in the eyes of the future.

POET :     Thou descendedst to us from chambers on high.  
              Thou didst gaze, even as now, on the dawn.

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

There is no past.

*(Pale lightning.)*

POET :     But the wind then played in thy slumbering features,  
              And I stood before thee a radiant poet,  
              Who felt all about him thy charm.  
              And in thy drooping eyes  
              I read that thou didst love me.

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

Forget the past, there is no past.

POET :     But thou didst touch me with thy hand !  
              To that hand I bent down my lips !  
              And in thy dark, waving tresses  
              Was the flash of a royal crown.

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT :

I have never been a princess !  
And how can I know splendour ?  
I am but the beggar daughter of the crowd.

POET :     For the last time—in bewildering gloom—  
              I see the glow of a royal crown  
              There in thy dark, waving tresses !  
              Did a gleam of lightning flash ?  
              How thy face shone with light !

*(In the pale glow of the lightning her black silks seem to shine. In her dark hair a burning crown appears. Suddenly she embraces him. . . .)*

*Out of the distant quarters of the city, from the far-off squares and streets, comes the mounting roar of the approaching throng. The ominous night itself seems choked by this cry, by this whistle of the storm, by the sobbing of the waves beating on the shore, in the trembling, dull, storm-satiated gleam.)*

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT : *(Suddenly standing erect, thrusting him from her) :*

See'st thou the sea, how it tears at the shore ?

See'st thou how the lamps of the lightning are kindled ?

My brethren await me ! Farewell !

*(He remains alone in the impenetrable darkness, between the surf of the sea and the crowd swarming into the square above him.)*

*She goes up the steps and enters the square. A wild cry.)*

MAN WITH A TORCH *(Hurrying along in the crowd, and shouting while running, as if he were borne on by the wind) :* They signalled from the mole ! Someone has seen a ship from the tower !

*(New torches appear, spreading a smoky, reddish light. There is a tall figure in black on one of the steps of the platform)*

MAN IN BLACK : You have all gathered here. Night is coming on. The last hour assigned you for the arrival of those ill-fated ships had already passed. *(A roar and a shriek in the crowd.)*

And behold, there are no ships ! Beware, ye starving men ! Beware, ye sufferers ! They will deceive you again ! They promise you impossible happiness ! In your hands, abused people, rests vengeance against him who indifferently looks upon your destruction, there above my head !

*(He raises his hand, pointing to the KING. The crowd rends the air with a cry of grief. At this minute, by the side of the black figure, appears the DAUGHTER OF THE ARCHITECT. She stands silent, and looks immovably at the crowd.)*

VOICES IN THE CROWD : Enchantress ! Why has she come ?

*(Suddenly there bursts forth a woman's cry : " Saint ! ")*

OTHER VOICES *(Joining in, reverberate over the square) :*

In you there is protection ! Heal our wounds !

Free us ! Help us ! Give us new life !

*(The black figure of the conspirator disappears. The DAUGHTER OF THE ARCHITECT slowly mounts the steps to the platform. The crowd grows calm.)*

SOMEONE'S VOICE *(So commonplace that it cannot be clearly distinguished, speaks)*: In history some examples are known, of women . . . And I am not surprised . . .

*(Somewhere in the crowd flashes the red cap of the JESTER, and his restrained laughter is heard, stifled by a hissing. The DAUGHTER OF THE ARCHITECT appears on the platform and stops a few steps from the KING. The crowd is absolutely speechless. Above the city, which seems to be dead from the ecstasy of expectation, only two stand forth: SHE and the KING.)*

SHE *(Interrupting the silence with a low, deep voice, which slowly floats downward, like the sigh of a church bell)*: King! The future is in my hands. Thy people have given me thy power over them. *(Silence.)*

King! In me there is enough strength to strike thee down immediately. No one will weep over thine old dust if my will is carried out. *(Silence. The voice becomes sharper and more full of alarm, like a bonfire which flashes up for the last time.)*

King! I do not wish to slay thee. If thou art extinguished, then that narrow streak of red in the sky will be extinguished also. I can do more than extinguish light. I will restore for thee thy former strength, and give thee back thy former power. See—I give thee my untouched body. King! Take it, so that from my youth, youth may be kindled to flame in thine ancient brain.

*(The silence is not broken by a single sound. The red streak in the sky turns pale. The DAUGHTER OF THE ARCHITECT moves forward. At the distance of one step from the KING she drops on her knees and touches her lips to the KING'S mantle, which falls in folds upon the floor.)*

*She rises with a pale face, and hoarsely speaks from above.)*

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT: Do not touch him. Let him doze and gaze at the stars. Upon him I have recognised the seal of the Father.

*(With a submissive movement and perfectly calm, she seats herself at his feet, embracing his gigantic knees. She now seems a child at the feet of the imperial Father.)*

*The whole crowd is still fascinated.*

*Astonished whispers circulate.*

*Women weep quietly.*

*The JESTER forces his way through the crowd towards the sea—with his fishhook and line and bundle. His red cap trembles in the wind.)*

JESTER (*Mumbles*): I said that the sea was too turbid today. No one needs me here any more. Who will harken to Common Sense when all have lost their heads? Wait, you will still miss me, but it will be too late. Meanwhile, there remains but one resource for Common Sense—to go abroad. . . .

*(He descends to the sea and goes off into the darkness—to search for his boat. A child weeps. In a frightened way his beggar mother lulls him, but his weeping does not cease. Then the BEGGAR WOMAN cries piercingly, raising the child above the crowd )*

BEGGAR WOMAN: The child is dying!

VOICE OF A BEGGAR (*Joining in*): Help! I am dying. . . .

MANY VOICES: Bread!—They have deceived us!—Down with the King!—Down with the palace!

THE SAME COMMONPLACE VOICE: You cannot feed people with fancies. It is time to do things ourselves, since the authorities remain inactive.

*(Confusion The people rush on the scene from the direction of the sea, the GOLDEN MAN impetuously running in front.)*

GOLDEN MAN (*Crying*): The ships have come! Happiness! Happiness!

*(A rocket goes up in the distance, after it another—the rockets ascend more and more frequently.)*

VOICES IN THE CROWD: Too late! Too late!

*(The BLACK MAN jumps up on the steps of the platform; he is bony, like a bird.)*

BLACK MAN: Common Sense has abandoned us! Look, you are without food and without a roof; you are in the power of Rumours; black and gold devils rush about in your midst! Burn, destroy everything; you cannot vouch for tomorrow!

*(Out of the darkness below, the POET appears. His ecstatic face irradiates the square. For an instant he pauses in the midst of the crowd.)*

POET: Happiness is with us! The ships have come! I am free!

*(He begins his last ascent of the terrace stairs. At each step that he takes the frenzy of the crowd increases. At each step the DAUGHTER OF THE ARCHITECT welcomes him from above with her glances.)*

POET (*Ascending*): Heavenly rose! I come to thee!

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT (*At the feet of the KING*): Thou art coming to the Father.

POET (*Higher*): Look, the rockets are descending like rain—petals of heavenly roses!

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT: Thou art free.

POET (*Still higher*): Thy face is flooded with light.

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT: Nearer! Nearer!

POET (*On the last step*): Hail, sky!

DAUGHTER OF ARCHITECT: Higher! Higher! Passing me, thou art advancing to the Father!

*(At this same instant the enraged crowd has rushed to the steps after the POET. The columns are shaken from below. Cries and shouts. The terrace collapses, carrying with it the KING, the POET, the DAUGHTER OF THE ARCHITECT, and a part of the people. One can clearly see, in the red light of torches, people darting about below and searching for corpses; they raise a stone chip of a mantle, a stone fragment of a torso, a stone hand. Cries of horror are heard: "A statue!—A stone idol!—Where is the King?")*

ARCHITECT (*Appearing above the heap of fragments, and waiting immovably till the crowd grows still*): I sent you my beloved son, and you have killed him. I sent you another comforter, my daughter. And you have not spared her. I created authority for you, I hewed hard marble—and every day you admired the beauty of those ancient locks that came forth from beneath my chisel. You have shattered my creation, and now your house is left empty. But tomorrow the earth will be as green as before, and the sea as calm.

SEPARATE VOICES (*Now dim*): But who will feed us? Who will bring our wives and children back to us? Who will soothe our pain?

ARCHITECT: He will feed you, who moves the stars; He who gives the black earth to drink of the rains; He who gathers the clouds above the sea. The Father will feed you.

*(He slowly descends from a fragment of the palace and disappears in the darkness.)*

*(Behind the picture of destruction there is no longer a single fire. Above the cape a pale darkness reigns. The murmur of the crowd increases and blends with the murmur of the sea.)*

## JEALOUSY

*Translated from the Serbo-Croat of SIBE MILIČIĆ by P. M. KEMP.*

THE Vezić family estates were on the wide, ample plateau of the long island, five or six hours steady climb by mule tracks above the little town in which that ancient family lived.

Their substantial acres were cultivated by a number of peasant households, or joint-families, on a "fourth-share" tenancy, every quarter measure of must going to the landlord. At the beginning of the vintage (usually about the middle of September unless the season were late), one of the men would make his way down to the town with a couple of mules—one to carry the representative of the proprietor's family appointed to supervise the vintage, and the other to transport the overseer's baggage.

Old Prosper Vezić himself usually went up every year, in spite of the fact that there were plenty of younger men for the job. He liked to inspect his luscious *yield* (as the grape harvest is called by the islanders) with his own eyes; for one thing, because he could then revel to the full in his own wealth, and partly, again, because he was convinced that only his eagle eye was capable of detecting and restraining the peasants in their habitual cheating when the grapes were gathered and later when the wine was being poured off into the casks.

That year, however, the old man had been ailing. The eldest son, who was expected to succeed eventually to the property, was also unable to go for some reason, and the "family council" decided that Philip, old Prosper's second son, should visit the plateau.

Philip was as pleased as he could be when they told him. It was some ten or twelve years since he had been in the hills. As a child he had "gone up" several times with his father, and ever since then he had cherished in his imagination a marvellous vision of those bare, rugged uplands, planted with vineyards, and of a magical view from the hills over the limitless expanse of the sea, stretching out on every side of the long, rocky island. And so, one day late in September, Philip Vezić set out to visit the peasant homesteads on the plateau.

The homesteads of the uplands had a curious way of life which was all their own. Cut off by the bluff of the hills, their people had scarcely any contact with the rest of the world. Their claims on it amounted to a few of the most essential food-stuffs, which they bought once a year, and the tools, sulphur and blue vitriol that they



needed for their vines. They were indifferent to the world's affairs, and to its "rules and regulations." Without churches or schools, doctors or law courts, they healed their own bodies and patched up their quarrels among themselves. They took no account of Sundays or feast days, with the exception of the landlord's visit at vintage time, or the arrival of a merchant to buy their wine.

These occasions marked their only big holidays. Then indeed there was feasting and merrymaking with the guests, while the good new wine set their unsophisticated hearts aglow, so that, great niggards as they were in the ordinary way, they suddenly became the most lavish of men, and their extravagance would reach such a pitch that they often lost all sense of what was either possible or becoming. Their "generous" women were no whit the less open-handed; in the delirium and inebriety of revelry they were prepared to offer their exuberant guests "all they had," by way of showing their sense of unrestrained hospitality. On the plateau such behaviour was not considered immodest, as it would be "down there," nearer the sea coast. Living continually the life of a community which knew no barriers, no ideas of ownership or of forbidden fruit had had any chance of developing in their men-folk. Chastity in women had no special significance, for each new life that swelled the numbers of the community was regarded as a welcome and necessary addition to their working strength, and doubtful fatherhood brought with it no disgrace or contempt. Jealousy here was a thing unknown. Marriage on the uplands was a straightforward affair of natural impulses. Not till several children had been born would the parents regularise their matrimonial relations. Even so, legal marriages came about accidentally. When, after a few years of "wedded" life, the "husband and wife" happened to go to the town for some reason or other, they would, if they remembered to do so, call in on the parish priest and put up the banns; and the priest would marry them there and then, having no choice in the matter when they confessed to fornication.

The women of the uplands were strong-limbed and firm-fleshed, like primeval women: they were living incarnations of the greatest of all Nature's laws! Their broad flanks, which challenged all the brutish passion of their mates, bore witness that Nature had created them in order to be blessed in the fruit of their wombs, and that through them a virile and powerful stream of life might be perpetuated.

Nevertheless, here on the plateau, as everywhere else the world over, there was an exception to the rule. Among these coarse, big-

boned lassies there was one who was fair and delicate, incomparably lovelier than the others. Everything about her was a contrast to her fellow peasants. Her presence among them was a mystery; only by a miracle could she have come into being there. She was less sturdy than the rest of them, but she was supple; not so thickset, but finely made and slender. Her name was Katica, and she was the daughter of one of the least reputable husbandmen of the uplands.

While the other girls of her own age were already familiar with love affairs (and with more men than one for that matter), she had remained pure and untouched, like the white blossoms on the topmost boughs of their almond trees in early spring. The other maids of the uplands did not envy her in the least on that account. They were quite satisfied with their own way of life and were incapable of feeling moved either to envy or malice. What is more, they were one and all wholly held in thrall by her. When their work was over, they would gather round her to help her to dress and to add to her beauty as much as they could. While they petted her and adorned her, her loveliness filled them with a sense of exhilaration and of grandeur, as though Katica embodied all their ideas of perfection.

Nor were the lads any less enthusiastic. They, too, brought her presents, and were ready to carry out her slightest wish. They showed no trace of desire for her: she was almost like a divine being whom they scarcely dared to name, much less dreamt of wooing.

Thus it seemed that the whole village existed simply on Katica's account. Everything that lived, lived only for her beauty, and was proud of this rare gift from God; yet no one could fathom how, by what strange chance, in what mysterious manner it had come to their rude, stony country.

Katica lived contentedly in the midst of their adoration; she had no cares, and she was happy.

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Such was the community into which weedy young Philip Vezić was suddenly precipitated.

The village was not prepared for Philip. They were expecting his surly old father, and the peasants were distinctly disappointed when, instead of old Prosper, they were confronted by this lanky, smooth-chinned youth, whose feeble build was next door to an insult to them. Thereupon they began to imagine that the vintage was bound to be a failure.

"Without the old man and his grumbles and curses and blows,

it will be a frost, a regular funeral!" they exclaimed in chorus. Although they all went to meet him, as was customary, hardly anyone proffered a greeting. They mumbled indistinctly and raised their caps. Only one man, Franja, went up and took Philip's mule by the halter and led the beast through the village to the big house where Philip was to stay.

The duty of looking after Philip's comfort while he was on the plateau had fallen to Franja. The others followed them, passing remarks in whispers and grinning at Philip's expense. They arrived at the house, and Philip jumped down from the saddle; but he was so awkward about it that the men and women standing by burst into uncontrollable laughter. The children, too, hooted and skipped with merriment; and they were so uproarious that their elders drove them away. All the women, especially the girls, turned their heads, and hid their smiles in the corners of the kerchiefs that they wore over their heads. When Philip had disappeared through the house door, their laughter broke out afresh.

There was a feast that evening. The preparations had been lavish, in expectation of old Vezić, but at supper time there were as few signs of gaiety or good humour as on Philip's arrival. Nevertheless, they managed to put away three plump lambs, which they had been fattening for the occasion, and they drank many pints of the wine for which their festivities were famous. The drunken peasants shouted and sang, and ended by making sport of Philip's leanness, and tormenting him with rustic witticisms, telling him that he ought to eat more if he wanted to look more of a man and less like a greyhound. Philip's face showed how little he was enjoying it, but he said nothing.

The oldest man there, and probably the only one who was still sober, took the peasants to task for their unseemly jokes, and led Philip off to bed, where, safe from their disrespect, he could still hear their drunken shouts and laughter far into the night. When he thought over the events of the day, he had cause enough to repent of his readiness to fall in with the family's decision and to visit the plateau. He would have gone back home that very night had it been possible. The enthusiasm that he had felt in the town had betrayed him. The rapture of anticipation roused by memories of his childhood had disappeared. Crude reality had utterly shattered his daydream.

Presently all was quiet in the lower rooms where the banquet had been held. The stillness of a mild September night reigned. Philip went to the window and looked out at the few scattered

houses, huddled together under the wooded hill side. As he stared at the scene before him, it seemed to him that the houses and the trees and the paths and the people—especially the people—had all changed since his visits to the plateau long ago. And again he wished that he hadn't come. Then, going over to the bed, he threw himself down fully dressed, and in a short while fell asleep.

Early the next morning the grape gathering began. The vintagers sang along the roads, rejoicing in the harvest. The sound of pipes that are only played at the vintage was heard. The paths and the vineyards were alive with singing and calling, hallooing and swearing.

Philip arrived early, and at first he gave his whole attention to the peasants at work. It looked as though he wanted to have his revenge for their behaviour the day before. Later, he was rather abstracted. His attention gradually wandered, and his thoughts turned towards the recollection of far off things. He began by strolling away from the vintagers, step by step. Then he went on, further and further, until he was a good distance away from them, in the next vineyard that had not yet been picked. He was conscious now of dim, tangled memories surging back, and he raced forward over the hillocks, and climbed on to the wall of the vineyard.

Now all that at first sight had not seemed so wonderful as the scenes he used to call to mind in the autumn, in big, unfamiliar cities, suddenly enthralled him. Memories of childish joys, so many years ago, had transformed this stony region into the most enchanting spot on earth for him. Everything that had at first glance seemed so cramped—and even the huge, boundless sea with its countless islands had seemed smaller and less wonderful—began to widen and expand, till, all at once, the old thrill returned, just as it used to be, and took complete possession of him.

Was it the awakening of that distant, unforgettable joy of the child, or did the fancies of those old days and the present capacity for rapture gradually merge into one another? He could not tell; he did not analyse it; he could only feel, and it was as though a magic power were stupifying him, confusing his brain. He would have liked best of all to run from end to end of the high plateau, soar up—on wings, perhaps—and then cast himself down headlong into that blue abyss (sea or sky, he could not tell which), and be swallowed up in eternity. He paid no heed to the peasants as they gathered the grapes and trod them and carried them away; he left them to do what they liked, for he felt quite sure of their honesty; or rather, he was not thinking about them, or of anything

at all, but continued in the same dazed state of mind, drunk with all he saw around him.

That first day, when the peasants saw him running from wall to wall, and from vineyard to vineyard, and sometimes shouting, they began to think him queer. But when on the following day and on each succeeding day he still abandoned himself to the same insane ecstasy, they relinquished whatever remnant of respect they had had for him as their landlord's son. Witticisms and laughter re-echoed his mad shouts and gestures as he waved his thin arms about like bedraggled wings, and their scorn was often so thinly masqued that it made Philip ashamed. Finally they began to defraud him in that disgusting, utterly barefaced way that peasants have. They began to cheat him, allotting the poorest of the grapes for his share, and short measure at that.

Their audacity reached its limit a few days later, when they brazenly, under his very nose, carried away great baskets of the best grapes, which had been carefully chosen to be hung up in their cellars and dried for raisin wine, which was not to be fermented till round about Christmas time. Philip was well aware of all that was going on, but he did not let it trouble him, though it was stupid to pay such a price for his drunken happiness. On the contrary, in spite of it all, he still let his emotions sway him. However, one day he did notice their cheating, just to show the peasants that he knew all about the impudent way in which they were swindling him. All that day he followed them, and watched closely to see where they went, what they gathered and what kind of grapes they brought to the vats.

The peasants were aghast. Whenever his father had caught one of them stealing, he would first belabour him with the heavy stick from which he was never separated, and then send him and his whole family away from the plateau. They knew that Philip could not have beaten them, but if he chose to tell his father, the latter would be sure to turn out the man he complained about. They were at a loss at first what to do, but as soon as they had had time to pull themselves together a little, they resorted to the age-old and well tested arts of the peasant, toadying and flattery.

To his great consternation, Philip was suddenly aware that everybody courted his favour, and danced attendance on him, and offered him everything they could think of that might please him. They began to give him better measure of the must and the best grapes, keeping the bruised or shrivelled fruit for themselves. But neither the peasants' fright nor their extraordinary attentions

peasants resumed their stealing and cheating. Once again, Philip left them to their own devices. His thoughts busy with the girl, he wondered how she could possibly have grown up to be what she was in this rough, vulgar environment, and in what stupendous moment of inspired passion she had been conceived.

From that day onwards, the friendship between Katica and Philip grew closer and closer, until finally it became a passionate yearning, especially on Katica's side. As she talked with Philip day after day in the fields or joked with him in the evening in the cellars where they pressed the grapes, and as she watched endlessly his every gesture and his every word, she discovered, little by little, something in him so attractive, so new to her that in her own mind she came to rank him above all other men living. Gradually that new, inexplicable something drew her to him with such passionate intensity that she lost all mastery over her feelings.

In the mornings, before he arrived at the vineyards, she would be all anxiety. She kept on looking round, turning her head in the direction from which he would come; and then, as soon as she saw him in the distance, she would run to meet him, all gaiety and pleasure. Together they wandered over the hills along the walls, contented in each other's company.

In this new world into which he had come and which seemed to him pregnant with intangible, gigantic meaning, Philip experienced in this casual "love affair" a kind of drunkenness not unlike the effect of the heady perfume of rosemary and the other fragrant herbs which, parched by a scorching sun, flower on these sun-bathed islands, and he delighted in its unfettered wildness.

Meanwhile, Katica, aflame with passion, care-free and regardless by her very upbringing, was only waiting for a movement on Philip's part; a word from him, and she was ready to yield herself completely for the first time to an awakened passion.

Though both Philip and Katica were a little surprised at the unexpected intimacy of the relationship, the surprise of the peasants was far greater. They no longer approved of the relationship at all! All the women and girls looked upon it in the light of a personal insult, when they realised the possibility that the pair were actually in love. Her beauty and her purity meant so much to them; it was so lovely that it had completed their joy in life, as the spring enhanced the beauty of their fields and hills.

To them it was as though now a loathsome maggot, a slimy revolting creature, crawled over their incarnation of ideal beauty.

"Katica," said they, "could you really give yourself to that worm?"

"Katica, is it for him that we adorned you?"

"Katica, after we have treated you so, how can you bring such a disgrace on us like this!"

"Don't do it, Katica! Don't!"

The young men, in fact all the men without exception, conscious of the difference between themselves and Philip, now felt a hidden egotism awakening within them, and they were shaken by new, mysterious forces that tortured their minds, and rent their spirit.

"Katica," said they, as for the first time they felt all the longing for the woman whom they had never dreamed of wooing, "Katica, isn't one of us good enough for you; as good, any way, as that specimen?"

"Katica, was that all you wanted? We thought you were looking for something better!"

"But we won't give you up, Katica, we won't!"

The whole plateau seethed. Night and day they followed the "lovers'" movements; cautiously, jealously, the whole population watched them wherever they went.

Katica had never imagined that any of her own peasants would ever dare to question her absolute freedom to dispose of herself completely and as she herself might wish; for that had never happened to anyone on the Plateau; not only the maids, but even women who were in possession of healthy husbands of their own, were free in these matters. Till now, they had let her alone to "carry on" with Philip as much as she liked; but now they were all day long finding excuses to call her when they were in the vineyards, in order to frustrate any serious developments. For her part, fully aware of their motives, she stayed near Philip, to annoy them. A man or woman would creep up behind them to be on the spot to prevent any "unfortunate accident." Katica was furious; it only made her the more reckless and determined. She could almost have given herself to the man of her choice in full view of her own people. Her passion flamed higher and higher. She knew that she was becoming less and less able to control it. Finally, she could no longer constrain either her anger against the peasants or the fierce desire that was consuming her, and one day she demanded that Philip should visit her at home in the evening, when they could be free and undisturbed. She told him that she would wait for him in the kitchen, and explained how he was to get through the window, and that he would have no difficulty.

However, Philip was not at all eager to fall in with her suggestion. He was afraid of the peasants, in spite of their "broadmindedness," of which he had heard long ago. Although he was sure that they would not venture to do him any serious bodily injury, he was afraid that they might very well go so far as to hold him up to ridicule and spare him nothing of the rustic's crudity. Nor did he like the plan for Katica's sake. For all he was now living in these strange surroundings, he could not bring his own conceptions of morality into line with the standards of these uncouth people.

Meanwhile, Katica had observed his indecision and she threw her arms round his neck and implored him to come, insisted, urged him not to be afraid. . . . So Philip promised to be there without fail; though he only did so to escape from her entreaties, and he was quite certain in his own mind all the time that he was not going to do anything of the sort.

Katica once more flung her arms round him out of sheer delight. That evening she was to abandon herself to her passion and her tenderness undeterred. That very night Philip was to be her own, and she completely his!

As though she wanted to show the whole world that she was just as capable of acting for herself as the other girls of the plateau, she left Philip by himself, mixed with her own people, and picked more industriously than usual. For all that, she was constantly glancing up at the sun, to see whether it was still high in the heavens; longing for it to set; waiting impatiently for dusk, and yearning passionately for that hour of fulfilment to come.

At times it seemed to her that the day stood still, and that time did not move; and angrily she prayed that God might lead that sun of His quickly towards the west, that she might be nearer the fulfilment of her great joy.

At last the desired evening came, and then night, and at length rest and quiet, too. But in vain! Katica waited and waited, but Philip did not come.

She was stricken; she had not been prepared for that!

In the morning when she came into the vineyard the rings round her eyes had widened out to her cheekbones, from sleeplessness and the torment of unsatisfied desire. Philip had already arrived, and though she had made up her mind at home that she was not going to be the first to make advances, the instant she saw him she came up and burst into tears.

Then she ran away and hid behind the nearest wall, so that the peasants should not see her, but she went on crying. Philip hurried



after her, and tried every probable and improbable excuse for his behaviour. At first he said that the young men had been watching him and that he had not been able to slip away unnoticed. Then he said that he was ill; and he ended by saying that he had not wanted to come, and so on and so forth. Katica, moreover, would not listen to a word of it all; until finally he swore that, come what might, he would visit her one night before he left the hills. Only then Katica grew calmer and forgave him for the night of sleepless agony.

Again five or six nights of vain waiting passed, and Katica was exhausted. Each time she expected Philip, but he never came.

"You didn't come last night, either," she would say reproachfully next morning, when they met in the vineyard.

"Don't worry; I'll come without fail!" he always answered, though he was not at all sure that he would.

For the vintage was coming to an end, and the day of Philip's departure was already upon them. Still he had not made good his promise. Vague, uncomfortable doubts held him back. He himself thought them rather stupid, but in reality they arose rather from a subconscious fear of the peasants than from any other cause. He did not go to her house; nor did Katica's sufferings move him. She interpreted Philip's absence as a wish to avoid her and to humiliate her, and she resented the insult to the depths of her being.

Nevertheless, she hoped and she waited. But when the last day came, and Philip was to leave the hills the next morning, she was terrified by a dark foreboding that he might after all fail her; and the whole of that day she seemed distracted. And then it was that, completely mastered by her overwhelming fear for the perfect happiness that should be hers, she cast aside the last shred of caution and ran to the house where Philip was staying.

Her arrival astounded Philip. His first impulse was to lead her to the door again. He begged her and implored her to leave him, but she stubbornly refused. He made excuses; he entreated her to go and to wait till nightfall; and he gave his word that he would come that evening. . . .

"I swear I'll come; I give you my solemn oath. I have been leaving it till the last day because I thought that your people would not watch us on the last night, as they have been doing."

"You really are coming?" she asked, with all the strength that she could command.

"I give you my word!" he answered. Then he led her to the door, and stood looking after her in bewilderment as she moved away.

Though he had heard at one time or another before a good deal

of talk about the unusual relationship between men and women in these parts, he had not believed half of it. Now all the stories paled and dwindled into trifles in the light of this adventure.

His gaze followed her till she was lost among the houses and gardens. Then his thoughts drifted to the first "bridal" night that he was to pass with this country beauty; but though his imagination took wing, he could not picture to himself in the least what the reality would be like.

In the evening, however, as soon as the village had gone to sleep, Philip crept out of the house softly and stealthily, on the alert in case somebody noticed him, and set off for Katica's house. The whole village was in darkness, and there was perfect stillness. Not a dog barked. Nothing but the white outlines of the stone houses glimmered out of the darkness, piercing between the black branches of the trees around them. Philip trod slowly, very glad that he had met nobody.

He was now approaching the house in which Katica lived. The window of the living room was open as they had arranged. He had now only to cross the street, and then pull himself up to the window, jump in, and then . . . He moved cautiously . . . feeling his way. . . At last, having satisfied himself that no one was about, he stepped up to the wall of the house, and was just going to clamber up to the window, when someone shouted :

"Philip!"

Surprised at the critical moment by the shout, Philip stopped dead close to the wall, as though he hoped that the darkness would blot him out, and he did not answer.

"Mister Philip!" came the voice again, and a shadow moved towards him from the other end of the street.

Philip was prepared for anything. He recognized the voice, which was now more distinct, as that of his host, Franja. He waited for him impatiently and rather shamefacedly.

Franja stole up to him, crouched by the wall and drew Philip down beside him.

"Shsh! Don't speak loud. Katica's father's a light sleeper."

Then he went on :

"Were you going to get up there?" He pointed to the window of Katica's living room.

Plainly disconcerted, Philip still made no reply. Franja tried to reassure him. He told him not to be nervous, and offered to lend him a hand and help him to climb up. . . .

But Philip would not hear of it; he was, on the contrary, all for

going back to his own room. He was afraid of treachery, for he was conscious of the malice that Katica's preference for himself had aroused in the villagers.

When Franja suggested that he would find it easier to climb up if he took off his boots and gave them to him to look after while he was with Katica, his mistrust deepened. Franja noticed the signs, and began swearing by everything in existence that he meant no mischief; that knowing of the love between Philip and Katica, he honestly wanted to help them. To make his sincerity sound more convincing, he reminded Philip that he had been the only person to welcome him when he arrived, how he had taken him to his own house.

"Have you forgotten who met you when you first came among us? Who gave you a welcome and took you home? Why should I deceive you now? I stood up for you then."

At that, although he was still suspicious, and explained the whole affair in terms of the incomprehensible mentality of the people among whom he had chanced, Philip agreed to the plan; and, taking off his boots, gave them to Franja. Then he followed him barefoot to the window; Franja squatted down till he was bent double and made Philip stand on his shoulders; whereupon, he straightened himself upright without effort, and with one jump Philip landed inside the kitchen, and in another instant he was in the arms of the excited Katica.

Meanwhile, beneath the window, Franja stood holding Philip's boots; and no sooner had the latter disappeared into the darkness of the opening above, than Franja's whole bearing changed to mirth. He was thoroughly satisfied that his cunning had succeeded so well. Then he started up and raced through the village, and told the men how he had thrown Philip into the room and so caught him in the act! For proof, there were Philip's boots.

But Franja could not have had any idea that the news would infuriate the peasants as it did. All he had wanted was to make a fool of the "gentleman," and to see him chased back to town with a few stinging slaps on the face. He was mistaken! The peasants were literally mad with rage; they were ready to rush to the spot, challenge Philip to come out, and thrash him to pulp there and then. Franja had trouble enough to dissuade them from immediate action, but his entreaties and threats eventually induced them to hide until Philip came out of the house, and then make game of him.

After a lengthy debate, the peasants agreed to this scheme. Their violence subsided, and they dispersed by different routes to Katica's house; while Franja, when he arrived on the scene, slipped

furtively into the garden and got on to the roof of the living room by way of an almond tree, and lifted one of the stone slabs of the roof to see what was going on in the room below.

Meanwhile, Philip lay in the passionate embrace of the strange peasant girl, on the hard straw mattress. Although he would have liked to lose consciousness in Katica's fierce intensity, to cheat and stifle his abnormally strained wakefulness, he could not do so.

Katica's father was asleep in the next room: his snores penetrated at intervals, and Philip was perpetually alarmed and disturbed by the sounds. Every now and then he imagined that the old man must have waked up and would come and find them there! . . . It made him strain his ears the whole time, and now and then he got up and listened. When he found that he had been mistaken, he would lie down again beside Katica, who vainly tried to soothe him by telling him that her father was such a heavy sleeper that a cannon would not have waked him. In spite of that, Philip could not relax his strained, nervous attention, and rid himself of his fear of being taken by surprise. He remembered, too, what Franja had said about the old man's sleeping.

But Katica clutched him close in her strong arms; and, all aflame, she compared him with everything beautiful that she could call to mind: with the flower of wild basil; a sprig of rosemary; a fir tree; a star; and so on. Although her expressions and similes may have been commonplace and naïve, they came out with so much animal force and conviction and sincerity that, for the moment, Philip was transported. And, at the height of his rapture, he was just going to draw her towards him, when all at once the stone tiles of the kitchen roof began to move.

Philip started up in consternation, ready to throw himself headlong out of the window.

Katica leapt to his side, caught him round the waist, and used every means in her power to hold him back.

"Don't be alarmed. It's probably only cats."

But his fear would not let him be persuaded.

"I can't stay any longer! I'll come back to-morrow. I'll stay another day for your sake."

In his agitation his words were disconnected, and he spoke without conviction. Katica did not believe him. He insisted; he made more and more promises; at length she scornfully let him go and he descended once more into the street.

As his feet touched the ground, Philip felt a great sense of relief.

He was as glad as though he had escaped from a fetid dungeon. His encounter with Katika had left a vibration in every fibre of his being, as though both soul and body had been scourged. He made straight for the spot where Franja had agreed to wait for him. He ran down the length of the street without stopping to take breath; but there was not a sign of Franja when he got to the corner.

Philip was once more alarmed. The probability that there must be a piece of churlish peasant trickery at the bottom of the whole business struck him at once, and he felt the blood lash his cheeks for sudden shame. The thought that Franja might have made off with his boots in order to make fun of him in front of the villagers reduced him to bitter despair.

He felt so self-conscious and uncomfortable that for a moment it actually occurred to him to take flight and go back to town, barefoot as he was, even if his feet were torn and cut to pieces by the sharp stones. But at that instant a shadow emerged round the corner of Katika's garden.

"Franja"! cried Philip.

"Here I am"! answered the shadow, and it came towards him.

If Philip could have flown to meet him he would have done so. He ran up to him, very glad to see him, and held out his hand for his boots.

Franja did not give them to him: he was hiding them behind his back.

"I saw everything," he said at last, quite calmly.

"What? What's that you say?"

"I got on to the roof and took out a few tiles and watched what you were doing inside."

Philip burst into loud laughter at that.

"What are you laughing at?" Franja interrupted him roughly.

"Why, we thought it was cats!" said Philip; and he was about to laugh again when for some reason the expression on Franja's face checked him.

"Well, Mister, what do you say to my having a try and climbing up to see Katika now?"

Although he thought it was a shabby thing to say, Philip calculated that, as he was among these incredible people (whom he could not hope to understand), he would put him off best by saying:

"Try it!"

As soon as the words were out of his mouth he felt uneasy, and

wished to get away as quickly as possible. He demanded his boots firmly. Franja did not give them to him even then. The tone of his voice changed to one of angry menace, and he asked :

“ Can’t you gentry find other girls in the world without coming and stealing ours? ”

Philip had prepared a bold retort to meet this insolence, but suddenly Franja struck his face so smartly that he nearly sent him spinning round and round. Still clenching his fists, Philip threw himself on his audacious assailant.

At the same time, as though the first blow had been a preconcerted signal, some ten of Franja’s friends sprang up out of the darkness, and some with fists, some with their feet, began to kick and beat Philip viciously without mercy. Philip was confused by the torrent of blows and did not know what to do. Still barefooted, he made towards the house where he had been staying.

His assailants rushed after him in a body ; but summoning up all his strength he might have escaped, had not one of them snatched a knife from his belt—the man himself could not have told why he did it—and, as he ran, plunged it under Philip’s left shoulder blade, right to the heart. Philip did not utter a groan : his hands were raised instinctively to break his fall, as he stumbled and went down.

The unforeseen accident startled his pursuers, and they scattered in all directions ; the murderer too fled with them frantic and horrified.

Only Franja paused for a moment. He was still holding Philip’s boots, and he was so distraught that for several minutes he did not know what to do next. His first thought was to run away like the rest of them, but he did not know what to do with the boots. He ran up to the murdered man, seemed about to do something, but could not make up his mind what. At last, however, he decided that it would be best to leave the dead man in peace and make good his escape like the others. Placing the boots at the feet of the corpse, he disappeared in the opposite direction.

## THE STONES SPEAK

*Translated from the Hungarian of Sándor Makkai by N. B. JOPSON  
and F. P. CASEY.*

As far in every direction as could be seen from the hill where the church stood, everything belonged to the squire. In the village everyone was in his service, and ate of his bread. Scarcely worth mentioning were the few acres which the parish could call its own, nor even the six little holdings which six peasant families had acquired, even they had begun by being gifts from the squire or had been made over by his ancestors. The landlord was a kind-hearted, hot-blooded, careless man, a true Magyar, and, of course, he had gone bankrupt in the end. His own failings, combined with world-shaking events, had contrived to bring him down. The land slipped away from beneath him and he said good-bye to it.

A new and queer world opened out for the village. The farms were split up and the old feudal tenure came to an end. There were other consequences, too. The parish suddenly found itself on the brink of death. For it quite especially depended upon its farmer tenants and their children, which formed a community old in service, for the squire's ancestors had settled the villagers' ancestors here. In language and religion they formed a little island. From generation to generation they had served their master, had prayed to God in the old church standing at the top of the hill. And now these toilers who had lived on "master's work" were without land and consequently without bread. They had received nothing from the sharing-out. They were free of the wide world; and to the wide world they went.

Every Sunday now fresh families sought a parting benediction at the church door, after the sermon. Sunday by Sunday, the old church and the vicar saw the congregation fall off and drain away, even as the life drains away from a wounded body.

"Soon now there will be nobody for me to preach to," the vicar said with a sigh to his wife. The church was not able to speak, but it thought. Very sad thoughts they were. The cracks in its walls shivered throughout their entire length with the burden of these thoughts, and its moss-covered roof began to sag and gape with their bitter pain. I think it was well that it could not speak. Who could bear to hear the thoughts of so old a church?

At last there came a Sunday when the last of the tenants had said good-bye at the church door. An old, childless man he was;

he had hired himself out to someone else on another, and still intact, island.

The parson and the six farmers with the tiny holdings that were their own remained very sadly behind. And after the farmers, too, had drifted off homewards, the vicar detained John, the verger. John was a man of about forty to forty-five, an intelligent and grave fellow, literate in both senses of the word; able to write a good hand and to find his way about in the Bible.

For long the vicar stood in front of his church on the hill; his gaze strayed far and wide over fell and dale, while the verger with respectful and silent attention awaited his pleasure. At last John coughed, coughed once, as though he would speak.

The vicar started, placed his hand upon the other's shoulder, and said :

" Well, John, old friend, you have been true to me and a loyal servant of the parish. You see how everything here has an end. And I have been thinking of telling you what I have decided. It will be better for all of you if I go away from here."

A wail raced creaking through the beams and along the walls of the old church. The church was listening and reflecting.

The vicar continued :

" Six families, who can scarcely make a living for themselves, can no longer support a clergyman. So far the estate has kept me, in some sort of fashion. Scanty fare it has been, but I do not complain; gladly I ate it if so be that I might keep the congregation together. But now the end has come; ever since the estate has been broken up, it has been a bare existence. I cannot use the little church farm, for I have neither stock nor equipment for it. I have a wife and children. I must be off."

" We shan't get another pastor," said the verger quietly, staring into the distance.

" The church will be tacked on to some other, bigger one, and you will get a priest from outside to serve it," said the vicar.

" We shan't see much of him, Sir. I know how it will be. The grass will overgrow the threshold of the church. The doorstep of the inn will be worn down by our jackboots. That's how it will be if the old church is abandoned."

" Well, not many have come to service lately either," replied the vicar. " If they hear the bell rung more rarely they'll be gladder to come."

The verger turned towards the church. He removed his hat.



He looked and looked again at the blackened walls, the old steeple, the moss-covered roof.

"This church will tumble down, if it has no parson," he said with conviction. "A house, too, without someone constantly looking after it, gradually sinks and decays. It cannot bear to be left empty; nor can a church. Even if there were few who came, yet they did come. A church knows when there are people who cling to it. So, too, even if the people don't go to it, they know when there is a church and a parson. Take my word for it, Reverend Sir, the great thing is that there is a church and there is a parson. Men are bad. They often go to the inn, but now and then they look up at the steeple, and the steeple raises their eyes to heaven. It shows them there is God. They hear the bell, and prayer comes to their hearts; they know that the priest is offering up prayers in the church, and it does them good. They ask what the parson's sermon was about. And it gives them pleasure to nod their heads to what they know is true. For people need a parson, and a church, too. To be sure they need them. People are not so bad, if their pastor is good. And a parson, be he only as big as my fist, is better than none at all. Without one the flock perishes. And you still have a little flock left, Sir."

"That is right enough, John; but you see, I can't get a living here any longer."

The verger became lost in thought. He pondered deeply. Down he sat on the door-step of the church, lost in his reflections. After some long minutes he spoke again.

"I have been puzzling something out, Sir; I am not much of a scholar, but I have put my mind to it. Six men cannot support a parson, quite true. They are not able to support you, although it is only right that the people should keep their priest properly. But if you are only willing, something could be managed, Sir. Let us labour in common; let us put the priest's land and my land together and be one family; and the flock, to be sure, is a priest's family. I shall provide the stock and the materials, ay, and my family, too. I have four sons and two girls; and there's my wife, and a right good worker she is. You learn, Sir, to work with me, and let your children learn, and your wife, too. What God gives let it be in common. Afterwards the children will marry among themselves and they will have children of their own, and the parish will go on for ever. One son we shall always give to the priesthood, and there will always be a parson. We shall keep the other five families together and we shall all be brothers. We shall not die away, but shall survive.

You will not work, Sir, of a Saturday, so as to have time to prepare the sermon. Now, Sir, what do you say? "

With glowing cheeks the verger looked at the vicar. He was delighted with himself for having found this way out.

The vicar, half joking and half seriously, looked at him. He was thinking of his wife—a good housekeeper and a hard worker, too, but a gentlewoman, delicately bred, an educated lady. The piano and literature were her extravagancies. Their children had been sent to high-class schools in the city; they meant to make ladies and gentlemen of them. The vicar laughed aloud. Whimsical ideas those peasant people get! And yet he liked what he had heard.

The old church liked it, too. Its window panes sparkled in the sunlight, and laughed as the white pigeons fluttered out into the air from the steeple window.

"However did such an idea occur to you?" asked the vicar with a smile.

"I have long been poring over it," John replied, with respectful gratification, "but I could not be sure if I ought . . . now it has all come out, just as if someone had whispered to me . . . as though the church were whispering and prompting me. But I stand by it. Well, Sir, which is it to be, yes or no? "

"I know that you have spoken for the sake of the church, for the good of the parish. I know that you have spoken from out of your heart, John. But the idea is not well enough thought out, it can't be done."

"Only love is needed," said the verger quietly (though it was not himself that spoke, but it was the old church whispering it to him). "Only love is needed, that our Reverend Pastor should demean himself so towards us . . . for we would respect him for it, and his family, too. There is no question as to that, Sir. I am sure that the other five farmers would think the same, if I speak to them. Hark now, there is something whispering to me, that it should have been like this long ago, always like it."

"Well, anyhow, John, I'll have a word about this with my wife," said the vicar with a smile. "But I do not think . . . it is scarcely possible. . . ."

In the afternoon the vicar and his family were resting in the shade of the church on the turf. He told them all about the talk. His wife laughed.

"What a silly fellow that John is," she said. "We couldn't be peasants! We must go away from here, to some place where they can pay you in accordance with your ability. Go to the Bishop

tomorrow and find out from him what possibilities there are. By the autumn at latest we must have got a home somewhere else."

Towards dusk the verger turned up, all beaming, and bringing with him the five parishioners and their wives. They were all wreathed in smiles.

"We have talked it over," the verger reported. "They all want it, they are all delighted. All wish to be one family. The good God whispered it to me. . . ." He was beside himself with joy.

"I shall teach your ladyship to milk," said one of the young women, with a loud, good-natured laugh.

"And I'll show you how to spin and weave!" put in a second, not to be outdone.

"And I to bind sheaves!" shouted a third.

"Come now, John," laughed the vicar's wife, "why have you deluded these people? Surely you can't imagine that I could be a peasant woman, that my husband would become a farmer? He will easily get a parish to suit him. He did not go to college for this sort of thing. However could you think that?"

As though they had been scalded the group stood there. If what they had said was to be contemptuously rejected, then they had said nothing. If the lady was as proud as all that, then, of course, there was nothing to be done. They felt abashed. They backed away. The vicar spoke reassuring words, feeling all the time that something had given way in his heart. Sadly the peasants slunk off home one by one.

Then a frosty wind began to blow, and in the wind the old steeple wept bitterly. The wind shook and pulled the little bell about until it was almost choked with broken sobs. The sky became overcast. A sudden storm approached, great flashes lit up the lower part of the sky, and from afar there were menacing claps of muffled growling thunder.

The vicar's visitors rushed away home as the first raindrops came pouring down.

A great darkness fell upon the earth. In the darkness the wind roared and screamed around the old church. It was only with people that the old church did not know how to hold converse; with the wind it knew how.

"How shall I break the spirit of this man?" it asked the wind. "How shall I gain the victory over him so that he must remain here? How shall I stir his conscience up?"

The wind, amid the thunder and the lightning and the drenching

rain, answered in its own tongue. In the end they came to some agreement. The wind suddenly galloped off to a great distance, and halted on the summit of a mountain, gathering together its full strength.

The old church heaved a deep sigh; a creaking shudder ran through its ribs. Then it grew silent and waited with resignation.

Then in the dark night, rent by thunder and lightning and rain, the wind, with all its strength collected together, plunged headlong upon it, rushing down from the mountain. . . .

With a terrible crash the steeple hurtled to the ground, shattered into a thousand pieces. The bell, shrieking, flew on to the roof of the parsonage and, jangling, tinkling, moaning, it trundled towards the door. . . .

A fresh gust of wind, still more alarming, still more fatal . . . and the old church, which somehow still stood, now collapsed utterly, its death scream and last rattle sending a dreadful shiver along all its walls. The old church had died in order to stir up the pastor's conscience.

Weeping, they all stood over it, next morning.

"The end of God's house!" they sobbed. "The end of us, too! Our vicar is deserting us, so the church has tumbled down after him. God has forsaken us."

"Let us go to the inn. Let us all get drunk as drunk!"—so the verger shouted in despair, with savage anger, and his cheeks were furrowed with spasms of blasphemous defiance.

"Come on!" they howled.

But the vicar seized the verger's arm, and with face transfigured gazed into the Heavens. He raised his hand in solemn vow and shouted out:

"Halt! God has spoken to me and to you! The church must be rebuilt. So help me God that I be enabled to rebuild it! Here I remain."

## SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY.

### *The Paradox of Soviet Foreign Relations*

It has often been said that Russia, both Imperial and Communist, is the land of paradoxes, a statement which contains a considerable element of truth. The foreign policies of the Soviet Union for the last ten years present an interesting example of inner contradictions which it is not always easy to reconcile. It was Lord Grey of Falldon, I think, who said in his Memoirs that a British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is so busy with the administrative work of his office that he has never time to make elaborate calculations for the future, and that nothing surprises him more than the grandiose and far-reaching plans with which he is sometimes credited by the historians. This may be just as well, because any new political situation usually contains so many unforeseen and unpredictable elements that it has to be dealt with on its own merits, and the application of preconceived solutions would probably do more harm than good. The leaders of the Soviet Union enjoy no such freedom. They are controlled in their policies, at least in theory, by a rather rigid and inflexible body of scholastic doctrines of Marxian socialism, revised by Lenin and brought up to date by Stalin.

The general argument of Marx and Lenin is universally familiar. The inherent contradictions of capitalist and imperialist society bear the germs of its own destruction. They lead to the class struggle within the nations and to international wars between the imperialistic powers. The only salvation for the masses of the exploited is revolution, which will wrest political power from the hands of the oppressors. The national revolutions will merge into the great world revolution which will lead mankind, through the transition period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the classless society of the future, a society which will eliminate the exploitation of man by man and put into effect the great communist principle—from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs. To this scheme of human development, which is based on the Marxian economic interpretation of history, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, like any other communist party, owes allegiance. It is essentially and avowedly a revolutionary programme, which has for its purpose the forcible overthrow of the capitalist system.

The Soviet Union is the first—and so far the only—country of proletarian dictatorship. The Russian Communist Party controls the Soviet Government and is the dominating element in the Third

or Communist International, which very properly has its headquarters in Moscow. It would be only natural, therefore, to expect world revolution to be the chief preoccupation of the Kremlin. And this was undoubtedly true for the first few years of communist rule. But since 1921, and especially since 1924, an unmistakable change has occurred in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. Far from promoting world revolution, the USSR is to be found in the forefront of nations struggling for international co-operation, agitating against international wars, entering into numerous pacts of non-aggression with every nation that cares to do so; in short, doing all in its power to protect the capitalist world against those conflagrations which, in accordance with the communist doctrine, will lead it to its inescapable doom. This is, indeed, a paradoxical situation: the first country of communist dictatorship working hard for the salvation of capitalism!

### *The Early Period*

To understand the changing trend of Soviet foreign relations we must recall the general situation which existed in the world during the first years of Soviet rule. Although it seems reasonably clear today that the Bolshevik revolution which overthrew the Kerensky Government in November (October) 1917 was merely another stage of the same historical process which brought about the collapse of the Imperial régime in March of the same year, few realised it at the time. The wisdom and timeliness of the Bolshevik *coup d'état* of November was seriously questioned, even by some of Lenin's closest political friends. All the energies of the Bolshevik leaders, in the past, were concentrated on the struggle against Russian absolutism. Little thought was given to the policy to be followed in case of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the probability of which appeared to most of the Russian revolutionaries as extremely remote. But the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov and Kerensky proved utterly incapable of controlling the immense social forces which had been let loose by the collapse of Tsardom. Lenin's slogans—"all land to the peasants," "immediate peace with Germany," "plunder what had been plundered"—were the only ones which commended themselves to the masses. The well-intentioned half-measures of the Liberals and moderate Socialists who composed the Provisional Government could do nothing to stem the rapidly rising tide of social revolution, and their short-lived experiment in democracy soon disappeared amid much grandiloquent speech-making and a host of unfulfilled promises. It was a mere episode

in the stupendous drama that unfolded itself on the territory of the former Empire of the Tsars.

The establishment of a Bolshevik Government in Petrograd came as a painful shock to Russia's former Allies in the Great War. It was hardly less of a surprise to the new leaders of the country themselves. From the position of an underground party haunted by the police and fighting for its existence they found themselves practically overnight in control of a vast empire. They had no definite concrete policy. The whole machinery of the old Russian bureaucratic State was hostile to them. Few in those days either in Russia or abroad expected the Bolshevik rule to last. Their early decrees were not really a governmental policy, but rather, as Trotsky put it, the announcement of a party programme in "the language of power."

The victory of Lenin and Trotsky was dazzling, but the difficulties they had to face both at home and abroad seemed insurmountable. Europe was still in the midst of the Great War, the issue of which at the time was highly uncertain. The resistance to communist rule within the country was not yet broken; indeed, it was just beginning. The White Armies led by anti-Bolshevik generals and supported by the Allies were forming in the south, north, east and west. But if the difficulties were great, even greater were the promises of a brighter future. Were not the nations of Europe exhausted by a long struggle, the reasons for which were never understood by the masses and, as a matter of fact, could not be properly explained? Did not backward Russia show the real way out to the European proletariat by smashing at one blow not only the age-long institution of Tsardom, but also the rule of the exploiters? World revolution, or at least revolution in the chief European countries, was the logical and inescapable consequence of the unexampled slaughter which imperialism brought in its wake. And it was, moreover, fully in agreement with the Marxian doctrine of class struggle expounded by Lenin in his teaching on imperialism. Zinoviev, the first president of the Communist International, correctly expressed the feeling prevailing among the Bolshevik leaders at that time when he wrote (on 1 May, 1919): "Old Europe is dashing at mad speed towards the proletarian revolution. . . . Separate defeats will still occur in the near future. Black will perhaps still win a victory here and there over red. But the final victory will, nevertheless, go to the red; and this in the course of the next months, perhaps even weeks. The movement is proceeding at such terrific speed that we may say with full confidence, within a year we shall already begin to forget that there was a struggle for

communism in Europe, because in a year the whole of Europe will be communist. And the struggle for communism will be transferred to America, perhaps to Asia, and to other parts of the world. . . . Perhaps—for a few years, and side by side with Communist Europe—we shall see American capitalism continue to exist. Perhaps even in England capitalism will continue to exist for a year or two, side by side with communism victorious in the whole of continental Europe. But such a co-existence cannot last long.”

These ideas dominated the foreign policy of the Soviet Union until the final defeat of the White Armies, the abandonment of the allied blockade of Russia, and the termination of the Russo-Polish War, that is, until the beginning of 1921. They were, no doubt, stimulated by the openly hostile attitude of the capitalist nations and by allied intervention. Bolshevik policy found its expression in the intensive propaganda for the immediate overthrow of capitalism supported by all the resources—very limited at the time, it is true—of the Soviet Government. In a sense, it was the logical and fitting counterpart of the domestic policy of war communism. Both were the manifestation of communism in its most aggressive and intolerant mood. One of the most spectacular and ambitious undertakings of this period was the calling of the “First” (it also proved to be the last) Congress of the Eastern Peoples, which met in Baku in September, 1920. In accordance with Lenin’s teaching, colonial and semi-colonial nations were to play an extremely important part in bringing about the final collapse of capitalism. Zinoviev, who presided at the Congress, has left a vivid record of what was expected from it. “If Marx once said that European revolution without England would be merely a tempest in a teapot,” he declared in Halle in October, 1920, “then we will tell you . . . that a proletarian revolution without Asia will not be a world revolution. . . . At the Baku Congress we discovered the element that in the past was missing in the proletarian movement. We discovered what is essential to the realisation of world revolution. The oppressed masses of Asia must awaken. . . . I must make a confession: when in Baku I beheld hundreds of Prussians and Turks join us in singing ‘The International,’ I felt my eyes fill with tears, and I recognised the breath of the world revolution.” The memories of these moments of elation must be some consolation to Zinoviev for the disappointments which the future had in store for him.

The signing by the Soviet Government, at the point of German bayonets, of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty on 3 March, 1918, was in no way an abandonment of the policy of world revolution. It was



merely a tactical retreat, a "breathing space" necessary to save the Soviet rule from annihilation. It was, moreover, confidently expected that it would prove just another "scrap of paper." And so it did, although not for the reasons anticipated in Moscow; it was brought to an end by the terms of the armistice of 11 November, 1918. By another paradox of international relations the allied nations, while organising the blockade of the Soviet Union, hastened to relieve it of its obligations toward Germany.

### *The New Orientation*

The abandonment of the allied blockade early in 1920, the withdrawal of the allied troops from various parts of Russian territory, the collapse of the White movement and the termination of the Russo-Polish War (in October, 1920; the Peace Treaty with Poland was signed in March, 1921) confronted the Soviet Government with a new situation. The first and all-important factor was that, much to the surprise of the world and of the communist leaders themselves, the USSR had survived the ordeal. The second and no less important factor was the gradual and reluctant acceptance by the capitalist nations of the existence of the new proletarian State. And the third factor, which was far less satisfactory from the Soviet point of view, was the failure of world revolution, or even of a European revolution. The experiments in communism in Hungary and Bavaria proved short-lived. The days when it was customary in Moscow to speak of Soviet governments in the plural were over. This was a most disturbing thorn in the laurels of Soviet success, disturbing not only because it seemed to prove the futility of the propaganda effort from which so much had been expected, but also because it challenged the validity of one of the most important articles of the communist creed, not to mention the personal discomfiture of the communist leaders of whom Zinoviev was merely the most shining example.

Lenin, with that keen sense of realities which distinguished him from the rank and file of his followers and which probably largely explains his unquestionable leadership, rose to the occasion. He outlined the new policy which the Soviet Union was to follow at the tenth congress of the Communist Party, in March, 1921. He pointed out that the revolutionary movement in Europe was undoubtedly making progress, but that this progress was not quite as rapid as was originally hoped. "We have learned in the course of the last three years," said Lenin, "that our stake in international revolution does not mean that we expect it to materialise within a definite period of time, that the pace of development, which is

growing more and more rapid, may or may not bring revolution in the spring, and that therefore we must co-ordinate our activities with the relationships existing among the various classes in our own country and abroad, in order thereby to maintain for a protracted period the dictatorship of the proletariat and to free ourselves, even if gradually, of all the misfortunes and the effects of the crises which have befallen us." In the parlance of the Washington Government of today this was the announcement of the new deal in both domestic and foreign policy. The intolerable burden of war communism, which resulted in dangerous peasant uprisings and mutinies among the troops, gave place to the relatively liberal regime of the New Economic Policy. In the field of foreign relations the Soviet Government made the first timid steps toward the establishment of a *modus vivendi*, and even of a certain degree of co-operation with the capitalist countries. It was a new "breathing space," not unlike the one given by the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, but even more far-reaching in its economic and political implications. This change of policy has been since heralded by the Soviet writers as one of the most striking manifestations of Lenin's revolutionary genius. It was clearly understood, of course, that the policy of world revolution was not to be abandoned. It was simply to be pursued by other methods, more appropriate under the changed conditions.

The new foreign policy of Moscow bore immediate fruit. Somewhat earlier, in 1920, the Soviet Union had already signed peace treaties with the border States—formerly parts of the Russian Empire—Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Finland. In 1921 treaties were signed with Persia, Afghanistan, Turkey, Poland, and a *de jure* recognition was given to the Soviet Government by Austria. Even more important, perhaps, was the signing of a trade agreement with Great Britain in March, 1921, the first official step toward the establishment of normal relations with the Soviet Union made by a Great Power. The common-sense policy of England was immediately followed by the other nations, and by the end of the year trade relations between Moscow and a number of European countries were resumed. In April-May, 1921, the USSR made its first appearance at an important international conference, the ill-fated conference of Genoa. Its only practical offshoot was the Rapallo Treaty, by which the Soviet Government obtained the *de jure* recognition of Germany. In the autumn of 1922 the Government of Moscow was again represented at the abortive Lausanne conference, which was to settle the Turkish problem. The conference was resumed in July, 1923, at the Hague and prepared the convention for the

demilitarisation of the Dardanelles, duly signed by the Soviet Government. In 1924 the Soviet Union was officially recognised by Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Greece, Arabia, China, Denmark and France; in 1925, by Japan; in 1926, by Iceland and Uruguay. The Soviets were entering the arena of world politics.

Under the new economic policy the chief preoccupation of the Soviet Government was the economic restoration of the country, which had been reduced to a perfectly shocking condition by the exigencies of the Great War, the civil war and the extravaganza of war communism. It was realised in Moscow that the assistance of foreign capital was needed, but foreign capital was not over-anxious to make its appearance in a Communist State. In order to attract foreign investors the Communist Party, on the initiative of Lenin, decided to embark on a policy of foreign concessions. This decision was embodied in the resolutions of the tenth congress. The hopes attached to it were not fulfilled, and the idea itself was soon dropped to give place to a far more ambitious scheme.

*"Socialism in a Single Country"*

The rapidly increasing interest of the Soviet Government in questions of economic reconstruction proved fatal to the world revolutionary movement as it was understood by the "Left" leaders of the Communist Party. There is an obvious and irreconcilable contradiction between the Marxian teaching of the economic interdependence of the world, its inherent antagonisms and inevitable conflicts and wars, and the practical policy of the Soviet State directed toward a close and effective co-operation with the capitalist nations. This contradiction could be explained away with some ease as long as the policy of international co-operation was conducted on a relatively modest scale—for reasons often outside the control of the Soviets—and as long as it was believed to be merely a tactical retreat, the gaining of a "breathing space." But this situation, for obvious reasons, could not last long. The conflict between the supporters and the opponents of the new policy was brought to the fore by an event entirely outside the field of Marxian dialectics, but, nevertheless, one of paramount importance: the death of Lenin, which occurred early in 1923.

The disappearance from the political stage of the recognised leader of the communist movement inevitably raised the question of his successor. It was followed by a bitter struggle between the outstanding personalities of the Communist Party which soon reduced itself to a duel between Stalin and Trotsky. It seems

reasonably certain that the personal element was not altogether foreign to this struggle and that the regime of proletarian dictatorship did not offer sufficient room for the two men. But there was a much deeper and more important issue at stake than that of the incompatibility and animosity of the two communist leaders. This larger issue was the determination of the course which the Soviet Union was to follow in the future. Was it to return within the near future to the policies of 1918-1920, modified, of course, to meet new conditions, the policies of world revolution, or was it to embark on the entirely new venture of building within the national frontiers of the Soviet Union a complete Socialist State, with its inevitable adjunct in the field of internal affairs, the peaceful co-existence for an indefinite period with the capitalist nations?

Trotsky, probably the most logical and most talented of communist writers—if somewhat too prolific—was the organiser of the Red Army and the outstanding hero of the early “heroic” period of the Bolshevik revolution. He was the author and the chief and most able exponent of the theory of “permanent revolution,” which had already been formulated by him before the revolutionary outburst of 1905. A close process of dialectic reasoning led Trotsky to the conclusion that, although a socialist revolution begins on the national soil, it cannot reach its successful conclusion within national frontiers. The dictatorship of the proletariat in an isolated country must necessarily be provisional; it is bound to lead to internal and external antagonisms, and it is doomed to destruction unless a victorious social revolution in the advanced countries comes to its rescue. “A national revolution is not a self-contained unit,” said Trotsky, “it is just a link in the international chain. The international revolution is a permanent process, in spite of the temporary setbacks and the ebbing of the tide.” The practical international implications of this theory are clear and inevitable. Any attempt to establish a national Communist State is not only treason to the cause of communism, but, ignoring the economic and political interdependence of the world, it is also fundamentally fallacious, unsound and doomed to failure.

Until 1924 these views of Trotsky were never seriously challenged, although they provoked a certain amount of discussion in 1905-1906, 1915 and 1921. In 1924 the whole question was reopened by the enunciation of Stalin’s doctrine of “socialism in a single country.” It became the centre of a heated controversy which raged for about three years and resulted in the complete defeat of Trotsky, and his exile first to Alma Ata and then to Turkey.

It seems extremely likely that the espousing by Stalin of "socialism in a single country" had something to do with the unsatisfactory, from the communist point of view, course of world events in 1923 and 1924. One of the bitter disappointments of this period was the failure of the "immediate revolutionary situation," created in Germany in 1923 by the Ruhr occupation, to grow into an outright revolution. As a matter of practical politics, the new doctrine—the new dogma would be, perhaps, a more appropriate term—had the advantage of setting for the nation the task of building a socialist system within its frontiers, which, although by no means easy, was more definite and attainable than that of attempting the forcible overthrow of socialism in the advanced European countries.

The fundamental argument of Stalin's doctrine is engagingly simple. It maintains that a country with a large population, extensive territory and vast natural resources has all the elements which are necessary and sufficient for building up an integral socialist system within its borders. Thus the victory of socialism in a country like the USSR is quite possible, but it is not yet a *final* victory, because an isolated Socialist State lives in the hostile environment of capitalist nations. There is always the danger of foreign intervention. To make the victory of socialism final, capitalism in other countries must be destroyed. But while a considerable period of time may elapse before the final victory is achieved, nothing keeps the first country of proletarian dictatorship from proceeding in the meantime with the organisation of a complete Socialist State. The great weakness of this argument, as I have already pointed out, is its incompatibility with the principle of the economic interdependence of the world, which is the very foundation of the Marxian analysis. To explain this inconsistency, Stalin undertook the difficult and ungrateful task of revising the view of Marx and Engels, to which he opposed what he assumed to be the opinions of Lenin. His position was further complicated by the fact that as late as the spring of 1924 he had expressed views on the subject which appeared to be in contradiction with his later contentions. Lenin, moreover, never voiced any definite opinions on the subject; and separate paragraphs and sentences from his voluminous writings and speeches were freely quoted by both Stalin and Trotsky in support of their divergent views. It must be remembered that Lenin enjoys in communist circles an authority which can be compared to that of the Gospel in the Christian communities. Putting aside, therefore, the principles of dialectical materialism, the opposing sections of the Communist Party indulged in a protracted

and vehement controversy, which was carried on by methods that can only be described as theological. The whole debate, which kept communist bodies feverishly busy for over three years and which covers thousands and thousands of printed pages, consisted principally of quoting and requoting Lenin and in interpreting his statements. The result was undoubtedly the most extraordinary monument of theological verbiage that the modern world has yet brought forth. One cannot help wondering what Lenin would have said if he had had a chance of expressing an opinion upon this controversy, in which his own writings played so decisive a part.

The issue of the debate was by no means an idle academic matter. As Stalin pointed out, it determined the very vital question whether the Soviet Union could proceed with its plans for socialist reconstruction. So long as there was no assurance that this was feasible, it would have been impossible to ask the country to make the immense sacrifices which it involved. The acceptance of Stalin's doctrine by the Communist Party gave that assurance and determined the course of Soviet policies, both at home and abroad. At home they took the shape of the first and second Five Year plans. And as the fulfilment of the vast programme of industrialisation demanded co-operation with the capitalist world — imports of machines and materials being conditioned by the volume of Soviet exports—it also determined the course of Soviet foreign policy. The dependence of foreign policy on domestic policy is one of the favourite doctrines of communist writers. An interesting recent discussion of this point of view will be found in an article by Karl Radek which appeared in *Foreign Affairs* (New York) in January, 1934.

#### *Recent Trend in Foreign Relations*

For the last ten years there has been an unmistakable change in the trend of Soviet foreign policy, although, of course, there is no sharp dividing line from the past. In 1923-1927 the Chinese revolution loomed large in the preoccupations of Moscow, and Michael Borodin became for a time an important factor in the Chinese situation. But revolution in China failed, just as it did in Hungary, Bavaria and Germany. There were set-backs to the improvement of relations with foreign countries, such as the rupture of diplomatic relations with Great Britain from May, 1927, to October, 1929, and with China between 1929 and 1932. In spite of these unfortunate developments it seems difficult to deny that the Soviet Union was working hard and not without success for the resumption of Russia's place among the Great Powers.

This policy proceeded along two main lines : the establishment of closer economic ties with the capitalist nations and the prevention of imperialistic wars. The underlying principle of the policy of economic co-operation was clearly stated in a resolution of the fifteenth congress of the Communist Party held in December, 1927. " We must base our policy on the idea of a maximum development of our economic relations with foreign countries so far as such relations (expansion of foreign trade, foreign credits, concessions, employment of foreign technical advisers, etc.) contribute to the economic strength of the Union. We must make it more independent of the capitalist world, and broaden the socialist foundation for further industrial expansion of the Union." This note has since been repeated in innumerable variations by communist bodies, statesmen, and newspapers. A recent and authoritative expression of this point of view will be found in a speech delivered by Stalin before the seventeenth congress of the Russian Communist Party, which met in Moscow at the end of January, 1934. The rapid expansion of Soviet foreign trade up to 1930 seems to offer sufficient evidence that the principle of economic co-operation has been actively carried into practice. The decline of foreign trade in the following years was, no doubt, due to the world depression and would seem to indicate that the Soviet Union has not yet achieved that economic independence of the capitalist world which is one of the goals of the policy of industrialisation. An interesting, although so far sterile development of the idea of economic co-operation was the Pact of Economic Non-aggression submitted by Maxim Litvinov to the Commission of Inquiry for European Union at its meeting in Geneva in May, 1931. On this occasion the Commissary for Foreign Affairs delivered an able speech in which he strongly emphasised the necessity of a protracted peaceful co-existence between the capitalist and the communist systems.

The second pillar of Soviet foreign policy is the prevention of imperialistic wars. In accordance with Lenin's theory of imperialism, imperialistic wars necessarily grow out of the contradictions of modern capitalist society. In the earlier period of the Soviet rule, when it was believed that imperialistic wars inevitably lead to revolutions, and when international revolution was still the chief *immediate* object of the Soviet Union, the Moscow Government naturally took no special interest in the advancement of peace. But this is no longer the case since the economic reconstruction of the country—a reconstruction, to repeat, which is being carried on with the assistance of the capitalist world—assumed precedence over all

other questions. An outbreak of hostilities between the Great Powers would necessarily interfere with the flow of foreign trade on which the success of the Five Year Plan largely depends. And then the experience of 1914-1918 would seem to indicate that the limits of the expansion of a major armed conflict are entirely unpredictable. One must also keep in mind that the Red Army, whose parades in the Red Square are so much admired, has not yet received its baptism of fire in a war against a first-rate Power and is, strictly speaking, an unknown quantity. The Soviet Government, therefore, has been greatly interested since the beginning of the new economic policy, and especially since the adoption of Stalin's doctrine, in postponing the evil day until the USSR shall have made real progress in the building up of its socialist system. Mr. Bell, the British delegate, had clearly stated the new attitude of communism at the sixth congress of the Third International in 1928. "The Soviet Union, which has no territorial ambitions and is absorbed by the task of its economic socialist reconstruction," he said, "needs peace as one needs air; it needs it for the growth and development of the proletarian State." Imperialistic wars are no longer represented as an important and essential link in the chain of historical development which is to lead to the final victory of the proletariat. They are pictured now as sinister conspiracies on the part of the capitalist Powers to strangle and destroy the first country of proletarian dictatorship. Practically every event in the field of international affairs, including such perfectly innocuous agreements as the so-called Briand-Kellogg Pact, are uniformly interpreted in Moscow as the preparation of a new intervention, a new attack upon the Soviet Union. To stress the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union in contrast to the aggressive policies of the capitalist nations has been, and still remains, the *leit-motiv* of the Soviet press and of the pronouncements of the Soviet leaders. But they never fail to emphasise the point that, while the Soviet Union is only too anxious to preserve peace, it is also determined to defend its territory from foreign invasion. Stalin formulated this idea in his speech before the sixteenth congress of the Communist Party in the summer of 1930: "We do not want a single bit of foreign land; but at the same time not an inch of our land shall ever be yielded to anyone else." This sentence has since been reproduced in innumerable articles and resolutions. It is, indeed, one of the nation's most popular slogans. The same idea was forcibly stated by Stalin at the 17th congress of the Communist Party in January, 1934. "Our foreign policy is plain. We want peace and friendly relations with



everyone. We do not think of threatening anyone, still less of attacking them; but we do not fear threats, and we are ready to give blow for blow to those who try to inflame war. Those who have business relations with us will always find support in us, but those who attack us will get such a decisive blow in return that they will learn in future to keep their swinish snouts out of our potato patch." These remarks, reports Mr. Walter Duranty, the able Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times*, "fired Mr. Stalin's hearers to the great applause given during his entire speech." They are likely to be seen on the posters in the Red Square for the next few months.

The statement that peace has been the keynote of Soviet foreign policy for the last decade is fully supported by an even cursory examination of Moscow's diplomatic activities. Considerable interest has been displayed in the question of disarmament, although one should not perhaps take too seriously Litvinov's plan offered in Geneva in 1927 for "an immediate, complete and general disarmament" to be put into effect within one year. The practical adoption of such a plan was obviously outside the realm of possibilities. But it served its purpose in announcing to the world the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union. More fruitful and no less telling was the extraordinary activity displayed by the Soviet Government in negotiating pacts of non-aggression with the border States, France and Japan. On 6 February, 1933, M. Litvinov, speaking before the Disarmament Conference in Geneva, offered a new definition of the aggressor which considerably extended the scope of non-aggression agreements. *Izvestia*, commenting editorially on Litvinov's statement, described it as "the people's charter of rights to security and independence." The official organ of the Soviet Government also remarked that "Litvinov's declaration not only is aimed against intervention in a country where there is a revolution, but in the name of the USSR it undertakes the obligation not to intervene in a country where there is a counter-revolution." This sounds very much like an avowed renunciation of Soviet leadership in the international revolutionary movement. Litvinov's definition of the aggressor became the basis of a pact of non-aggression between the USSR, Poland, Roumania, Turkey, Esthonia, Latvia and Finland concluded on 1 July, 1933. The participation of Roumania in this agreement is particularly significant because it seems to put at rest, at least provisionally, the sore question of the annexation of Bessarabia by that country.

The offer of a pact of non-aggression between the Soviet Union and Japan was made by Litvinov to M. Kenkichi Yoshizawa, Minister

of Foreign Affairs of Japan, in December, 1931, that is, at a time when the Manchurian conflict was in an extremely acute phase. Japan's refusal to enter into such an agreement, which came in January, 1933, was met in Moscow with a keen disappointment. Molotov, speaking before the Executive Committee of the Soviet on 23 January, 1933, expressed the hope that "Japan's refusal to sign is merely temporary."

The practical value of pacts of non-aggression is open to doubt, and the Briand-Kellogg pact has certainly exercised no excessive influence upon the action of Japan in Manchuria, although both Japan and China had signed it. But it can hardly be denied that the whole trend of Soviet policy in the Far East has been a remarkably conciliatory one. This spirit of conciliation had been clearly displayed in the incident arising from the Chinese Eastern Railway, which was seized on 10 July, 1929, by Chang Hsueh-liang after the raid upon the Soviet Consulate in Harbin. And it has been much in evidence since the occupation of Manchuria in September, 1931. Although military preparations on the part of the Soviets on their Far Eastern frontier are frequently reported in the press, up to the present time of writing Moscow has taken no steps which would precipitate the conflict, although occasions for such action were not lacking. It seems reasonably safe to assume that a war between the Soviet Union and Japan will be prevented unless Japan decides to invade the Soviet territory, which would not appear to be likely.

What the policy of the Soviet Union would be in case of a war has been stated in a recent article by Karl Radek.<sup>1</sup> "The Soviet Union does not close the door to the possibility of a deal, an agreement, with imperialistic Powers which are waging a struggle against other imperialistic Powers, if the latter attack the Soviet Union; but in entering into such an agreement the Soviet Union would not accept any responsibility for the specific purposes pursued by the imperialistic Powers parties to the agreement. . . . Against attacking imperialism an agreement is permissible with any opponent in order to defeat the enemy invading the Soviet territory."

The long overdue *de jure* recognition of the USSR by President Roosevelt on 16 November, 1933, has been heralded on both sides of the Atlantic as a new and important step along the road of peace. The pronouncements of Moscow in this connection were in line with the policy which has become familiar in the course of the last ten years. The exuberant hopes expressed on this occasion by a large section of public opinion in the United States are more difficult to

<sup>1</sup> *Foreign Affairs*, New York, January, 1934.

understand. They seem to have their source in the truly remarkable popularity of President Roosevelt and in the seemingly inexhaustible enthusiasm of the Americans which a foreign observer cannot help liking even when he finds it difficult to comprehend<sup>2</sup>

Peace was also the keynote of Moscow's comments on the resumption of diplomatic relations with Spain in July, 1933, and with Hungary in February, 1934. It is reported in the press that the negotiations for a commercial treaty between the USSR and Hungary will begin at once.

### *The Third International*

But if the outline of Soviet foreign policy given above be correct and the Moscow Government is fully absorbed in problems of economic reconstruction and is striving for peace, the question arises, what has happened to the doctrine of world revolution, that alpha and omega of militant communism? And what has happened to the Third International, which has for its purpose the carrying into effect of the policies of world revolution?

The Third or Communist International, it will be remembered, was founded by Lenin and held its first congress in March, 1919. "The Communist International," says its statute, "has for its purpose the struggle by all available means, including armed force, for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and the creation of an international Soviet republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the State." And a manifesto issued by the second congress of the International added that, "the international proletariat will not lay down its sword until Soviet Russia has become a link in the federation of the Soviet republics of the world." The official policy of the Soviet Government has always been to deny any connection between itself and the Third International. In the well-known note sent by Chicherin in reply to Lord Curzon's communication of 7 September, 1921, it was argued that there is no more ground for assuming any connection between the Moscow Government and the Third International than there would have been for assuming a connection between the Belgian Government and the Second International simply because M. Vandervelde was a Minister of the Belgian Crown and at the same time a member of the

<sup>2</sup> The puzzling state of public opinion in the United States may be gathered from the following example: one of the large moving-picture theatres in the centre of New York has recently included as a part of the entertainment a diagram analysing different parts of the American budget in the past and in the present. The appearance on the screen of the towering deficit for 1934 was met with a thunder of applause.

latter body, which also has its headquarters in Brussels. Whatever may be the legal validity of this argument, the undeniable fact is that the Russian Communist Party controls the Soviet Government and completely dominates the Third International. It is therefore not surprising to find a fairly close correlation between their policies. The first and the second congresses of the Third International held in 1919 and 1920 met at a time when world revolution was still the order of the day, and in their debates and resolutions they had no difficulty in living up to the provisions of the statute. The third congress, in 1921, the fourth, in 1922, and the fifth, in 1924, in accordance with the changed attitude of the Russian communists, concerned themselves with laying the foundation for a protracted proletarian struggle. There was a significant interval of four years before the sixth congress met in 1928. It will be remembered that it was during this period that Stalin's "socialism in a single country" gained official recognition. Zinoviev, Trotsky, and their friends had in the meantime disappeared from the political stage. The sixth congress was entirely dominated by Stalin and Bukharin (who has since also suffered a temporary eclipse), and it had for its purpose to incorporate the doctrine of "socialism in a single country" within the body of communist articles of faith. This was achieved in the programme of the Communist International, which was duly voted by the congress and for which Stalin and Bukharin are responsible. The programme, while preserving the whole of the revolutionary phraseology of the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 and of the revolutionary writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, nevertheless, introduced some fundamental changes in the general teaching of communism. The most important of these changes was the strong emphasis put on the part played by the USSR as a revolutionising element in the world. International revolution, of course, was the final aim of the Third International, but its immediate purposes were defined as follows: the prevention of imperialistic wars, the defence of the USSR against capitalist aggression, the struggle against foreign intervention in China, the defence of Chinese revolution and of colonial uprisings. But it was the defence of the Soviet Union which was the chief concern of the sixth congress. From the general staff of the world revolution the Third International had been changed for all practical purposes, if not in theory, into an international labour organisation for the defence of the Soviet Union. This was naturally criticised by Trotsky and his friends as direct treason to the cause of communism and the international proletariat.

No congress of the Third International has been called since

1928. Its Executive Committee, however, continues to sit in Moscow and from time to time holds plenary sessions. Their "theses" are duly reported in the press and are invariably declared to be immensely significant and important steps toward world revolution. The contents of these pronouncements, however, hardly justify the use of superlatives. They add little to what had been said at the sixth congress in 1928. The most recent, the thirteenth, plenary session of the Executive Committee was held in Moscow in December, 1933. It devoted much of its attention to the development of Fascism, which was interpreted as another step toward the final downfall of capitalism, and it again called "upon all the workers and the toilers of the world self-sacrificingly to defend the USSR against the counter-revolutionary conspiracy of the imperialists." But it also passed a resolution which is of considerable importance—one to call the seventh congress of the Communist International for the autumn of 1934. What will be the character of this gathering, remains to be seen. But it seems likely that it will follow in the footsteps of the sixth congress and be as innocuous as that body, unless some unpredictable and fundamental change occurs in the policy of the Russian Communist Party.

#### *Still a Paradox*

In spite of the important revision of the communist doctrine in the programme of the Third International, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union still remains a paradox. It is undeniable that the Soviet Government is fully engrossed in its grandiose and absorbing task of building from the backward agricultural Empire of the Tsars the great industrialised commonwealth of the future; that it has to a certain extent adapted the teaching of communism to this purpose; that foreign affairs, except for the denunciation of imperialist conspiracies, are given practically no space in the Soviet press; that the Third International, to use the expression of Trotsky, who is agitating for the formation of a Fourth International, has been reduced to the position of a mere government department and leads an obscure existence; that Soviet policy has been consistently directed to the maintenance of international peace. But it is also true that world revolution through the forcible overthrow of the capitalist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat remains an integral part of the communist teaching; that the Third International has the advancement of the world revolution as its ultimate task; that it continues to exist in Moscow and that its seventh congress has been announced for the autumn of 1934. It is difficult to see how these

activities are compatible with the official pledge given by Litvinov to President Roosevelt on 16 November, 1933, namely, that it will be the fixed policy of the Soviet Government "not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organisation or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organisation or group, or of representatives or officials of any organisation or group—which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions." How is this pledge to be brought into line with Molotov's recent remark at the opening of the seventeenth congress of the Communist Party in January, 1934, that the Russian Communist Party is "the vanguard of the Communist International"? Especially when it is made at the very time when an even closer co-operation between the Communist Party and the Soviet Government than existed in the past is reported to be under discussion in Moscow.

The truth of the matter seems to be that there is still a fundamental contradiction between the doctrine of world revolution and the practical policy of the Soviet Union. In my opinion, the Soviet Government has sacrificed much of the Marx-Lenin theory on the altar of expediency and *Realpolitik*. The shell of phraseology of the *Communist Manifesto* remains, but its revolutionary content is gone. World revolution is now something of a communist dogma to which one pays merely lip service. This is by no means an unprecedented situation in the history of the human race. The contempt for earthly riches is a generally accepted principle of the Christian religion. The truth of the statement that it is easier for a camel to pass through a needle's eye than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven has never been challenged. Nevertheless, few would maintain that it has exercised any undue influence upon the conduct of either devout churchmen or of the churches themselves. Our capacity for compromise with ideas is, indeed, amazing. A new example of it is offered by the paradox of Soviet foreign relations.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> For obvious reasons the present survey presents my conclusions rather than the process by which I have reached them. The readers who are interested in a more detailed study of this problem and in the numerous sources I have examined are referred to my recently published book: *World Revolution and the USSR*, New York, Macmillan, 1933. I am indebted to my publishers, the Macmillan Company of New York, for permission to use again here some of the material which appeared in my book.

## OPPOSITION MOVEMENTS IN RUSSIA

*[This article, clearly founded on serious data and written with judgment and discretion, deals with a subject of great present-day interest. It is perhaps needless to remind the reader that the Editors are not responsible for opinions expressed over the signatures of their contributors.—ED.]*

THE outside world learns seldom and knows little of the revolutionary struggle which is going on in Russia between the people and the Communist Government. This is only natural; it is always extremely difficult to trace underground revolutionary currents, especially in countries under a dictatorial regime. Every dictatorship takes pains to conceal the existence of a popular movement hostile to it, and takes every conceivable measure for suppressing any information about such a movement.

As regards present-day Russia, the difficulty of obtaining reliable information is manifoldly increased owing to the great dimensions of the country, the severity of the dictatorship, the small number of independent observers (foreign journalists and diplomatists), their isolation from the population, and so forth. As a matter of fact, even the Russians themselves know little about the conditions in their own country and, especially, about the revolutionary struggle which is going on there.

I will try to fill up the gap. I cannot pretend, of course, to be able to render a full and exhaustive account, because revolutionary forces in Soviet Russia are working underground and in complete secrecy. Even the OGPU, the Soviet political police, who have at their disposal almost unlimited means for collecting information, possess only a partial knowledge of the anti-Soviet movement. For instance, the OGPU do not know the number of anti-Communist organisations which exist in Russia; they have only scanty information about leaders and members of these organisations; they know little about secret propaganda which these organisations are conducting; very often they cannot trace the responsibility of these secret groups for acts of terrorism and sabotage.

If the OGPU cannot possibly obtain full particulars about anti-Communist revolutionary movements, how can I claim possession of such a knowledge, although as a leader of a political party ("Krestyanskaya Rossia"—The Peasant Democratic Party), I ought to know something about it?

Though not in a position to describe in detail the revolutionary movement in Russia, I can yet determine the specific spheres of

the struggle, the social classes and groups which are involved in it, the forms in which it is expressed and the social and economic causes which provoke and instigate it. My study of anti-Soviet revolutionary movements will be limited to these aspects and will embrace the year 1933 only.

The sources from which I take my facts are many and diverse. Part of my information comes from the official Soviet press. Other sources were: private letters which the Russian emigrés received from relatives and friends in Russia; reports of newspaper correspondents published in foreign and Russian emigrée papers; interviews with foreigners and Russians who have either visited Russia or escaped thence during 1933; and brief reports, scores of which the Central Committee of the Peasant Democratic Party receives each week from Russia.

This diversity of sources has allowed me not only to collect a large number of facts, but, in many instances, to check their accuracy. I am absolutely confident, therefore, that my information, however incomplete it may be, is true and authentic, and that I may recommend it as such to my readers.

Only slaves born and bred in mental bondage could stand placidly and submissively the conditions prevailing in Soviet Russia. People of normal temperament and mentality simply must resist this cruel regime, based upon the complete and absolute denial of economic, political and spiritual freedom and on the most thorough enslavement of the whole nation.

The Russian people are no exception to the rule. The years of "military Communism" (1918-1921) and the years of "building up Socialism in one country" (1929-1933) were periods of bitter struggle between the people and the Communist Government. The present Government is in a state of permanent tension. It is infected with a persistent fever and therefore functions most inefficiently. It can be likened to a mechanism which must overcome enormous adverse resistance and, owing to this, is capable of doing very little useful work.

The struggle between the people and the Government takes every imaginable form. Orders and instructions of the Government are ignored; every Government measure is met with passive resistance; people resort to direct action against the Government and its agents. No less diversity is observed in the methods of active struggle. Sometimes it is not more than a reflexive action, provoked by a local Communist agent or by a measure initiated by the central authorities; sometimes it bears features characteristic of political



action. It manifests itself diversely in agitation and propaganda, in organisation of secret political groups and religious unions, in destruction of property and in murders of Communist officials. The struggle is conducted by isolated individuals and by small groups; very often, however, masses of people are involved in the struggle. Non-party men and women and members of the ruling party are equally engaged in the fight. Sometimes not only rank-and-file Communist and Soviet officials are involved, but even prominent leaders of the Communist Party (take, for instance, Syrtsov's plot in 1931 and Skrypnik's affair in 1933).

Let us try to understand this extremely confused and complicated situation.

There are four principal fronts along which the battles between the people and the Government are fought in Russia: religious, national, economic, and political. The quietest of them in 1933, as far as outward appearances are concerned, was the religious front. The intentions of the Communist Government in respect of religion are well known: they want to convert the peoples of Russia to atheism. To this end are working the organisations ("Unions of Militant Godless"), especially created for the purpose, the Communist general press and the administrative apparatus of the State. Religious persecutions take every conceivable form. Servants of religion are arrested, exiled to concentration camps, and even shot; churches and houses of prayer are closed and destroyed; religious communities are so heavily taxed that they must cease to function. The population remaining true to the faith of its forefathers and, very often, developing fresh religious fervour, is anxious to preserve its religion and its public communion with God. Hence—the conflict between those who belong to various religious denominations and the atheist Government.

So far as this conflict is concerned, the energy of the Communist onslaught, it seems, has slackened considerably. Although, during the first six months of 1933, 286 churches were closed on various pretexts, still anti-religious propaganda is getting weaker, because those entrusted with it show little enthusiasm and zeal in their work.

I have seen the text of an unpublished speech by Kosarev, a leader of the Communist League of Youth, delivered in November, 1932, at a meeting of the Moscow Provincial Committee of the League. He said: "It is very difficult now to recruit volunteers for anti-religious propaganda, and appointments to this kind of

work are accepted with disgust." This change of attitude has been publicly confirmed by the paper *Bezbozhnik* (*The Godless*) (29 April and 10 May, 1933). The paper stated that there is an apparent aversion to atheism on the part of the young Communists. Not long ago the theses: "There is no God," "God is a fiction," were accepted as unquestioned axioms and provoked youthful enthusiasm. At present, when members of the Communist League of Youth are requested to conduct anti-religious propaganda, they refuse and say: "Nobody knows whether there is God or not."

Such is the change of attitude towards anti-religious propaganda among the Young Communists, who formerly supplied large numbers of "fighters on the religious front."

It seems that there are some changes among the leading atheist circles, too. The chief organs of anti-religious propaganda are the fortnightly *Antireligioznik* and the newspaper *Bezbozhnik*, which appears once in five days. Up till 1933 both papers were published regularly. But in the first six months of 1933 only two numbers of *Antireligioznik* were issued, and *Bezbozhnik* was published at intervals of seven, nine or even ten days.

This slackening of anti-religious activities cannot be explained by the contention that religion has been extinguished in Russia and that there is no longer any need of intensive atheist propaganda.

Last year a book under the title *The New Stage in the Struggle against Religion* was published in Russia. This book is based on a special investigation carried out by the Leningrad Union of Godless in two country districts—Ostrovsk and Belozersk. It has been found that in the first district, in spite of intensive anti-religious propaganda, 77 per cent. of the members of the kolhozy (collective farms) still kept icons in their cottages; 23 per cent. of the peasants openly and courageously stated that they considered religion to be useful and necessary, 30 per cent. said that religion does no harm to anyone, and only 18 per cent. declared religion to be "opium for the people."<sup>1</sup> The replies of the remaining 29 per cent. were so vague that the investigators could not classify them. In the Belozersk district icons were found in 98 per cent. of the kolhoz cottages and in all the cottages belonging to individual peasants.

Facts collected by a French journalist, Georges Oudard, and made public by him in *Paris Soir* in September last, confirm the findings of the Leningrad investigators. Referring to the official Soviet sources to which he had access while in Russia, M. Oudard has stated that 41 per cent. of all babies born in Russia are christened in

<sup>1</sup> The official Marxist description of religion.—Ed.

accordance with Church rites and 55 per cent. of all the dead are given religious funerals.

In May 1933 a correspondent of the Peasant Democratic Party wrote: "Reports received in Moscow say that this year an exceptionally large number of people attended the Easter midnight service. In Moscow, Leningrad, Harkov, Kiev, Odessa, and other large cities the doors of the churches were closed an hour and a half before the beginning of the service, because there was no room left in them. Vast crowds stood outside in the churchyards. . . . The Moscow provincial committee of the Godless Union was obliged to acknowledge the utter failure of the anti-Easter campaign and dissolved seven district committees and 55 factory cells of the Union for slackness and inefficiency.

In December last, the Peasant Democratic Party received a letter from Lugansk (Donetsk Basin) containing the following information: "On 18 November the Union of the Godless produced Demyan Bedny's atheist play *The Marriage in Cana of Galilee*. The audience, composed exclusively of working people, shouted the play down, being disgusted with its blasphemies. A second performance was accompanied by similar disorders, and the play had to be withdrawn.

About the religious life of the Russian Jews a good deal was reported by an American journalist, Mr. Harry Lang, a member of the editorial staff of the Jewish Socialist paper *New York Forward*, who visited Russia in September and October of 1933. According to his observations religion among Russian Jews, in spite of atheist propaganda, is getting stronger. Synagogues, like Christian churches, have mostly been closed and converted into granaries; but Jews gather in private houses (according to the Jewish religion ten men form a religious congregation or "minin") and hold secret services as they did in the times of the Holy Inquisition in Spain. In the few synagogues that still remain open, a large candle is kept in the vestibule. Every Friday night it is lit, and Jewish women gather round it to say their customary prayers.

On the Jewish New Year and the Day of Atonement crowds of people gathered in the courtyards of synagogues in Kiev and Minsk. Many factory workers came, thereby absenting themselves from work. Husbands said to their wives: "It is impossible for both of us to be away from work. You go alone, and I will stay at work. God will understand and forgive us." (See *Poslednia Novosti*, 25 October, 1933.)

One old Jew explained, rather naively but truthfully, the reasons

for the increase of religious tendencies : " How can it be otherwise ? We are afraid to speak to each other, because nowadays even a son may denounce his father. We do not read the papers. What can one find in them ? And a man must converse with someone. That is why we speak to God."

All these facts bear witness to the persistence of religious tradition, deeply rooted in the souls of the peoples of Russia, but also to the existence of religious and educational activities in which, with great risk to themselves, individuals, groups, and even extensive organisations are engaged. That such work is going on, is confirmed by the book *The New Stage in the Struggle against Religion*. New sectarian groups are constantly appearing; the old sectarian organisations give birth to new sects, which are seeking new methods for converting the labouring masses to religion; men wander all over the country preaching the Gospel. " An enterprising priest," says this book, " ties up in a bundle all the implements of religious worship and travels from one village to another, from one market place to another, very often getting a lift from the peasants. He performs religious ceremonies and rites and keeps God's memory fresh in the minds of believers." The book mentions that there is a close understanding between followers of various religious denominations and, especially, between the servants of religion. " All dogmatic differences are put aside; all religious people are united in a common political aim—the struggle against the Soviet Government. A consolidation of anti-Soviet forces under the banner of religion is going on."

*Bezbozhnik* also reports that churchmen and sectarians gradually widen the scope of their activities and capture new and important positions. They " are very active in the kolhozy, but do not neglect the industrial workers either; they are especially active among the coal miners in the Donetsk Basin " (29 April and 10 May, 1933).

The Moscow correspondent of *The Observer* reported (4 June, 1933) that Soviet youths are turning to religion. Religious groups, composed of young peasants, industrial workers, Soviet employees and students, are organised throughout Russia. These groups fight sexual excesses, and preach abstention from vodka and tobacco. He quoted instances where the students of Moscow High Schools were found to have been members of parish councils.

It is very dangerous, under Soviet conditions, to be active in religion. People are deprived of their jobs, deported from the towns, arrested, imprisoned, exiled to concentration camps and even sentenced to death for practising religion. But the persecutions

do not kill religion. As has always been the case, persecutions break down the weak, but make the strong stronger. Even in prisons the religious maintain their courage. Prof. V. Chernavin, who in 1932 escaped from the Solovetsk camp, gives the following touching picture: "They did not conceal their religiousness even in prison. Every evening they gathered in a corner of the cell and, in voices as low as whispers, sang hymns. The ordinary noise in the cell drowned their singing, and the warders in the corridor could not hear them." (*Poslednia Novosti*, 1 October, 1933.)

The second front of battle, the national, is much more active and dangerous to the Communist Government. Almost all the non-Russian nationalities and even two branches of the Russian people, the White Russians and the Ukrainians, are engaged in this battle. From a political point of view, this front is characterised by separatism. National minorities want to detach themselves from the Russian State in order to set up an independent State (Ukraine), or to join as an autonomous unit to a neighbouring country (the Yakuts), or to become an integral part of another State (the Pan-Turkish movement).

The forms into which the national struggle is shaping itself are manifold. First of all, nationalist political groups are engaged in persistent separatist propaganda. Secondly, they conduct cultural and educational work, trying to create a nationalist and Russophobe intelligentsia in order to alienate their people as far as possible from the common Russian culture. To achieve this object, the separatists do not despise even the most extravagant distortions; they invent new nationalities, they create new, extremely artificial and tendentious languages, they concoct pseudo-scientific theories on the racial origins of various nationalities, they falsify and pervert firmly established historical facts. The third form in which the nationalist struggle is taking shape is the formation of secret political groups for an armed fight for liberation. The separatists also establish connections with foreign governments in order to secure their assistance in the fight against the Soviets. They organise armed risings and try to direct the anti-Communist sentiment of the people into a nationalist and separatist movement.

There is no doubt that the tendency to detach themselves from Russia is widely spread among the non-Russian population and among those who have ceased to regard themselves as Russians. This tendency is provoked and fed by the general policy of the Soviet Government—educational, anti-religious, judicial, industrial, agri-

cultural, etc.—because this policy, in all its aspects, is repulsive to the population, not only because it requires many sacrifices, but also because of its stupidity, crying injustice and arrogance and the cruel methods employed for its furtherance.

The Communist policy infringes not only the economic interests of the people, but all conceptions of morals or of practical expediency. Separatist tendencies are bound to develop and grow under Communist dictatorship in such a multiple State as Russia with her hundreds of different nationalities. These tendencies are bound to affect elements of the population which, under different conditions, would never have the thought, to say nothing of the wish, to detach themselves from Russia. At present, under the Communist Government, separation seems to many people the only, or, in any case, the most practical method of escaping from the privations, sufferings and sacrifices which the Bolsheviks impose on them.

The spread of separatist tendencies is encouraged by the policy of the Soviets as to national minorities. The Communists profess the theory that each nationality possesses unlimited right of self-determination, including the right of secession. Of course, for the non-Russian nationalities under the Soviet regime these rights have a purely nominal significance, but the stimulating effect of this theory is very great. This effect is augmented by the fact that the Soviets, in their national and cultural policy, are quite sincere. Small nationalities are given the opportunity of creating their own national and Russophobe intelligentsia, to develop their languages in a tendentious anti-Russian manner, to produce their own literature, etc. Very often this results in the strangest exaggerations, in the forced "nationalisation of a nation" (for instance, ukrainisation), or in direct prohibition of the use of the Russian language in courts, administration and social intercourse in the districts inhabited by various nationalities.

Separatist movements in Russia thus have every opportunity for their appearance and growth; political and moral justification, educational facilities, organisational forms (the national federated and autonomous republics), spiritual and intellectual leadership.

There is no doubt that separatist tendencies are widespread in Soviet Russia. There is hardly any province with a non-Russian population where one cannot find the traces of more or less insistent separatist propaganda. Its existence can be ascertained in Azerbaidzhan, among the Volga and Crimean Tartars, in Georgia, among the Caucasian tribes, in the Central Asiatic republics of Tadjik and Uzbek, among the Yakuts and Buryats in Siberia. Even the

Armenians seem to be forsaking their traditional loyalty to Russia. Separatist tendencies are noticeable also among some branches of the Russian nation; they are weak in White Russia, but rather strong and dangerous in Ukraine, especially among the intellectuals.

During 1933, Ukraine engaged the chief attention and caused much trouble to Soviet leaders. The Soviet press very frequently published alarming reports of the "stirring up of national differences" in Ukraine. To deal with this menace the Political Bureau (of the Communist Party) sent Postyshev, the second Secretary of the Central Committee, to Harkov. In the speech which he delivered at the joint meeting of two provincial Communist Party committees (see *Pravda*, 3 July) he said: "The hostile nationalist elements in Ukraine have not yet been uprooted . . . The roots of this organisation are preserved in our land organisations, in the machine and tractor stations, and in the kolhozy." Three days later both the principal Soviet papers, *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, published articles in which they stated that "class enemies are trying, now more frequently than before, to play on national sentiment and stir up national enmity." Enumerating the "danger zones" of this propaganda, these papers mentioned Ukraine, Central Asia, Kazakstan, and White Russia. Next day Nicolas Skrypnyk, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and vice-Chairman of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissaries, shot himself. On 8 July the Tass (Soviet Telegraph Agency) broadcasted an official *communiqué*, in which the suicide was thus explained: "The Central Committee of the Communist Party states that Skrypnyk has become a victim of bourgeois and nationalist elements who, under the cover of party membership, gained his confidence, utilised him for the propagation of anti-Soviet and nationalist ideas. Skrypnyk has made many political mistakes, and on realising them he has committed suicide."

This explanation was untrue. We know now from the same Soviet sources that Skrypnyk did not simply make "political mistakes," but actually took an active part in the Ukrainian separatist movement. He killed himself, not because he had realised his mistakes, but because his participation in separatist intrigues had been discovered and he had not the courage to face the persecutions and humiliations which must follow on this discovery.

The movement in which Skrypnyk took part was so extensive, and his suicide provoked such great repercussions in the country, that the Soviet Government thought it expedient to depart from its usual practice of dealing with such matters in secrecy. Many

times and on different occasions the Soviet public was informed about the "nationalist counter-revolution" in Ukraine. This question was discussed at the joint plenary session of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Ukrainian Communist Party in November last. Speeches made at this conference and resolutions passed were published in Soviet papers. Thanks to this, I had a rare opportunity of studying nationalist and separatist movements in Russia from official materials.

What was the origin of the Ukrainian separatist movement led by Skrypnyk? Several of the Ukrainian separatists were remnants of the old times, when Ukraine proclaimed her independence and tried to defend it with the help of the Germans. Others appeared in later years; they were partly educated in a separatist spirit in Russia and partly were imported from abroad. (It will be remembered that many Ukrainian political emigrés were given permission to return to Russia.) Then, there were the so-called "degenerated Communists," who had been sincere adherents of Russian unity and had become separatists owing to the policy of the Communist Party. Skrypnyk was one of these.

Not all the separatists were at the same time members of the Communist Party. Most of them were outside the Party. But they sought eagerly to join the Party because membership presented them with greater opportunities for their activities. While inside the Party they remained, as a rule, obedient, efficient and loyal members; Skrypnyk, for instance, was one of the most faithful adherents of Stalin and invariably supported him in all matters concerned with Party affairs. This behaviour gave the separatists a chance of making a speedy and sure career and filling responsible posts in the Party and the Soviet administration. The separatists were especially numerous in the Commissariats of Agriculture and Education, because work in the first of these Commissariats provided opportunities for establishing contact with the most revolutionary class in modern Russia—the peasants, while through the Commissariat of Education the separatists entrenched themselves in schools and scientific institutions, and thus seized the chance of carrying on cultural and nationalist propaganda in the spirit of separatism.

There is some reason to believe that the separatists were trying to gain a footing in the army; but as the management of the army is highly centralised, their efforts had not been very successful. Official sources are, of course, very reticent on the subject; but the information which reached the Peasant Democratic Party from independent sources points out that the number of partisans of



Ukrainian independence among the Red Army officers was very considerable.

The methods which were employed by Ukrainian separatists for furthering their aims have already been mentioned. The point which needs special emphasis is the energy and persistence with which the separatists endeavoured to cut the Ukrainian dialect loose from the Russian literary language. Their calculations were correct: cultural and linguistic separatism always paves the way for political separatism. They were busy in inventing new Ukrainian words and replacing words common to the Russian and Ukrainian languages by Polish, Latin and German words. Special commissions were set up for this purpose, and a fee was paid to anyone who had invented a new word. To retain all these linguistic novelties, they began to compile an Academic Dictionary of the Ukrainian language. At the same time, the falsification of the history of Southern Russia was going on, new theories of racial origin of the Ukrainian people were advanced, grammar was revised, any possible differences between Russian and Ukrainian artistic ideas and styles (in literature, sculpture, architecture, painting, etc.) were carefully and systematically sought and cultivated.

In their aspirations the Ukrainian separatists relied upon a foreign Power. Which Power they had in mind, was revealed by Postyshev in the speech from which I have already quoted: "The Pan-Ukrainian Academy of Science has published such outspoken chauvinist and separatist propaganda that one is simply stupefied. A member of the Academy, a certain Chikalenko, has explained the meaning of the swastika as follows: 'What is the swastika? One must not regard this sign as a mere geometrical folly. The swastika is one of the most remarkable symbols of goodwill, prosperity and delivery from evil.'" (*Pravda*, 6 December, 1933).

Propaganda in favour of the swastika was accompanied by important secret operations. In the beginning of 1933 a secret organisation was discovered in Ukraine which strove to stir up an armed rising under the banner of Ukrainian independence. This organisation was connected with Col. Konovalets, the head of the Ukrainian military organisation in Poland. Later was arrested Ataman Bushkovanny, formerly an officer of the Ukrainian army; he had arrived secretly from abroad, after having attended conferences in Berlin. (See *Izvestia*, 2 December, 1933.)

The joint conference of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Ukrainian Communist Party stated in its resolution: "In some of the republics of which the USSR is

composed, and especially in Ukraine, the chief menace at the present moment is the local nationalism." The seriousness of this menace may be judged by the changes in the personnel of the Soviet and Communist Party administration which had taken place after the discovery of Skrypnik's plot: "10,000 trusted and devoted comrades were sent to work in the Ukrainian kolhozy. Besides, 1,300 responsible posts in the district organisations were filled by tried Bolsheviks; 237 secretaries of district party committees, 249 chairmen of district executive committees and 158 chairmen of district control commissions were replaced by more reliable comrades." (See *Izvestia*, 27 November, 1933.) Thus, heads of all the Soviet and Communist Party organisations in charge of the local administration in the Ukrainian districts were dismissed and replaced by more faithful and reliable men.

Religious and nationalist forces, however, to a considerable extent keep outside the direct struggle against the Communist rule, because they pursue other aims. Religious people are yearning for God, and anything else can only favour or impede this yearning, but not supersede it. Separatists are striving to detach their countries from Russia, and therefore conditions in Russia do not concern them directly. The Communist Government presents great obstacles to the winning of religious or national freedom; but the obstacles are such that one may not only explode them, but also get round them or crawl over them.

Religious people, undoubtedly and ardently, crave for freedom of conscience. This desire has more than once resulted in stubborn political conflicts in Western Europe. But religious struggle sometimes fails to develop into political struggle, as was the case, for instance, in the Roman Empire at the dawn of Christianity. The religious prefer patiently, with many sacrifices and privations, to crawl over the high and steep rock that the Communists have erected on the path of religion, but not to blow it up. Their energy is directed almost entirely to meeting their religious needs under existing conditions; they do not strive to change these conditions. Religious people in Russia do not support the Soviet regime, but, as a rule, they do not fight it.

Similar is the attitude of the separatists. Moved by the desire to detach themselves from Russia, they are not particularly interested in the kind of political conditions prevailing in that country. Some of the separatists are inclined to regard Communism as a positive phenomenon. According to them, the terrible policy of the Soviet Government is useful for promoting a nationalist

movement, as this policy feeds discontent and spreads the desire for separation from Russia. Under any other form of Government the growth of separatist tendencies will be checked, and even may disappear. Therefore the longer the Communists retain the power, the better for the separatist movement.

People who have this idea, of course, do not want to fight Communism. These views are especially general among the Ukrainians. The great majority of nationalist politicians in White Russia, Central Asia, Georgia and Armenia think otherwise. They consider a struggle against the Soviets to be necessary, firstly because they will have no chance of achieving their aims so long as the Communists remain in the Kremlin, and, secondly, because the Soviet Government destroys their nations. Such politicians participate in the anti-Communist struggle, but their will is divided between their national aspirations and their anti-Communist political views.

The main fronts along which a direct fight against the Government is going on in Russia are economic and political. Those who take part in this fight realise that their desires, needs and aspirations cannot be achieved as long as the Communists retain their grip over Russia.

Usually, it is easy to distinguish economic struggle from political conflict. Under the Soviet regime, however, economics are indistinguishable from politics. This must be explained by the fact that the Communist dictatorship has concentrated in its hands not only all political but also all economic power, after exterminating all economically independent elements. According to the official statistics, 87 per cent. of the whole national income in 1932 was derived from the socialised section of the Russian national economy. In 1933 the socialised proportion had grown larger, and it can safely be stated that it now embraces not less than nine-tenths of the total national income. This means that, on the average, the livelihood of every nine persons out of ten depends entirely and directly on the Government, because the "socialised" sector of the national economy is managed exclusively by the Government.<sup>1</sup>

Under such conditions every attempt on the part of the population or of various social groups to increase their income comes into conflict with interests and policy of the Government and becomes a political action. On the other hand, acts of a political character, when carefully investigated, very often appear to have

<sup>1</sup> See the decree published on pp. 716-7.—ED.

been the results of a clash of purely economic interests. Economic and political threats are so closely interwoven in the social texture of modern Russia, that it is practically impossible to disentangle them. Thus, I shall have to describe the developments on both fronts—economic and political—jointly and simultaneously.

Let us, first of all, fix the two main types of the struggle—passive resistance and active fighting, and then describe the forms in which the latter expresses itself: popular disturbances, terrorist acts, and activities of secret anti-Soviet organisations.

It is usual to describe passive resistance exclusively as a weapon used by the peasants and to see in it the principal method to which they resort in their fight against the Soviets. This notion, generally speaking, is quite correct. The peasants, forcibly deprived of their economic freedom and independence and converted into bonded serfs of the State, have to work under constant supervision of Communist officials and surrender between one and two-thirds of their products to the Government, practically for nothing. Naturally, they refused to do their customary work. Owing to this, every kind of agricultural operation—ploughing, sowing and harvesting—is done slowly and very much delayed; cattle and horses, owing to the bad treatment and feeding, perish in large numbers; seed stored for next year's sowing is not looked after properly and gets damaged; fields go under snow unharvested, and so forth. It might be said that ninety millions of peasants are engaged in wholesale sabotage of the Soviet Government on a grandiose scale.

This struggle, uneventful and dull as its outward appearances may be, is, in fact, terribly tragic. It may best be described as a struggle up to the complete exhaustion of both sides. The peasants, underfed and even starving themselves, keep the Government and the town population in a state of strict and severe blockade. The results of this blockade can be expressed in figures. I will produce here one set of such figures, respecting the live-stock:—

On 1 Jan.			Horses.	Horned Cattle. (In million heads.)	Sheep.	Pigs.
1929	...	...	34·0	67·1	133·7	20·4
1933	...	...	16·7	38·6	47·0	12·2

The number of animals continued to decrease in 1933, but the exact figures are not yet available.

The Government is applying most energetic and severe measures to suppress passive resistance: peasants are expelled from kolhozy,

deported to concentration camps and shot *en masse*. Especially terrible were the massacres and persecutions in the North Caucasus : the Cossack population of this province was exterminated and deported to Siberia or to the northern provinces of European Russia. During the last year these persecutions were conducted with much vigour and severity. Political Departments attached to the sovhozy (State farms) and machine and tractor stations, were put in charge of these persecutions. They were invested with unrestricted power and authority not only over the managements of the kolhozy and sovhozy, but also over the local Soviet administration, and even the village Communist Party organisations—village cells—and the district party committees. These Political Departments were staffed by 15,000 Communists carefully selected for the purpose by a special Commission appointed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party under the chairmanship of Kaganovich, the second-in-command in the Party.

It seems that this measure brought some results. Anyhow, the grain collection in 1933 was completed three or four months earlier than in former years, and the area under autumn crops, for the first time during the last four years, has increased. But the final victory of the Soviets over the peasants is still remote. Passive resistance continues.

It is not the peasants alone, however, who resort to the formidable weapon of passive resistance. Industrial workers, Communists and members of the Communist League of Youth also employ it very frequently.

The most common form in which this weapon is used by the workers is the so-called "fluidity of labour" : in spite of strict regulations, workers leave the factories and industrial undertakings to which they are "tied," and wander all over the country in quest of better food and housing conditions, or return to their native villages.

The dimensions of this fluidity of labour may be judged by the example of the Donets Basin coal fields, which are the subject of constant attention of the Government. The average number of men employed in these coal fields is little over 200,000. In 1932, 423,000 men left the mines and 408,000 new workers were engaged. During the first three months of 1933, 59,000 men left and 60,000 were engaged (*Pravda*, 20 April, 1933). Since the end of 1932, skilled workers, technicians and even qualified engineers have also joined this army of wanderers.

Members of the Communist Party employ similar methods of

passive resistance. It has been discovered that between 1 January, 1931, and 1 April, 1933, 37,000 Party members whose names were entered in the register of the Ural province, left the province without reporting themselves (*Pravda*, 1 June, 1933); during the first half of 1933 the number of such "fugitives" was 15,600. As the total Communist Party membership in the provinces was about 200,000, at least 8 per cent. of the members played truant.

Truancy among members of the Communist League of Youth is apparently much greater and, besides, many young people leave the League altogether. There are good reasons for believing that, in 1933, several hundred thousand, i.e. at least 10 per cent. of the total membership, resigned from the League. These mass resignations were acts of passive protest against Stalin's "general line" and, especially, against the results which the Communist policy had brought about: famine in the richest provinces and semi-starvation in other parts of Russia.

There are elements of passive resistance in those mass disorders and disturbances which have taken place in Russia in 1933. Peasants, industrial workers, Red Army soldiers, were involved in these disturbances. During the six months between 13 April and 15 November, 1933, the Peasant Democratic Party received from its Russian correspondents thirteen reports on grave disorders in the villages, seven on troubles in the Red Army, and twenty-eight on disturbances in industrial centres.

Peasant disturbances occurred in the sovhozy and the kolhozy in North Caucasus, Georgia, Azerbaidzhan, and in the provinces of Kiev, Odessa and Ekaterinoslav. There were rumours of similar disturbances in Siberia, in the Volga provinces and in the Urals, but these rumours lack particulars. Most of the disturbances were provoked by the lack or absence of food products (in the sovhozy), by the unwillingness of the peasants to work in the fields, and by the refusal of the peasant women to give their cows for heavy agricultural work (a special government decree had been issued ordering the utilisation of cows as draught animals).

In many cases these disturbances were accompanied by murders of Soviet officials, destruction of property, looting of food stores, and so forth. The Government responded with confiscation of property, arrests, deportations and shootings.

The troubles in the Red Army were reported from Chita and Petrovsky Zavod (Siberia), Nikolayev, Zinovyevsk and Kherson. In May last there was serious trouble in Kronstadt among the sailors of the Baltic Squadron: hundreds of sailors were arrested

and 179 were sentenced to imprisonment in disciplinary battalions. In three cases the soldiers refused to obey orders to disperse crowds and quell civic disturbances. In one case (Sevastopol) the sailors of the Black Sea Squadron were involved in a bloody encounter with the OGPU troops.

Much more numerous were the disturbances in which industrial workers were involved. Our Russian correspondents reported ten cases of such disturbances in the Ural province, at many mines and factories in the Donetsk Basin, at eight of the largest factories in Leningrad, at Sormovo and Balakhna (near Nizhny Novgorod), at Ivanovo Voznesensk, in many towns of the Ekaterinoslav province, in Odessa, Kherson, Nikolayev and Western Siberia (Kuznetsk Basin). I happened to read a confidential report of the Ukrainian OGPU. According to this report, during the first two week of August, 1933, there were 22 street demonstrations in various Ukrainian towns; 13 times the OGPU mobile troops were called out to assist the police in dispersing crowds, 7 secret labour groups, which incited workers to strikes and street demonstrations, were discovered; and 1,028 workers accused of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda were arrested.

The intensity and seriousness of the labour troubles may be judged from the severe measures to which the authorities resorted for preventing and suppressing the disturbances. In April, 400 workers were arrested in Lugansk to prevent a general strike. In the Moscow province, during the first ten days of July, the police took passports from 2,000 workers, who were soon afterwards exiled to different places outside European Russia; on 23 July, about 300 workers were deported from Ekaterinburg (now Sverdlovsk) to compulsory labour camps near Krasnoyarsk (Siberia) for participation in a strike; in August, 68 workers were deported from Kichkass (Dneprostroy), 35 of them to concentration camps; on the 2nd and 3rd September, 37 workers were shot in Sverdlovsk for having taken part in a strike, and about 400 were deported to concentration camps; in September, 158 workers were deported from Ivanovo-Voznesensk to the Solovetsk camps, and 236 were exiled to the remotest parts of the Soviet Union.

The most common form of labour troubles is the "ca' canny" strike: workers come to the factories, but work badly or do not work at all. Latterly, however, reports of genuine strikes are coming in more frequently. In two cases (Stalino and Lugansk) general strikes were contemplated but were prevented by the authorities. In two cases (Ivanovo-Voznesensk and Artemovsk)

strikes took place at many factories simultaneously. Street demonstrations which took place in the Ukrainian towns were mentioned in the report of the Ukrainian OGPU which I have already quoted. Such demonstrations were reported also from the Urals, Novorossiysk and Artemovsk. These demonstrations were sometimes accompanied by meetings; sometimes they degenerated into looting of food stores. A two days' strike at the Stalingrad Tractor Works was accompanied by wrecking of machinery: 86 lathes, one steam hammer, two transmitting appliances, one expensive machine and a large number of tools were either damaged or destroyed. During a strike at the Kyshtym Works (the Urals), the workers murdered two responsible Communists, and beat the works manager and seven other Communists.

The most common cause of these strikes and disturbances is the breakdown of food supplies, but very often they go far beyond this immediate cause: "placards bearing slogans hostile to the Party and Government" appear, anti-Communist meetings are held, workers "get incited against the Party and the leaders." The shortage of food appears to be only a pretext of many of the troubles. Their chief cause is the bitter hatred which the workers feel towards the Soviet Government.

Thirty political assassinations, with 54 persons killed and 28 wounded, were reported by the Peasant Democratic Party correspondents in Russia during 1933. Attempts are made on the lives not only of individual Soviet agents, but of groups of them. One case was reported when a bomb was thrown at a detachment of the OGPU troops which was on its way to make domicile searches in the workers' houses in Sabanchi (near Baku). Two OGPU agents and three soldiers were killed and 11 persons injured by the explosion. In another case miners in the Donetsk Basin murdered a group of Communists who were sent down to the mines to enforce discipline on the workers.

In all other reported cases the victims were individual members of the Communist Party—agents of the OGPU, secretaries and members of the Party and Comsomol Committees, representatives of the Party control and "purging" commissions, officials in charge of grain collections, etc. Who were the assassins? An answer to this question is possible in 17 cases: industrial workers were responsible for the terrorist acts in eight cases, members of the Communist Party in three cases, a secretary of a Communist cell in one case, and in five cases the culprits were not discovered.

The existence of secret political organisations is mentioned in



twenty-five reports. As a rule, these organisations manifest their existence by issuing flyleaves. During the last year publication and distribution of such flyleaves was reported from fourteen cities and industrial centres: Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Kherson, Rostov-on-Don, Nizhny Novgorod, Novosibirsk, Orel, Odessa, Lugansk, Sverdlovsk, Omsk, Ekaterinoslav and Beloretsky Zavod (the Urals)

The confidential report of the Ukrainian OGPU mentions seven secret groups which organised strikes and demonstrations last August in Ukrainian towns. The existence of a secret organisation in Lugansk, composed of members of the Communist Party, was mentioned by Yaroslavsky in the speech which he delivered on 30 May at a Communist meeting in Moscow. In September, at the conference of secretaries of factory communist cells of the Moscow province, Kaganovich said that "numerous secret counter-revolutionary groups are inciting workers and rank-and-file communists against the Party, using as a pretext for their propaganda shortcomings in regard to food supplies."

Of what social elements are these anti-government groups composed? As a rule, of non-party workers and former members of the Communist Party and the Comsomol; but very often workers who still retain their party membership take an active part in these secret groups. A small number of intellectuals and Red Army officers also participate in the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist movement.

These secret societies are chiefly engaged in spreading anti-Soviet propaganda. But there are also terrorist groups, and groups which prepare and preach a public rising against the Government.

Such is a picture of revolutionary Russia. This picture is far from being complete, as space has allowed me to use not more than a third of the material I have in my possession. However, enough facts have been produced to allow us to arrive at some important conclusions.

There is no doubt of the existence of a strong anti-Soviet revolutionary movement in Russia. The fight is going on along religious, national, political and economic fronts. It is being conducted by elements representing all the principal social classes and groups of modern Russia—peasants, industrial workers, members of the Communist Party and the Communist League of Youth, and the Red Army soldiers. The struggle takes various shapes and employs various methods. The present regime is far from being stabilised. The authority of the Soviet Government

has not obtained the recognition of the people. Russia is still in revolutionary turmoil.

The facts and figures produced in this article throw little light on the actual dimensions of the conflict between the people and the Government. There is no doubt that these dimensions are far greater than one can judge on the basis of the material which has been at my disposal. But no one can at present give a full account, because the fight is going on in secrecy and because of the size of the country.

The forces engaged in the conflict are constantly changing. The characteristic feature of the last year was the relative decrease of political activities of peasants and the sharp increase in the number and intensity of labour troubles. The centres and the main forces of the anti-Soviet movement are passing from the country to the towns. Thus the struggle is getting more acute and its results will be more far-reaching.

So far the effectiveness of the conflict has not been large. This must be explained by the fact that the movement is not centralised, that there are no generally accepted objects and aims of the struggle, no popular slogans. The revolutionary forces still lack the conditions essential for ultimate victory.

There are many other reasons which make the anti-Soviet movement not as effective as it might be. It lacks material means and intellectual leaders. On the other hand, it is greatly hampered by the constant fear of betrayal so common and general under the Soviet dictatorship and by severe reprisals on the part of the Government, which is so ruthless in its methods of dealing with its political adversaries.

The Russian emigration, divided in its political views and struggling for its existence, is not a factor in the situation. The anti-Soviet forces in Russia can rely only on themselves in their fight against Communism.

*Prague, Czechoslovakia.*

SERGIUS MASLOV.

## MY CONTACTS AND CONFLICTS WITH LENIN<sup>1</sup>

### I.

IN order to understand the origin and development of Russian Marxism and to grasp its historical significance, it is necessary to realise clearly that the course of Russian historical development brought about a most peculiar relationship between Socialism and Liberalism. In all other countries Socialism grew up in the soil already prepared by the evolution of the régime of legality based on the principles of Liberalism and Democracy. It was so not only in England and France, but also in Germany and Austria. It was not so in Russia where, after the Decembrists,<sup>2</sup> who were as yet quite unaffected by the ideas and yearnings of Socialism, all the ensuing struggle for political reforms became closely intertwined with Socialist tendencies and ideas. And the maximum vigour and passion in the political struggle against the autocracy was, if not always, at least more often than not, shown and manifested by Socialists and Socialist currents. At the same time, the connection which existed between the political struggle against autocracy on one hand and Socialism and the Socialist movement on the other, raised in Russia some peculiar problems which, in such a sharp form, were unknown and even quite unthinkable in other European countries. Whereas freedom and democracy in their historical sources and manifestations had been linked up with "capitalist" civilisation and "bourgeois" social relations, and in their turn led to the flourishing of that civilisation and those relations, Russian Socialists who, as resolute and consistent advocates of their creed, were in principle hostile to the "bourgeois" régime and to "capitalist" civilisation, were faced with the question, whether the struggle for political freedom and democracy was not going to create in Russia those social forms and relationships which they as Socialists had to fight on principle and uncompromisingly. Would political reforms and even political revolutions after the Western European fashion be advantageous to the masses, or would they not rather be a source of danger for the cause of social emancipation and the Socialist organisation of those masses? This political problem was complicated for the Russian Socialists by another sociological problem: Were not the forms of social life and

<sup>1</sup> A chapter from Professor Struve's Memoirs now in course of preparation. See also *The Slavonic Review* for January 1934 —Ed.

<sup>2</sup> The leaders of the rising of December 1825.—Ed.

institutions which had always been regarded in Russia as traditional, namely, the natural self-sufficient peasant economy, the village community (*mir*), the *artel*, really embryos of Socialist structure, inspiring the most radiant hopes and therefore deserving to be guarded against the atrophy and ruin with which the onrush of Western European ideas and institutions was threatening them?

The origin of these problems had been historically determined by Russia's relatively late appearance on the scene of world civilisation and, accordingly, by the enormous part which the Socialist ideas borrowed from the West, played in Russian spiritual evolution, and they led to the formation of that social complex of theoretical ideas and practical tendencies which is known under the name of Russian Populism (*narodnichestvo*). From the short formula of its embryology which I have just given, it follows that in this specifically Russian form of Socialism there was inherent one fundamental contradiction, one real paradox: that the rôle which Socialism was to play in Russia, in her spiritual and political development, had been determined by Russia's spiritual and political backwardness, for it was that backwardness and it alone which prevented Russian Liberalism from developing and gaining ground—and yet all the calculations of Russian Socialism were built upon the backwardness and primitiveness of Russian social and economic conditions, which it regarded as "salutary."

This contradiction and this paradox must be fixed and borne in mind. They throw a striking light on the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the following years, and supply a criterion for its historical and sociological estimate.

Russian Populism assumed two forms, was of two varieties—the conservative and the revolutionary. Fundamentally, Slavophilism was nothing else but conservative Populism, permeated however with Liberal ideas and instinct with genuine respect and even love of freedom.

Revolutionary Populism had been an ideological creation of Herzen, Chernyshevsky and Lavrov, whose general sociological and political ideas fed all the subsequent revolutionary Populist literature. The economic doctrine of Populism, this peculiar variety of "Marxism," was created by a whole pleiad of economists who stood outside the academic world and among whom the most important and influential were Vasily Vorontsov (a physician by education) and Nikolay Danielson (accountant of one of the private banks in St. Petersburg). A place apart belonged to Mikhailovsky, who was neither an economist nor a publicist, but rather a sociologist

and philosopher—the most brilliant representative of Russian Radical journalism in the last 30 years of the 19th century. But in the nineties he had already lost his faith in Populism without, however, joining the ranks of Marxism, upon which he looked sceptically—in general, Mikhailovsky's mentality was rather that of a sceptic. In 1894<sup>3</sup> neither Vorontsov and Danielson nor Mikhailovsky were any longer young; in comparison with my contemporaries they belonged to the generation of "fathers."

Why and in what sense did I become a Marxist?

The eighties of the last century, which gave shape to the political consciousness of the men of my generation born in the early seventies,<sup>4</sup> were a period of political reaction which followed on the regicidal act of 1 (13) March, 1881,<sup>5</sup> and the utter defeat of the movement known as "The People's Will." With hearts aspiring for freedom, this reaction wounded and pained us. For in those years the dominant passion of educated Russian youth, in any case my own dominant and all-absorbing passion, had come to be *freedom*. In my childhood I had patriotic, nationalistic impulses, tinged with dynastic and at the same time with Slavophil sympathies, verging on hatred for the revolutionary movement. Ivan Aksakov and Dostoyevsky, as the author of *Diary of a Writer*, were then my principal heroes in the realm of ideas. From the mid-eighties I felt with a special, really passionate sympathy, in Slavophilism also, and in particular in the writings of Ivan Aksakov, a strong and clearly perceptible note of the love of freedom. The impulse to this was given by Aksakov's conflict with the censorship not long before his death, when the Press Department, in its warning to Aksakov's paper *Rus*, allowed itself to reproach its leader for "a lack of genuine patriotism." In our family everybody read with enthusiasm Aksakov's passionate and forceful answer to the censorship department, and in my case it acted as the warm or even hot breeze in which my own love of freedom finally matured.

About that time I began to see regularly *The Messenger of Europe*, the Westernising review founded by M. Stasyulevich as early as 1865. In my youth, from 1885 to 1900, next to the articles in *Rus*, for the most part belonging to Aksakov himself (but he died in 1886), the best specimens of Russian journalism dealing with domestic politics were to be found in the "Domestic Surveys" and

<sup>3</sup> The year of the accession of Nicholas II.—Ed.

<sup>4</sup> Among my contemporaries the following were born in the same year as I: Ivan Bunin, Vasily Maklakov, Vladimir Ulyanov-Lenin.

<sup>5</sup> The assassination of Alexander II on 1/13 March, 1881.—Ed.

"Chronicle of the Public," written by Constantine Arsenyev in *The Messenger of Europe*. I soon became Arsenyev's attentive and grateful reader, drawing from his articles both the material and the criteria for my political reflections and opinions. What attracted me in them was not their moderation, but their truthfulness and sobriety.

Next to Arsenyev's publicist writings I experienced the great and stimulating effect, both æsthetic and ideological, of the satires of Saltykov-Shchedrin who, after the suppression of the *Annals of the Fatherland* (*Otechestvennaya Zapiski*), contributed chiefly, though not exclusively, to the same *Messenger of Europe*.

In the first place I read and re-read his *Motley Letters*, this invective against the stagnating, deadening public reaction of the eighties, pervaded not so much with anger as with ironic sorrow and secret anguish. I delighted both in their ideas and their style, and felt profoundly disturbed and influenced by Shchedrin's hidden passion.

If, as a writer, I did feel any influence or ascendancy in my manner of writing, in my style, it was the influence and ascendancy of Ivan Aksakov and Saltykov-Shchedrin. Not that I consciously imitated them, but I did not merely take in their ideas and their utterances, I lived them through in the strict sense of a profound sympathetic experience, verging on agitation and possession. And these things never go for nothing, especially when one is young, when one's soul is fresh and plastic.

Love of freedom, passion for freedom were born in my heart with something like an elemental force when I was fifteen. In this respect I knew no inner struggle, and no tangible spiritual force opposed itself from outside to this inner process. I was thus a constitutionalist and a political Liberal before the problem of Socialism arose before my mind. Socialism presented itself to me as an important element of spiritual life in the historical development of Western Europe and Russia. It was necessary to take a definite attitude towards that element.

Was there an irreconcilable contradiction, or on the contrary, an essential harmony, between Liberalism and Socialism, between freedom and equality?

Social democracy seemed to solve this problem of correlation between political freedom and social equity, both theoretically, in idea, and emotionally, in practice. Just as naturally as in 1885 I had become, by passion and by conviction, a Liberal and a constitutionalist, so about three years later I became, but this time

by conviction only, a Social-Democrat. By conviction only; for Socialism, however it be understood, never inspired any *emotions* in me, still less a passion. It was simply by way of reasoning that I became an adept of Socialism, having come to the conclusion that it was a historically inevitable result of the objective process of economic development. Now I no longer think so—on the ground of all my economic studies<sup>6</sup> and all my life experience. But at that time that view of Socialism took shape in my mind under the influence of various impressions and varied readings. The principal part in the formation and consolidation of my views on economic evolution was played—to mention individual literary works—by the now almost forgotten book of Rudolf Meyer, *Der Emanzipationskampf des vierten Standes*—through the rich material of facts which I found in it

It was not, however, through any bookish influences that I became a “Marxist.” “Marxism” at that stage in the evolution of Russian life and Russian thought was not confined solely or even focused chiefly on the problem of Socialism. That Socialism would come and that one day it would triumph in the world at large, the most advanced elements in Russia had then no doubt at all. But the following two problems arose for Russia in view of her economic, social and political backwardness:—

1. Must our country, in order to approach to Socialism, evolve a capitalist regime, or could she, leaning upon her own institutions and forms regarded as pre-capitalist and anti-capitalist (such as the village community, *artel*, handicrafts), preserving and cultivating them, avoid the capitalist stage and pass straight from pre-capitalist forms and relations to Socialism?

But even that question was not really the most vital for the Russian progressives and in particular for the revolutionary-minded youth. The most vital, the most burning was another question, and it actually constituted the central problem of the incipient Russian Marxism, namely:—

2. What economic processes, what social relations and forces will determine the downfall of absolutism (autocracy), the conquest of civil and political liberties, the establishment of a constitutional regime?

For men of our generation, just as for the “*narodovoltsy*” (“The Will of the People”), Socialism was an abstract and remote ideal, while the struggle for civil and political liberties was a vital task.

<sup>6</sup> The writer is at once one of the most erudite and brilliant of Russian economists.—ED.

Next to that vital problem of the political liberation of Russia, and indissolubly bound up with it, stood another, not less vital economic problem: the raising of the whole country to a higher stage of economic development. This problem was raised and was being constantly brought back to mind by the miserable condition of peasant farming, which obviously did not depend solely on the insufficiency of peasant land-ownership or the so-called "lack of land," but was ultimately rooted in the low level of productive forces and the lack of the spirit of enterprise in peasant farmers. This was recalled to mind by periodic famines, partial and gradually losing acuteness, but, nevertheless, constantly recurring. The famine of 1891-92 in particular put before us all, in its full significance, the problem of agricultural productivity, the question of the connection between its level and the development of industry and all other sides of economic life.

Here are the two vital problems, the political and the economic, which went primarily to the making of Russian Marxism:—

I. How to conquer political freedom?

II. How to raise the economic life of the country to a higher stage which, realistically speaking, could not be conceived otherwise than as a transition to capitalist forms and relationships?

In the summer of 1890, I, then a twenty-year-old youth, had a chance—alas! with very limited means at my disposal—of going abroad. I visited Switzerland and Germany. It was the last year, or rather the last months, of Bismarck's emergency laws against the German Social-Democrats. They could not as yet hold public meetings, especially in North Germany. In the south things were already somewhat different. Here, for instance, in Stuttgart, there were meetings, and not only of the trade unions or cultural organisations, but political meetings, too. But Social-Democratic literature was still forbidden. I had made a provision of that literature in Switzerland, in Zürich, buying there a whole library of important Social-Democratic publications, and, with some cunning and ruses, I brought them over to Germany, whence, without any difficulty with the help of my brother who was on a scientific mission abroad, I had them transported to Russia. Thus I came into possession of a whole collection of contemporary Social-Democratic literature in the German language, the most complete surely, if not the only one, in St. Petersburg at that time. This first sojourn abroad as a grown-up man, the visiting of public meetings in Switzerland and Germany made a great impression on me and enriched me for ever with a vast store of observations and knowledge. I had no money



at the time to go to Geneva and further, to meet Plekhanov.<sup>7</sup> But a still more important obstacle in the way of meeting Russian Social-Democrat émigrés whom I knew through their writings was the absence of any introductions to them. And I had no wish to call on them without introductions.

At that time (I mean the period 1890-94) the Russian Social-Democratic doctrine, in its main lines, had been firmly laid down in the writings of the Russian émigré Social-Democrats, namely, Paul Axelrod, George Plekhanov,<sup>8</sup> and Vera Zasulich. We greedily swallowed their writings, and they exercised a great influence on us. Particularly great had been the influence and charm of Plekhanov's writings. But not all yielded equally to that influence. I, for my part, always thought the Social-Democratic orthodoxy too doctrinal and simplist. Plekhanov was a brilliantly gifted writer and an extremely forceful polemist, and as the author of *Our Differences* he played a very great part in laying down the basis of Russian orthodox Marxism.

Of the "legal" writers the greatest influence in the "Marxist" direction was exercised on us by Nikolay Sieber,<sup>9</sup> once a Reader in the University of Kiev. He was no longer alive when I came to be a "Marxist," and I did not know him personally. He was a pure scholar who, as far as I know, never believed in the social revolution achieved by political methods as prophesied and set forth by Karl Marx in the "Communist Manifesto" and later; he was a Marxist only in the sense of adhering to Marx's economic theory and his historical and sociological conceptions.

A great impression was made on me by the letters of Kavelin and Turgenev to Herzen, published in 1892 in Geneva by Draganov.<sup>10</sup> In my spiritual and political development the historical and political ideas formulated by Turgenev in that remarkable correspondence and directed against Russian Populism, both in its

<sup>7</sup> The founder of Russian Social Democracy.—ED.

<sup>8</sup> In the chapter of my Memoirs dealing with Rodichev (*see* the preceding number of the *Review*, page 347) Plekhanov's name has been misprinted as "Gregory."

<sup>9</sup> Of Sieber and his thesis on Ricardo and Marx, of which the first edition appeared in Kiev in 1871, Marx himself speaks with the greatest respect in the preface to the second edition of his *Capital*. Let me recall here that the first European language into which Marx's *Capital* was translated was Russian—this translation appeared as early as 1872, before the second edition of the German original. The beginning of that translation was made by none other than Bakunin, whom Marx held to be his greatest personal enemy and who, nevertheless, was a great admirer of Marx's scholarship.

<sup>10</sup> These remarkable letters exist in a German translation published by Professor Th. Schiemann.

conservative and its revolutionary variant, constituted one of the most important determining influences. Turgenev's intuition dealt a severer blow to the "Populist" ideology, hit it with more point and sureness than any economic "considerations" and sociological "constructions." Turgenev's letters to Herzen had an enormous effect on me—and perhaps on other representatives of our generation, too—by their soberness and the honesty of the historical and political ideas contained in them. Potugin's sociological aphorisms, well familiar to us from Turgenev's novel, *Smoke*, appeared before our minds in their genuine significance: a conflict of such minds as the author of *My Past and Thoughts* (we read those memoirs of Herzen as a work of art and as a social and political document) and the author of *Rudin*, *The House of Gentlefolk*, *On the Eve*, *Fathers and Sons*, *Smoke*, and *Virgin Soil*, unfolded itself before us as a real drama of ideas. The impression produced by the great artist's posthumous but living voice raising the same questions which agitated us, and addressed to the first Russian publicist of his time, was exceptionally powerful. The "illegal" little volume of the foreign edition of Kavelin's and Turgenev's letters to Herzen, with detailed and intelligent comments of Dragomanov, was not just read: the intellectual *élite* of those days simply revelled in reading them.

Of great importance for myself and other young men, who, like me, were carried away by German Social-Democracy and its successes, were the writings of the Russian-Ukrainian historian and publicist, Michael Dragomanov, the first sober and yet unflinching publicist among the Russian émigrés who firmly advocated the principle of the struggle for political freedom and democratic institutions and rejected the very idea of "social revolution" carried out by extra-legal violent methods. In my student years I was already an assiduous reader of Dragomanov's works.

To what extent the problems of Russia's economic and social development, in connection with that of the conquest of political freedom, possessed our minds and hearts, it is now difficult even to imagine for those who did not go through that movement of ideas. I was absorbed by the intellectual working out of those problems to such an extent that all other questions were relegated far to the background.

It was not only brain work. It actually meant giving oneself up to a single big problem, theoretical and practical at the same time. As a rule, I never wrote easily except in a state of a certain possessedness, inspiration if you like. It was in such a state of possessedness

that I wrote the most significant pages of my book *Critical Observations on the Problem of Russia's Economic Development*. The writing of that book was on my part a fulfilment of some moral (as well as political) command and a realisation of some call.

In the process of thinking out and writing my first book the greatest importance for me attached to my intercourse with two men who became my friends, although outside our intellectual and public, that is, political, experiences we had no interests or even distractions in common. They were D. V. Stranden and A. N. Potresov, whom I will describe in another chapter of these "Memoirs."

My book, published in September 1894,<sup>11</sup> had a very great success, and within a few weeks turned me from a "promising" young student, hardly known to anyone outside a very limited circle of the Petersburg intelligentsia (at that time I had not yet graduated from the University), into a well-known writer who at once became "the principal representative . . . of legal Marxism" of that period, at least according to Lenin.<sup>12</sup> The main ideas of my *Critical Observations* can be summed up as the negation, philosophically and sociologically demonstrated, of the Populist theory of Russia's original economic development and the assertion that Russia had long ago set out on the path of capitalist development and that it was the only path of genuinely progressive development of her economic life and her political and cultural "superstructures."

Thus, objectively speaking, all my considerations, economic and sociological, with regard to Russia proved to be an "*apology of capitalism*," of which the Populist economists and publicists, Vorontsov ("V.V.") and Danielson ("Nikolay-On"), at once began to accuse me. These Populist attacks had, however, been aimed before at my German articles written in the same spirit in connection with the famine of 1891-92 and published in the well-known weekly *Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt*, founded by the Social-Democrat Heinrich Braun; those articles had anticipated my Russian book of 1894.

<sup>11</sup> In the spring of 1894, when I was writing my book and passing the State examination, after a search, lasting for many hours, in my room piled with books and papers, I was arrested and spent a short time—19 days—in preliminary confinement. When I was arrested I thought that my Social-Democratic connections had been disclosed, and was puzzled to know how far the police were informed of them. In reality, my arrest was concerned with affairs with which at the time I had nothing to do personally.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. his preface to the collection of articles *For Twelve Years*, Petrograd, 1919, p. iii, *ibid.*, p. xvii, where as a synonym of "legal Marxism" Lenin uses the word "Struvism."

In the evolution of world economic thought my book was, so far as my knowledge of the literature of the subject permits me to say, the first manifestation of what later came to be known as Marxist or Social-Democratic "Revisionism." Its principal and most influential mouthpiece later on was Eduard Bernstein, who died not so long ago. I met Bernstein two years after the publication of my book and recall with pleasure and gratitude my intercourse with this clever, well-educated and extremely tactful man.

In accordance with the doubly critical attitude which I took in my first book, in the preface to it I drew a line between my own position and Marxist orthodoxy, while I ended with a challenge to Russian Populism in an aphorism that obtained a wide currency and became, in a sense, proverbial: "*Let us admit our lack of culture and undergo the capitalist schooling.*"

My German articles were little accessible to the great majority of Russian readers. Why did I begin working out those problems in a foreign language and in foreign publications? Simply because such short articles could not then be printed in Russia through a kind of double censorship; they could not pass through the Government preliminary censorship, but—and this is much more important—in general there were as yet no organs of the Press, whether subjected or not to the preliminary censorship, which would consent to print "Marxist articles," as going against the grain of the accepted economic and sociological opinions of the Russian Socialists, Radicals and Liberals. The only way of expressing one's thoughts was to publish a whole book of more than 160 pages, in which case it could appear without passing through the preliminary censorship. I managed to raise the funds necessary for the printing of such a book, but I was very much afraid that it would never pay its way. What, then, was my surprise when in two weeks' time the whole impression of 1,200 copies was sold out! It was being bought both by those who sympathised with its views and still more by those who were opposed to them.

When I published my first book, the path of my spiritual and political development and of my whole activity crossed the path of another man who then also stood in the ranks of Marxism and was already, to a much greater extent than I, a disciple of Marx and Plekhanov. This man was absolutely alien to me by his mentality. But although, because of this, I never was and never could be on terms of personal intimacy with him, my intellectual intercourse with this man, especially during many winter hours of 1894-95, gave me enough to go upon for a direct intuitive under-

standing and estimate of his personality. I mean Vladimir Ulyanov-Lenin.

I made his acquaintance through the engineer technologist, Robert Klasson,<sup>18</sup> whom I had met in the course of my ideological and practical contacts with members of the circles then organising a rather crude and cautious, and yet very dangerous, social-democratic propaganda among the workers of St. Petersburg. These men were (I name them in the order of my personal acquaintance with them): D. V. Stranden, V. V. Bartenev, V. S. Golubev, M. I. Brusnev, A. N. Potresov, V. V. Starkov, L. B. Krasin. All the above-named used to visit me in my room in Mme. Kalmykov's flat, approached through her bookstore, where numerous people of various standing and professions used to come. With Stranden, who has a place in the history of the Russian social-democratic workers' movement as a member of Brusnev's organisation, I had been acquainted long since, even prior to my University days: we had been to the same school, and Stranden was a school-fellow of my elder brother Michael. But the initiative of my introduction to the propaganda among the workers belonged not to Stranden, but to Bartenev and Golubev. That I did not then take a more active part in that propaganda and was not arrested as early as 1891 and have thus, as it were, remained outside "practical" social democratic work, was due to chance, namely to the discovery and arrest of Golubev. The necessary precaution on those visits to the "workers" had been Golubev's large, and yet ordinary and "democratic" fur coat. One could not possibly visit the workers in student's uniform or in the careless and shabby mufti of the "Radical" for fear of attracting the attention of the open and secret agents of the police. Yet the loss of Golubev, arrested in the spring of 1891, involved also the loss of his fur coat. Then, towards the end of 1891, I fell seriously ill (it was a grave case of pneumonia), and after a time in hospital went abroad, where I stayed for over a year and where I wrote and published (in German) my first economic articles in the "Marxist" spirit.

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While writing and printing my book I showed the manuscript and the proofs to Potresov. He was much more influenced than myself by Plekhanov, and was thus attracted by Socialism, not only

<sup>18</sup> Klasson obtained with my help the post of electrotechnician at the Okhta Powder Works belonging to the War Office.

abstractly and rationally, but also emotionally, whereas my attitude to it was even then rather cool. I was interested in Socialism chiefly as an ideological force, which, according to the adoption of this or that sociological conception of Russia's development, could be turned either for or against the conquest of civil and political liberties. For me this question was solved fairly simply. What I held to be inviolable in Marxism was the principle that, if Socialism was possible as a "progressive" phenomenon, it was so only through capitalism, as the ripe and lawful fruit of the latter. This was, of course, the very profound conviction of all Russian Marxists, from Sieber, Axelrod and Plekhanov to Ulyanov-Lenin—until he came to power. But in my case this conviction had a different emotional connotation from Plekhanov and the other founders of the "Liberation of Labour" group or such Social Democrats as Potresov or, still more, Ulyanov-Lenin. They were all much more Socialists than I.

In fact, in the persons of Ulyanov-Lenin and myself, two irreconcilable conceptions came to a clash—irreconcilable morally, as well as politically and socially. Each of us felt this at the time, but only vaguely; it was only later that we realised it clearly. And it was not an accident that the first important printed Marxist work of Lenin was his detailed criticism of my first book, which in size fell only a little short of my own book.

I have already mentioned that in those days, well-nigh fifty years ago, we, the young Russian intelligentsia, were seized and possessed by two moral and spiritual forces. One of them I will describe—for myself and for my part—as *love of freedom*.

Now, having grown wiser through experience, after living through a great historical epoch, after thinking out a great number of historical problems, I see clearly whence that love of freedom and aspiration for it sprang up in our case. It was born of the enormous wealth of Russian spiritual and cultural life, which obviously ceased to fit the traditional legal and political framework of autocracy, or absolutism, even if enlightened. We wanted freedom of speech and of the Press, freedom of meeting, freedom to raise political and social questions; finally, we wanted the "public" to be given a responsible share in the life of the State, in political life. We yearned for freedom, and the life of the State was then marked by a convinced, consistent and thorough-going reaction, which was positively formulated by the notorious Prince Meshchersky, who could on occasion be quite witty, in his demand "to

set a full stop" after the reforms of Alexander II; negatively, it inspired to Saltykov-Schedrin in his *Motley Letters* the satirical image of a secret association of "*anti-Reform rebels*," who dreamed rather comically of the complete restoration of the pre-Reform régime.

But, apart from this love of freedom, born of the wealth of spiritual life of the topmost layer of the Russian educated class, then already large and constantly growing, we, that topmost layer, and especially its younger folk, had constantly present in our minds one invariable thought—the thought of the people. Did we love that mystical and mythical being, that *corpus mysticum*—the "people?" Of course many of us did, but in any case all those who really, and sometimes passionately, loved freedom and longed for it, in the first place for themselves, had constantly present in their minds the *thought of the people*. The poor and ignorant people. It was such. And we wanted it to be prosperous and enlightened.

It was, then, from that love of freedom and yearning for it for oneself, and that thought of the poor and ignorant people which was to be made prosperous and enlightened, that the public movement of the nineties sprang up or rather revived. It differed from the movement of the seventies known as "going to the people" in that its real love, its passion, its pathos, in the case of the great majority of intelligentsia, was not equality, not Socialism, but *freedom*. Never since the days of the Decembrists did the torch of the love of freedom burn so brightly in the Russian public as towards the end of Alexander III's reign and at the beginning of that of Nicholas II, and never had the thought of the people been so complex as in that period. Many of us did realise fairly clearly that the freedom which we, the topmost educated layer, held so dear, even though it was necessary for the "people," in itself had perhaps little attraction for them, and that on the other hand the improvement of their plight and conditions of life was an extremely complicated problem which could not be solved by purely political methods. It was, further, clear that in order to conquer freedom, that is, to solve the political problem, it was necessary not only to stick to the people's needs and aspirations, but also to find a solid foothold in the life of the people, and first of all in its economic life.

I have already said that our generation had been greatly impressed by the famine of 1891-92. Those impressions gave birth

to that movement of public thought which came to be known as "legal Marxism." I emphasise the fact that it was born not from books but from impressions of life. It is true that a more or less harmonious "Marxian" theory of Russian economic, social and political development had already been created outside Russia, among the then political émigrés, who were not numerous and quite out of touch with Russia, namely in the works of Plekhanov and Axelrod. But that theory, despite all the talents of its creators, was a product of the émigré circles; it was not connected with fresh and direct impressions of life. The younger generation received such impressions from the famine of 1891-92.

From the impressions of that year was born a new theory of Russian social and, above all, economic development. As distinct from the Populist and Liberal theories, that theory (my "legal Marxism") maintained that the hard plight of the people was due neither to the peasants' lack of land nor to the blunders of the government policy. The "Marxist" thesis was quite different; it said that the root of the evil in general, and particularly of the periodical famines which ravaged Russia, lay in the general *economic and cultural backwardness* of the country. We fully accepted the idea which Marx had once applied to Germany, namely that we were suffering not from the development of capitalism, but from its insufficient development. In maintaining this thesis, we realised, some of us vaguely, others clearly, that our conception, Socialists and revolutionaries as we young folk then were, was related to a vital and influential tradition in the economic policy of the State and to the powerful political and social forces that were contemporary to us. Indeed, the ripening of our ideas in the early nineties coincided with the apogee of that exceedingly clever and powerful Russian "Protectionism," whose apostle was the great Russian chemist Mendeleyev, the author not only of the "Periodic system," but also of the Russian customs tariff of 1891, for which he wrote a commentary and an apology under the title *A Sensible Tariff*. Witte, then still a young man, was carried away by the same ideas and began to bring them into action. Both Mendeleyev and Witte were admirers and followers of Friedrich Liszt.

Many of us were rather frightened off than comforted by this coincidence with the bourgeois-nationalist ideas. I remember clearly how, urged by Potresov, I struck out of my book a sentence containing a sympathetic reference to Russian Protectionism as put forth by Mendeleyev and carried out by Bunge, Vyshnegradsky and Witte.



The vindication of the industrial and general economic policy, of that planting of capitalism which was carried out by Mendeleyev and Witte, was based in our "Marxism" on a harmonious historical and sociological conception which was emotionally fed by our indomitable love of freedom. An important feature of Russian "legal Marxism" was its interest in the agrarian problem. Here I must dwell on the original and almost forgotten personality of one of the founders of Russian "legal Marxism"—Alexander Ivanovich Skvortsov, who was Professor of the Economics of Agriculture in Novaya Alexandria (in Russian Poland, formerly and now again called Pulawy) and who anticipated Stolypin's agrarian policy. Of myself I can say that Marx's *Capital* had no more influence on me than Skvortsov's huge, half-agronomical dissertation entitled *The Influence of Steam Transport and Agriculture* (Moscow, 1890). In economic theory Skvortsov was a real Marxist, that he is stuck firmly to the so-called labour theory of value and capital. At the same time he was apparently not a Socialist at all. In his political views he was a constitutionalist, a nationalist, and a monarchist. In religion he was a faithful member of the Orthodox Church and acted as churchwarden of the church of the Agricultural Institute at Novaya Alexandria: standing behind the candle-counter, he would sell candles to his pious co-parishioners. He came from the people, but had assimilated much of European culture, read several foreign languages easily and even wrote freely in German.

As a student, impressed by Skvortsov's book, which I still regard as a classical work and an ornament of Russian economic literature, I began to propogate it among my fellow students and engaged in a lively and scientific correspondence with its author. Skvortsov informed me that he had written, on the lines that were common to us both, a long article on the causes of famines in Russia. That article had been rejected by the review *The Northern Messenger*, published at that time by Mme. Lyubov Gurevich under the actual editorship of Akim Flekser-Volynsky. By the wish of Skvortsov I offered his article to Stasyulevich's *Messenger of Europe*. But there, too, Skvortsov's article was rejected. This episode of Skvortsov's article illustrates my view as stated above on the inner censorship which lay heavily on all anti-Populist thought in Russia. After this failure I persuaded Potresov, who had considerable personal means, to publish Skvortsov's essay in book form. It appeared, if I am not mistaken, soon after my book, under the title *The Economic Causes of Famines in Russia and Steps to Avoid them* (St. Petersburg, 1894). The main argument of Skvortsov's book, which at the end

of the 19th century was a most significant anticipation of Stolypin's agrarian reform, ran thus :—

“ The economic condition of our peasantry, especially of the central black-soil regions, is such that famines threaten to become chronic. The causes of this fact are to be sought not only in the smallness of the peasant allotments and in the burden of payments that weighs upon them, but also in the modern methods of communal land-tenure . . . and in the disproportionate size of the settlements and the length of the strips due to this. This communal land-tenure, with its re-partitions, its strip system and the compulsory cultivation based on these, precludes any improvement of the agricultural technique. . . . A radical improvement of the economic plight of the peasantry of the central region, assuming the maintenance of communal land-tenure in its present form, is not to be achieved either by the additional acquisition of land on the spot or by migration of the surplus of agricultural population to outlying parts of the Empire. . . . The salvation of peasant farming lies in the transition to a more rational system of agriculture. . . . In order to make such a transition possible, it is necessary to make a radical alteration in the existing use of communal lands, in the sense of abolishing all re-partitions and re-allotments altogether and giving each farmer the use of a certain area of at least the arable land which, forming an indivisible farm, will be transferred by will, as such, without any parcellation ” (pp. 179-182).

That current in Russian Marxism which was represented most completely in my book, and most strikingly in that of Skvortsov, was attacked on two sides: by the orthodox Marxism, whose mouthpiece was my contemporary Vladimir Ulyanov-Lenin, and by the Populist Marxism. Let me begin with the latter.

The Populist Marxists, especially V. P. Vorontsov (“ V.V.”), branded Skvortsov and myself as stupid and pernicious bourgeois, describing our ideas as follows :—

“ The theoretical renunciation of Marx has also led to the negation of practical conclusions arising out of his theory. Whereas, according to Marx, the transformation of the capitalist society into a collectivist is to be a natural result of the utmost development of large capitalism, breaking all the population of the country into two groups—the small group of the exploited and the large mass of exploiters—Messrs. Struve and Skvortsov preach a policy which would create in Russia a small bourgeoisie, an economically strong peasantry, the rise of which ‘ will finally take away the substance from all the Populist dreams ’ (including the dreams of the Populist Marxists, for a non-Struvist Marxist is also, after all, a Populist, only a deferred one, so to speak), for it will ‘ bring about the coincidence, most dangerous for them, between the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie and an economically strong peasantry.’ . . .

Thus, being theoretically representatives of the bourgeois economic school, practically the said writers are typical though moderate bourgeois."<sup>14</sup>

As to orthodox Marxism, it was in a different position with regard to that form of critical Marxism which found its expression in my book and in Skvortsov's work. We were at least its allies in fighting Populism. There could also be no doubt—in any case as regards myself—that I was both an adversary of autocracy and (then!), to some considerable extent, a Socialist. These considerations determined, on both sides, the need for a friendly co-operation between the two different currents of Russian Marxism. This Russian Marxism was by no means a homogeneous conception, as it is now understood by many when they speak of "Marxism." In the doctrine of Marx himself there are, of course, contradictory and incompatible elements; they are to be found namely in Marx's historical and sociological theory of economic and social revolution. There was in that doctrine an evolutionary historical element rooted deep in history, essentially conservative and going back, as I later showed, to the influence, on one hand, of Joseph de Maistre (through Saint-Simon and his disciples) and on the other to the historical school of jurisprudence (Savigny-Puchta). But at the same time there was in Marx's conception and doctrine a revolutionary element; for Marx was a political revolutionary, who did, in fact, dream both of a violent democratic revolution and of a "dictatorship of the proletariat" in a democratic republic, a dictatorship exercised for the purpose of implanting Socialism. In the person of Lenin the absolutely and irreconcilably revolutionary Marxism opposed itself to my own and Skvortsov's Marxism as an evolutionary historical doctrine.

<sup>14</sup> "V.V." (V. P. Vorontsov). *Essays in Theoretical Economics*. SPB 1895. Essay Four: "Russian Marxism," chapter II, "Bourgeois Marxism," pp. 284-85. This quotation shows that the term *Struism* had been put into circulation by the Populists in their polemics with me and was later borrowed from them by the orthodox Marxists who fought me, and among others by Lenin. It is characteristic of the violence of the polemics of those days that Vorontsov called me an ignoramus and a "self-styled economist," and compared Skvortsov's book on famines with a leaflet of some madman, published about the same time (as far as I remember, he was an architect and his name was Thibaut de Brignoles) under the title *Socialism as the Direct Cause of Degeneration of Peasant Horses and Indirect Cause of Untimely Rainfalls from the Middle of August* (by Socialism the author meant communal land-tenure!) Yet Vorontsov, who knew me personally, was well aware that I was not an ignoramus, and that Skvortsov in opposing communal land-ownership was picking up the thread of a long and serious tradition of Russian economic and agronomic thought which had been felt throughout the 19th century.

One autumn or winter day in 1894, in Klasson's apartments at Okhta (a suburb of St. Petersburg, on the right bank of the Neva, practically opposite the Smolny Institute), I met Vladimir Ulyanov-Lenin. Of that meeting Lenin wrote as follows in 1907, reprinting his criticism of my book from the Marxist miscellany, *Materials for an Outline of Our Economic Development*, suppressed by the censorship:—

“At the basis of my article against Mr. Struve was laid the paper read by me in the autumn of 1894 in a small Marxist circle. The group of Social-Democrats, who were then working in Petersburg and who founded a year later the Union for fighting for the liberation of the working class, was represented in that circle by St.,<sup>15</sup> R.<sup>16</sup> and myself. Of the legal Marxist writers there were P. B. Struve, A. N. Potresov and K.<sup>17</sup> In that circle I read a paper entitled ‘The Reflection of Marxism in Bourgeois Literature.’ As may be seen from the title, the controversy with Struve was here infinitely more violent and definite (in its social-democratic conclusions) than in the article printed in the spring of 1895. That article had been toned down, partly for censorship reasons, partly for the sake of ‘alliance’ with legal Marxism with a view to a common struggle against Populism.”<sup>18</sup>

The above-mentioned miscellany was published at the expense of Potresov in the spring of 1895; its compilation and printing were jointly supervised, in a very friendly spirit, by Potresov and myself. As a big volume (I think it had no less than 500 pages) it was not subject to the preliminary censorship; but it was held up by the censorship, and by a resolution of the Committee of Ministers, as was then the habit, it was condemned to be destroyed. We succeeded in saving about a hundred copies, and one of them was sent at the time to the Library of the British Museum, where every student can now easily find it.

Lenin's paper was, of course, shorter than his article. The latter was, in fact, a little book, which it was impossible either to

<sup>15</sup> Vasily Starkov.

<sup>16</sup> Stepan Radchenko.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Klasson. [The initials have been disclosed by me. But Klasson could by no means be described as a writer. Besides, neither Potresov nor myself were at that time simply “writers” who could be opposed, as such, to practical revolutionaries. At that time I was the most discredited in the eyes of the police. Formally I was still under the so-called “judicial supervision of the police,” and therefore even my movements were restricted. In 1907 Lenin made our figures suit the relations which had become finally consolidated 13 years after our first meeting.]

<sup>18</sup> I quote this article of Lenin from the 1919 edition in the miscellany published in Petrograd: Vl. Ilyin (N. Lenin). *For 12 Years*. Collection of articles. Two currents in Russian Marxism and Russian Social-Democracy, p. v.

discuss or even to read in one evening. Perhaps I am mistaken; but I do not think that Lenin read the whole of his article in the circle which he mentions. As far as I remember, after having read a concise summary of his article to the above-named group of people, Lenin read the whole of it to me alone in my room on the Liteiny. He did so with a definite practical object, which we had in common, namely, to make possible its appearance, together with my reply to my critics, in the proposed miscellany. That reading, which demanded not merely attentive, but even strenuous listening on my part, and was interrupted by conversations which often assumed the form of long and lively discussions, took several evenings.

The impression which Lenin at once made on me—and which remained with me all my life—was an unpleasant one.

It was not his brusqueness that was unpleasant. There was something more than an ordinary brusqueness, a kind of mockery, partly deliberate and partly irresistibly organic, breaking through from the inmost depths of his being, in Lenin's way of dealing with those on whom he looked as his adversaries. And in myself he sensed at once an adversary, even though then I stood still fairly near to him. In this he was guided not by reason, but by intuition, by what hunting people call "flair." Later on I had much to do with Plekhanov. He, too, had a brusqueness verging on mockery in dealing with people whom he wanted to strike or to humble. Yet, compared with Lenin, Plekhanov was an aristocrat. The way in which they both treated other people could be described by the untranslatable French expression "*cassant*." But in Lenin's "*cassant*" there was something intolerably plebeian and at the same time something lifeless and repulsively cold.

A great number of people shared with me that impression of Lenin. I shall mention only two of them, and very different they were: Vera Zasulich and Michael Tugan-Baranovsky. Vera Zasulich, the cleverest and subtlest of all the women I have ever met in my life, felt an antipathy for Lenin verging on physical aversion—their subsequent political quarrel was due not only to theoretical or tactical differences, but to the profound dissimilarity of their natures.

Michael Tugan-Baranovsky, with whom for many years I was on very close terms, used to tell me with his wonted *naïveté*, for which many people unjustly thought he was simply stupid, about his irresistible antipathy for Lenin. Having known, and even been

on close terms with Lenin's brother, Alexander Ulyanov, who was executed in 1887 for preparing an attempt against Alexander III, he used to point out, with amazement which verged on horror, what a different man Alexander Ulyanov had been from his brother Vladimir. The former, with all his moral purity and firmness, was an extremely gentle and tactful man, even in dealing with strangers and enemies, while the latter's brusqueness really amounted to cruelty.<sup>19</sup>

Truly, in his attitude to his fellow-men Lenin breathed coldness, contempt and cruelty. To me it was clear even then that in those unpleasant, even repulsive, qualities of Lenin, lay also the pledge of his power as a politician: he always had in view nothing but his objective towards which he marched, firm and unflinching. Or rather, there always was, before his mental eyes, not one objective, more or less distant, but a whole system, a whole chain of them. *The first link in that chain was power in the narrow circle of his political friends.* Lenin's brusqueness and cruelty—this became clear to me almost from the outset, from our first meeting—was psychologically indissolubly bound up, both instinctively and deliberately, with his indomitable love of power. In such cases it is, as a rule, difficult to determine which is at the service of which, whether the love of power is at the service of an objective task or a higher ideal that a man has set up for himself, or on the contrary, that task or that ideal are mere means of quenching the insatiable thirst for power.

I have just described the most striking feature in Lenin which was revealed to me from the very first time I met him. It was cruelty in that most general philosophical sense in which it can be opposed to gentleness and tolerance for men and for everything human, even when it is inconvenient and unpleasant or even repulsive to us personally. Lenin was absolutely devoid of any spirit of compromise in that Anglo-Saxon moral or social sense, such a striking expression of which is to be found in John Morley's famous treatise *On Compromise*. By the way, that treatise had been at the time translated into Russian by a Radical lady writer, Mme. Tsebrikov, and it made on me, in my youth, a very great impression. Ever since, I always use every opportunity of recommending it to young folk who want to think out their attitude to problems of moral and social philosophy.

In accordance with this dominant feature in Lenin's character, I

<sup>19</sup> It was also the impression of Vasily Vodovozov who recently committed suicide in Prague. He used to know Alexander Ulyanov as his fellow student at the University, and he has stated his impression in print.

at once perceived that his principal *Einstellung*—to use the now popular German psychological term—was *hatred*.

Lenin took to Marx's doctrine primarily because it found response in that principal *Einstellung* of his mind. The doctrine of the class war, relentless and thoroughgoing, aiming at the final destruction and extermination of the enemy, proved congenial to Lenin's emotional attitude to surrounding reality. He hated not only the existing autocracy (the Tsar) and the bureaucracy, not only the lawlessness and arbitrary rule of police, but also their antipodes—the "Liberals" and the "bourgeoisie." That hatred had something repulsive and terrible in it; for, being rooted in the concrete, I should even say animal, emotions and repulsions, it was at the same time abstract and cold like Lenin's whole being. Once, in the late nineties, Potresov was talking to me about Lenin and drew my attention to the enormous self-discipline which that man, full of cruelty and pervaded with hatred, showed in some trivial things of everyday life. "Out of asceticism he will refuse an extra glass of beer," said Potresov then. And I thought there and then, and somehow expressed it, I think, to Potresov, that it was precisely this that was so terrible. The terrible thing in Lenin was that combination in one person of actual self-castigation, which is the essence of all real asceticism, with the castigation of other people as expressed in abstract social hatred and cold political cruelty. It seems practically certain that Lenin died from after-effects of syphilis: but in any case this must in my opinion have been a purely accidental matter. The notion of licentiousness, in the French sense of either *débauche* or *libertinage*, does not fit in at all with Lenin's psychological personality. Even from the religious point of view, his personality does not raise the problem of the banal sinfulness of an average man or of the excessive liberty, liberty from all restraints and fetters, or practically licentiousness, of a superman, but rather the problem of a rational and diabolical righteousness. It is just as much poles apart from Christ's saintliness as the fantastic figure of Antichrist is from the historical figure of Christ. For me these characteristics are not abstract reflections, but a certain sediment of all that I felt and experienced at the time when my intercourse with Lenin was most intensive and when I used to drive away those thoughts and images as mental checks and complications to the intercourse which, for the sake of its potential political utility, I regarded both as morally obligatory for myself and politically indispensable for our cause.

As I have already said, Lenin's criticism of my ideas in 1894

strated, and that "natural-economic" or pre-capitalist "overpopulation," which I had once laid at the basis of my estimate of the Russian agrarian régime at the end of the 19th century, has been restored, after the abolition of capitalism by the Bolsheviks, in a still more pronounced form. Under the name of "agrarian overpopulation," it has become, according to Soviet economists themselves, the constant and fundamental feature of the Soviet agrarian régime, which has been completely freed, through social abolition and physical extermination, from the "rule of capital" and "bourgeois exploitation."<sup>22</sup>

PETER STRUVE.

(*To be continued.*)

<sup>22</sup> The well-known agronomist and economist, Brutzkus, has pointed out with great insistency (*see* his article in *Sbornik statey posvyashchennykh P. B. Struve*, Prague, 1925, p. 63) how right I was in my estimate of the Russian agrarian crisis. I have the more pleasure in noting it as B. D. Brutzkus is a most able disciple of the late A. I. Skvortsov, whom I now, after forty years, still regard more than before as my close ally in the conception of Russian economic and social development.



# RACIAL AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK CENSUS

## I.

THE population of Czechoslovakia is rapidly increasing. Whereas in 1880 the same area had 11,000,000 inhabitants and at the end of 1910 almost 13,600,000, it now has over 15,000,000. The results of the last census, of 1 December, 1930, are only now being published, owing to the great complexity of the racial and religious conditions. On that day the Republic had 14,729,536 inhabitants, of whom 10,674,386 lived in the Czech Lands (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia), which, in culture and economy, are very much the same as the West of Europe, whereas the Eastern half of the republic (comprising Slovakia and "Carpathian Ruthenia") had only about 4,000,000 inhabitants. It would take too much space to describe in detail the development of the population in each of the four provinces: it must suffice to draw attention to the great differences between them. In the last decade (since 15 February, 1921) the increase of the population in the Czech Lands was only 6.6 per cent., but in Slovakia 11.10 per cent., and in Ruthenia almost 20 per cent. Ruthenia is, of course, only a small province, smaller than Northern Ireland and with approximately half its population, that is, with 725,300 people. The Czech Lands are about as large as Scotland, but their population is more than double. Slovakia is a little more than half the size of Scotland, and has only 3,329,793 inhabitants, mainly agricultural. Moreover, as we shall see later, Ruthenia is a land of primitive agriculture, while the Czech Lands are highly industrialised and therefore suffer severely from the present economic crisis and unemployment.

The racial conditions of the Czechoslovak Republic are very difficult to explain to a Western reader, without at least some outline of the historical development. The United States do not inquire into the language of their citizens, neither do they indicate their race, except where immigrants are concerned. In Switzerland, though three nationalities live together, their relationship and divisions have remained almost unchanged for centuries—a fact easily understood from the mountainous character of the country. But the Czech Lands are perhaps the classic example of a country of racial conflict. The Germans were introduced into the towns by the kings of the Premyslid dynasty, not only near the frontiers, but also in the central part of the kingdom, into cities now entirely

Czech. During the Hussite Wars the Czechs spread almost to the frontier of the country, whereas after the victory of the Catholic Counter-Reformation the Habsburg dynasty confiscated a large proportion of the land and distributed it among foreigners. The dividing line of nationality shifted in North Bohemia along the valley of the Elbe to a distance of only 60 km. from the capital, Prague, or a third nearer than Oxford is from London. Another great change occurred as a result of the discovery of coal fields, in Northern Bohemia some one hundred years ago: and then tens of thousands of Czech workmen moved northwards. During the reign of the Emperor Francis Joseph and the so-called constitutional regime many sharp national disputes took place, for the authorities refused to give schools to the Czech population in the mixed districts. Every elementary school had to be wrested from the Government, and when the workmen did succeed in getting it, they were liable to be dismissed by their employers or given notice by their landlords. In that territory Czech cases were dealt with by the officials in the German language only.

Those days, though not so very distant, now belong definitely to the past. There are no such conflicts now, for the Czechs did not avenge themselves on their German minorities after the war. In the districts where two-thirds of the population are German, the German language is used in all offices, just as in the neighbouring Saxony or Bavaria. In the districts where the minority amounts to at least 20 per cent. of the total population, the official proceedings are bi-lingual. The same measures are applied in the eastern part of the Republic towards the Magyars and the Poles.

The national contest has acquired a new and rather surprising feature: it has ceased to be a fight in which lives are destroyed, and has become a competition of cradles. The reason why the German percentage in the Czech Lands, especially in Moravia, is declining considerably, is partly a lower birth-rate and partly a higher mortality. In the mixed districts the younger generations can no longer be Germanised *en masse*, since there are plentiful Czech minority schools. The last census has not yet been published in its entirety, but the statistics of 1921 show that the percentage of children under 14 years was 29.4 per cent. among the Czechoslovaks, 26.6 per cent. among the Germans, and as much as 32.1 per cent. among the Ruthenes in the East. On the other hand, the population over the age of 40 amounted to 29 per cent. among the Czechs and to 32.2 per cent. among the Germans. In the other provinces the differences were still more striking.

Conditions are developing in such a way that the mutual antagonism between the two races is wearing off. But the numbers of the German population are decreasing, so that in a short time they will form hardly one-fifth of the total. The Magyar population is only a small fraction, 4·7 per cent. of the whole. The Poles live as a body only in two districts of Těšín (in Silesia).

In order to understand the development of racial conditions we have to realise that the Germans live mostly on the frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia. Their territories are highly industrialised, and therefore economic depression lies heavily upon them, especially since 1930.

In that year the various nationalities were represented as follows:—

		Czecho- slovak.	German.	Magyar.	Ruthene.	Jewish.
In Bohemia	... ..	67·2	32·3	—	—	—
In Moravia and Silesia...		74·1	22·8	—	—	—
In Slovakia	... ..	72·1	4·5	17·5	2·8	0·2
Ruthenia	... ..	4·8	1·8	15·4	63·0	12·8
In whole Republic	... ..	66·9	22·3	4·7	3·8	1·3

Negligible fractions are not mentioned in this table. There were, for instance, a few thousand Magyar and Ruthene soldiers from the East of the Republic quartered in the Western part. Some 30,000 Jews claimed Jewish nationality—in other words, only a quarter of those who profess the Jewish religion in the Czech Lands. From the West European point of view, it may seem peculiar that the Jews should be allowed to claim their special nationality, though they do not use their own language, but speak German or, in Slovakia, Magyar. In Hungary they had long aspired to such a privilege, and this was especially natural in Ruthenia, where there are many orthodox Jews; but the Government of Budapest simply entered them as Magyars.

The political result of such distribution is that the Czechoslovaks form a majority of over two-thirds in the State as a whole, and, if we discount the figures for autonomous Ruthenia—where the Russians and Ukrainians have a similar majority—Czechoslovak nationality exceeds 71 per cent. of the total. It is a well-known fact that in pre-war Austria the ruling Germans were in a minority of hardly 36 per cent., and that in the Hungarian kingdom of St. Stephen the Magyars never attained a majority in spite of all their artificial statistics.

In the Czech Lands the conditions are simple enough. In

Bohemia there were in 1930 over 4,713,300 citizens of Czechoslovak race (30,146 being Slovaks, mainly soldiers and students), and 2,271,000 of German race; in Moravia (with Silesia), 2,595,500 Czechoslovaks (of whom 13,900 were Slovaks), and about 800,000 Germans; in the extreme East of this province, bordering on the coal districts of Ostrava, there were also 79,450 Poles.<sup>1</sup>

The lines of demarcation between the races are still somewhat fluid, because the Germans no longer increase as rapidly as the Slavs. This factor, so important sociologically, together with great disparity as regards both industrialisation and the consequent movement of population inside the country, serves to differentiate the Republic from Western Europe. For instance, in Bohemia such districts as the Elbe Valley and the coalfields are now racially mixed, and in some of them the Czechs form as much as half of the population. In Central Moravia all the towns which the Austrian Government used to reckon as "German" are now Czech. It sounds like a story from a distant century to be told that in 1918 the Austrian Parliament claimed part of Southern Moravia and a "condominium" both in Brno (Brunn) and in the industrial districts of Ostrava. In Brno the municipality used to be German; now the German population in this, the capital city of Moravia, is only one-fifth, and in Ostrava still less.

The influence of the Slav milieu in which the towns are set, especially in Slovakia, is irresistible. The Magyars have waxed indignant at the fact that in Bratislava, where the Hungarian kings used to be crowned, and in Košice, where Francis Rákóczy is buried, the Hungarian population has fallen to one-fifth. But they forget to add that, during the long occupation of Hungary by the Turks, the royal power did not extend beyond Slovakia, while a Pasha ruled in the fortress of Buda: and, again, that until the 18th century there was no racial question in Hungary in the modern sense of the term. Bratislava, once an unimportant

<sup>1</sup> The Silesian duchy of Těšín (Teschen) formed for 600 years a part of the Bohemian Crown, but half of it had to be handed over to Poland in 1920 according to the resolution passed by the Conference of Ambassadors; the remainder was then incorporated with Moravia. Since 1927 there are in the Republic four administrative councils ("zemská zastupitelstva") for Bohemia, for Moravia-Silesia, for Slovakia and for Ruthenia. These institutions counteract the centralistic tendency of the Socialist parties, and international affairs are more peaceful and consolidated, but the Slovak Catholic Party under Monsignor Hlinka maintains a somewhat lively opposition against the Government, from which the Socialists have contrived to exclude it. They co-operate, however, in the Slovak Provincial Council and in all local autonomous bodies, practical necessities being stronger than vague political slogans.

provincial town with 78,223 inhabitants and a relative majority of Germans (situated only an hour from Vienna), has between 1920 and 1930 become a rapidly expanding centre with 142,516 inhabitants; 4,500 new houses have been built there in the last ten years. This increase, however, was caused by immigration from the surrounding countryside, which is as to four-fifths Slovak. Moreover, it proved necessary to send Czech officials to Bratislava, when it became the centre of a province which had hitherto never been unified and only had a very small native *intelligentsia*. Last October the Budapest press reminded its readers of the fatal mistake made by their Government when they instructed the Magyar officials in Slovakia after the war to carry out sabotage against the new order, while the Communists tried to stir up workmen's strikes. Many thousands of officials and railway employees were recalled to Budapest, but the confusion with which they had reckoned did not materialise. The vacant places were filled by officials and teachers from the Czech Lands. These changes have naturally affected racial conditions in the larger towns. Košice, now the centre of East Slovakia, has grown from 44,211 to 70,232 inhabitants; its hinterland, from which most of the new-comers are recruited, is Slovak. Meanwhile, many Jews who used to return themselves as Magyars are now registered as of Jewish nationality. But most disastrous of all, from the political standpoint of Budapest, is the greatly superior birthrate of the Czechoslovak people. For instance, between 1908 and 1932 the natural increase by birth in Bratislava was 2,009 for the Czechoslovaks, but only 270 for the Magyars, while the Germans have actually decreased.

This is not a local phenomenon, and it would be a mistake to regard it from a narrow provincial point of view. A large proportion of the Magyars belong to the Calvinist Church, and in it the one-child system is very rife. Recently Julius Illyés and Robert Braun argued in the paper called *Századunk s Nyugat* that, in the Pannonian district in Hungary (between the Austrian frontier and the Danube), the Magyars are rapidly decreasing, being outnumbered by the Germans. They also pointed out that, if compared with the figures of Church adherence, the official Budapest statistics do not appear to be correct. The Roman Catholic Church emphatically forbids the practice of birth control as a deadly sin, and is as a consequence steadily gaining ground in Slovakia: in 1857, 63.7 per cent. of its inhabitants were Catholic; to-day, 71.6 per cent. The Protestants are losing ground all along the line. It is possible that emigration

also is responsible, for there appear to have been more Protestants than Catholics among the pre-war emigrants.

Emigration was a painful problem in Slovakia. The more enterprising elements, who did not want to renounce their dignity as human beings and yearned for liberty, had to emigrate. The Magyar statistics show, between 1905 and 1914, a figure of 300,000 emigrants from the sixteen Slovak counties. This statement, however, is not yet complete. The United States alone<sup>2</sup> recorded, between 1899 and 1914, 138,870 Bohemian and Moravian emigrants and 477,276 Slovaks. Neither Magyar schools nor alcoholism could abate their vitality, and in 1921, out of a total of 2,900,000 Slovaks, some 620,000 lived in America and over 280,000 in other countries—that is to say, almost one-third of the Slovaks lived abroad.

Racial conditions in Slovakia and Ruthenia are specially complicated, and also the differentiation of the population, alike as regards occupation and religion, birthrate and mortality, are at variance with the conditions in the Czech Lands. This is not to be wondered at if we recall to mind that the distance from the German-Czech frontier near (Eger) Cheb to the frontier of Roumania is almost as great as that from London to Prague, or from London to Marseilles.

In Slovakia the Census of 1930 returned 2,345,900 inhabitants of Czechoslovak nationality, out of whom 120,926 were born in the Czech Lands. There were many Czech soldiers among them, while, on the other hand, Magyar and Slovak conscripts are often sent to Prague and other Czech towns. This is done in the spirit of President Masaryk's ideas. He regards military service, so long as it is a necessity at all in this world, in the light of a continuation school. The conscripts ought to continue their education, their horizon ought to be widened, and those illiterates who still remain here and there in the eastern districts ought to learn how to read and write.

There are close upon 572,000 Magyars in Slovakia, their number having decreased during the last decade by 62,800. The reason is partly that 30,600 Gipsies are now entered separately, partly that many Jews in the Magyar districts now acknowledge their own nationality. The Germans increased by 7,600, though the quarterly statistics show their relative decline; the increase is, therefore, due to the growing national consciousness of many who used to

<sup>2</sup> For more detailed data see the Report of the Commissioner-General to the Secretary of Labour and the XIVth Census of the U.S.A., 1920, Vol. 2.

pass as Magyars. There are now 147,500 Germans in Slovakia, and for similar reasons the numbers of the Slovaks in the southern districts are increasing. Children born of mixed marriages used to be Magyarised at school, but now minority schools are built for them. In Eastern Slovakia, bordering on Ruthenia, 91,000 persons of Ruthene nationality were counted; while 65,300 claimed Jewish nationality, or about half the total number of Jews in Slovakia. Finally, there were 75,600 people of foreign nationality: 20,300 Magyars, 7,300 Jews, and 27,100 foreign Czechoslovaks, i.e. those who had emigrated to America, became naturalised there and then returned to their native country. For the same reason there were also 4,300 people of Russian nationality in Slovakia.

Magyar claims are based on the pre-war census, when the Jews were not permitted to return themselves as Jews. People were returned on a linguistic basis, on the strange ground that the "national language" is that which the person prefers to speak. This opened the door to every kind of pressure, and persons materially dependent upon the State authorities had to return themselves as Magyars. A parallel pressure was exercised, though not with the same rigour, in the Austrian half of the Monarchy, where the "habitual" language (*Umgangsprache*) was made the test. The Hungarian Census of 1910 returned, within the present territory of Slovakia, only 1,686,700 Slovaks, but 893,600 Magyars, 197,000 Germans, 97,000 Ruthenes and 56,000 others, including Czechs. It stands to reason that the former masters of Slovakia were exceedingly disillusioned when two successive censuses, both carried out in freedom, showed quite different results.

By the Minority Treaty of St. Germain (10 September, 1919), Ruthenia, on the initiative of her citizens who had emigrated to America, was proclaimed "an autonomous territory, which shall be endowed by the widest self-government compatible with the integrity of the Czechoslovak Republic." It is a small territory, about as large as two French departments, but alike from the ethnographic, religious and linguistic point of view it is very heterogeneous. Its administration is a hard problem, for the Magyars had terribly neglected the country. In 1910 two-thirds of the population could neither read nor write. One-third of the death-rate was made up of infants, and more than half of children under the age of seven years. Between 1901 and 1910 there were no fewer than 175,870 deaths in the three Ruthene counties from infectious diseases, while 40,000 persons fled from this inferno to America. This sad recital could be greatly extended: it must

suffice to point out that the schools, as far as the egocentric Budapest régime established any at all, were almost exclusively Magyar.<sup>3</sup> The Hungarian Census of 1910 gives for the districts corresponding to Ruthenia to-day: 334,700 Ruthenes, 176,300 Magyars, 63,500 Germans, 11,400 Roumanians and 7,700 Slovaks, or a total of 595,600. The Census of December, 1930, gives 446,900 Russians and Ukrainians, 109,400 Magyars, 91,200 Jews, 13,200 Germans, 12,600 Roumanians, 34,000 Czechoslovaks (of whom 13,200 were Slovaks), the remainder being Gipsies and others, with 16,200 foreigners. The total of the population was 725,300.

At the beginning of the war, Ruthenia became a battlefield; and afterwards it was a prey to epidemics. Thus the Census of 1921 only showed a total increase of 9,000 upon the pre-war figures of 1910; whereas during the following decade, up to 1930, the population has increased by 120,700, or 20 per cent.—a record possible only in Ukrainian or Balkan lands. The Magyar increase is only a small one—5·5 per cent.—so that in all probability the Slav majority will soon become overwhelming. Even today the Czechoslovaks and the Ruthenes already form about 68 per cent. of the population. Those who have studied in detail the complex racial problems of Ruthenia find it hard to discover any real basis for the revisionist plans of Budapest: for past memories weigh heavily against them, and as for the present, out of fourteen administrative districts, only one—Beregszász (Berehovo)—has a Magyar majority.

Ruthenia is a country with many Jews. Fourteen per cent. of the population belong to the Jewish religion (which is a higher proportion than in Palestine in 1922); and of these more than nine-tenths claim Jewish nationality. The Jewish question has a great significance for the whole Republic, since the Jews occupy an influential position in commerce and journalism. There are several Ministers of Jewish origin, and the Zionist party is represented in Parliament by two members. But their distribution varies greatly. In Bohemia the Jews only form 1 per cent., or very little more than in Germany before the Nazi persecution: whereas in Slovakia they are almost as numerous as in Roumania, and in Ruthenia they are more numerous than in Poland. It is interesting to note that the Jews of Ruthenia ask for schools in the Czech language, on the ground that in Ruthene schools the children learn

<sup>3</sup> "Magyar Statistikai Közlemények" counts in 1907/8 only 35 Ruthene elementary schools (denominational) in a territory slightly larger than the present Ruthenia.



but little, owing to the incessant quarrels about the literary language. The dispute between literary Russian and Ukrainian resulted in the adoption of the local dialect in the schools, for both languages were somewhat unfamiliar to the children: but this, of course, has not had a good influence upon standards of education.

## II.

The social conditions of the Czechoslovak Republic, as illustrated by the statistics of occupation of the population and the constant influx into towns, are very interesting. Without entering into vague detail, it must suffice to quote from the experience of Bohemia. This province consists of 104 administrative districts, but only 29 of these have gained by internal migration. In the capital city of Prague and the adjoining five districts there was between the two censuses of 1921 and 1930 an influx of over 214,000, but meanwhile the population of the southern half of the province is decreasing, with the solitary exception of the Pilsen district, whose powerful industries (breweries, iron and steelworks), attracted 7,900 newcomers.

In the northern districts also the population is less dense, except in some strips along the actual border. The Czechs of the eastern districts round Königgrätz (Kralové Hradec) and Pardubice, and the mixed group of the western district of Karlsbad (Karlový Vary) and Eger (Cheb), increased by 19,600; the highly industrialised districts between Teplice and Warnsdorf by 22,700, and, again, Reichenberg (Liberec) with its surroundings—the centre of the textile industry—by 25,000. Taken as a whole, the German and mixed districts show an increase of 73,000. It is to be remembered that in Reichenberg and all the other German towns there are more deaths than births, and that the workmen who come in are mostly Czechs. It is a fact of very great significance from the sociological point of view, that only an area of about 5,000 sq. km. in the Czech districts, and of 6,100 sq. km. in the German and mixed districts, shows gains by immigration, while in the rest of Bohemia there is severe depopulation. There are Czech districts in the south of the province from which every sixth inhabitant has emigrated; and this for a mere period of ten years is an enormous loss.<sup>4</sup>

In Prague alone the natural increase hardly reached 2,000

<sup>4</sup> This phenomenon is dealt with in greater detail by Dr. Joseph Pohl in his book, "The Depopulation of the Countryside of Bohemia, 1850-1930" (Prague, 1932). The book contains maps and tables.

persons per annum—all the rest of the increase was caused by influx from other districts. The average natural increase of the whole province was 6.1 per cent., but there are now over forty districts which do not reach even such a small quota and are nearing the French level.

The relation of birthrate to emigration is shown by the following table:—

			Increase or decrease	
			Increase by Birth.	by Migration.
Bohemia	...	...	407,709	plus 28,447
Moravia	...	...	237,976	minus 75,695
Silesia	...	...	81,069	minus 19,170
Slovakia	...	...	452,953	minus 120,312
Ruthenia	...	...	135,045	minus 14,288
Whole Republic	...	...	1,314,752	minus 201,018

The total loss by emigration during the last decade exceeds 200,000, in other words, almost 1.5 per cent. The natural increase of Slovakia (15.1 per cent.) was reduced by emigration to 11.1 per cent.

The unequal rate of increase among the various nationalities is, of course, determined by the conditions under which they live. The Germans, who dwell mostly in towns, are worse off in this respect than the Ruthenes, who are still typically rural.

The Statistical Office in Prague has published yearly tables illustrating the unfortunate effect of urban agglomeration. In Bohemia there are 55 towns with over 10,000 inhabitants, in Moravia 26, in Slovakia 21, in Ruthenia 6—making a total of 104. Of smaller towns and villages there are 15,635. The result may be seen from the following table for the year 1932:—

		Population.	Marriages.	Births.	Deaths.	Surplus.
Large towns	...	3,407,588	30,004	44,564	39,534	5,030
Smaller towns and villages	...	11,478,868	97,589	267,787	170,720	97,067

The big towns will soon have  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million inhabitants, but the natural increase in them is much smaller than in the 481 smaller communities of Ruthenia alone, where there is an increase of 13,167 per annum.

The great agglomeration of Greater Prague, comprising an area of 172 square kilometres and a population of 900,000, had only a natural increase of 97, for there were in 1932 9,498 marriages, 9,933 births and 9,836 deaths. Still worse are the figures for the German towns of North Bohemia and Moravia, for there the native

population dies out and the increase is due, as already pointed out, to immigration only. This phenomenon of the decadence or almost negligible increase of the urban population is beginning to show itself in Slovakia also, and is certainly one of the causes why the results of the census did not favour the Magyars. The old patrician families are dying out through barrenness or the adoption of the one-child system, while the healthy rustic blood which renews the arteries of the towns is Slovak. While in 1932 the natural increase in the larger Slovak towns (over 10,000 inhabitants) showed an increase of 5.9 in every 1,000, in the smaller towns the increase was 12.9.

Turning to the differentiation of the population according to occupation, we find that 34 per cent., or one-third, is engaged in agriculture, approximately the same percentage in industry and trade, 7.4 per cent. in commerce, 5.5 per cent. in transport, 4.8 per cent. in the public services and free professions, 1.3 per cent. in the army, 1.2 per cent. in domestic and personal service, 8.6 per cent. in other occupations (e.g. retired persons, inmates of humanitarian and education institutes, and so on). The remaining 1.4 per cent. are people who did not state any special occupation, such as workmen and labourers.

It would take too much space to explain all the intricacies of this classification. To begin with, each category includes not only persons actually carrying on the occupation specified, but also members of their families, and domestics in so far as they live in the household. The category of transport includes, among others, 605,572 employees of the postal and railway services, with their families, who ought as a matter of fact to be counted under the category of public services and free professions, since the postal office is a State concern; the railways are either State concerns also or are managed by the State, or by some municipal authority. On this showing the category of public services would increase to 1,321,400 persons,<sup>5</sup> or almost 9 per cent. of the whole population. The bureaucratic machine has grown disproportionately strong and threatens to suffocate private initiative: and the State, by curtailing the wages of its employees as it has twice done recently, can hardly fail to have affected their purchasing power.

The development during the last decade may be seen from the

<sup>5</sup> Out of this figure only 116,091 belong to free professions: lawyers, public notaries, artists, authors, actors and musicians, private tutors, typists and other private employees. The doctors, veterinary surgeons and chemists are counted under the Public Health category.

following table, giving the number of individuals belonging to various occupations in 1921 and 1930, out of a total population of 13,612,424 and 14,729,536 respectively:—

Agriculture	Industry	Commerce	Transport	Public Services.	Army.	Domestic and Personal Service	Other or no Occupation.
5,384,787	4,552,398	787,293	658,683	604,282	159,870	132,253	1,107,602
5,101,614	5,146,937	1,094,063	814,468	715,841	193,463	183,814	1,272,171

In addition to this, there were in the first instance 225,250, and in the second 207,165, persons who did not specify their occupation.

These figures relate to the whole State, and show roughly that certain categories of occupation have increased out of proportion to the figures of the natural increase of the population, which is 6.58 per cent.; agriculture, on the other hand, has again lost considerably, as in the pre-war period. These totals, however, disguise the important fact that in the individual provinces the differentiation is not the same as might be deduced from them. In Bohemia agriculture (including forestry and fishing) forms only 24 per cent. and industry 41.7 per cent.; whereas in Ruthenia the corresponding figures are 62.3 per cent. and 11.92 per cent. In Moravia-Silesia industry is approximately twice as large as in Slovakia, while agriculture appears in the inverse reverse. We thus have no choice but to deal with the Czech Lands<sup>6</sup> separately, supplementing them by certain particulars relating to the eastern part of the Republic.

In the Czech Lands the vital statistics reveal very striking changes. The war brought with it a sudden drop in the birthrate, so that between 1915 and 1919 500,000 fewer children were born than the average. For a short time after the war the birthrate again increased, but afterwards the figure began to fall steadily and considerably. The deathrate being now lower, the number of old people increased; while the percentage of people in the productive age, between 15 and 65, also increased greatly. While in 1910 there were 6,129,000 persons in the productive age, in 1930 there were 7,383,000; the number of children decreased by a quarter, from 3,440,000 to 2,540,000, while the number of persons over the age of 65 increased from 578,000 to 739,000. These great changes in the composition of the population have had important consequences. The burden of those who have to support children

<sup>6</sup> The final figures for the Czech Lands have not yet been officially published, but they were used in a lecture by Dr. Antonín Boháč, of the State Statistical Office, "The Changes in the Economic and Social Differentiation of the Population of the Czech Lands" (Prague, 1933), from which we are quoting.

and aged relations has become lighter, but there is keen competition in the labour market, because the numerically stronger generation, born at the beginning of the century, is now reaching full maturity. Of course, people do not work continuously from 15 to 65, and about one-third even of the productive generation is supported by others. Those engaged in productive occupations increase at a much slower rate than those employed in unproductive callings, as, for instance, commerce and public administration. The country people flock to the towns in search of lighter work and amusements. This tendency has become more marked since the war. Since 1890 the number of people working on the land is decreasing.<sup>7</sup> In 1900 there was already a majority of persons employed in industry, but today there are twice as many as in agriculture. If we label these two classes as productive occupations, we see that they have increased since the war by less than 5 per cent, while the other professions increased by 35·5 per cent. After the war the politicians endeavoured to stem the decline of agriculture by the Land Reform. There were not many new farms created out of the large estates, but the existing very small holdings were augmented so that farming became the chief occupation for small-scale shopkeepers, tradesmen and workmen who used to work in factories before, or lived on their shop or trade turnover, doing their little bit in the fields as a sideline. Though the reform assigned an adequate amount of land to these country people, yet, to quote Dr. Boháč, the number of independent agriculturalists, of whom in 1921 there were 500,021, increased during the last decade only by 17,616.

Agricultural labourers flocked to the towns at such a rate that their numbers diminished during the last decade by one-quarter. Machine labour was introduced and overseas competition caused a new crisis. In some instances the farmers cannot pay their compulsory social insurance and therefore dismiss their hands. Of course, the rush to the towns has other psychological motives also. The number of people actively engaged in industry in the Czech Lands was, in 1921, 1,927,000; in 1930, 2,227,346. But the export industry, notably textiles and glass, is at present suffering very much, while the output of iron and coal is on the decline.

The magnificent rationalising methods carried out at Zlin by

<sup>7</sup> The whole agricultural population in the Czech Lands in 1890 consisted of 3,763,389 persons, in 1930 only of 2,728,721; while the class of industrial workers and tradespeople has grown considerably, from 3,226,964 to 4,425,613, so that now agricultural workers form 24·4%, but industrial workers 41·4% of the total population.

Bát'a, the "Boot King," have almost destroyed the private boot trade and left Bát'a with a virtual monopoly. Owing to the building boom after the war the stone-quarrying industry increased notably, and, to some extent, also the timber trade, while considerable progress was made by the metal and paper industry.

On the basis of the above data, the number of new applicants for work during the last decade is reckoned to be about 460,000, while a further 155,000 formerly belonging to the farm-labourer class also applied for employment. Barely half of these found places in the ranks of industry, and the disastrous economic crisis, followed by the decline in exports, naturally threw them again out of work. Only a small proportion of them sought employment in commerce, hotel business and finance (there the numbers of persons actually at work increased from 294,312 to 436,577), further in transport and in the public services. It would be very interesting to compare the respective share of Czechs and Germans in various branches of occupation. So far, only the data for Bohemia have been published: the main percentual results are shown as follows:—<sup>8</sup>

	Agricul- ture.	Com- merce	In- dustry	Trans- port	Public Services	Domestic Army.	Domestic Services.	Other.
Czecho- slovaks	26.0	8.5	38.8	7.1	5.5	1.4	1.5	10.1
Germans	20.7	9.2	48.1	4.2	4.1	0.4	1.5	10.1

To explain fully the development of social conditions in Slovakia would require a volume to itself. In 1910 the whole territory had 2,904,000 inhabitants, but only 263,400 of them lived in towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants. There were indeed only six such towns, and they were to a large extent Magyarised.

In the sixteen counties of Northern Hungary, portions of which have remained in post-war Hungary, there were at that date only 721,400 persons altogether engaged in the occupations specified—namely, 509,400 in agriculture, 23,600 in hired labour, 30,000 in domestic service, 104,100 in industry (in which the Magyar statistics also included inns and bars for the sale of alcohol), 8,000 in commerce and a few more in transport. Only 1,290 Slovaks were engaged in State and public service: and this figure was mainly accounted for by the clergy and teachers in Church schools. Midwives were not counted as engaged in public service. The elementary *State* schools were only Magyar, and so were *all* secondary schools, so that in 1910 there were in the whole of Northern Hungary not more than

<sup>8</sup> 0.8% among Czechoslovaks, 1.4% among Germans did not specify their occupation. There were altogether 4,713,366 Czechoslovaks and 2,270,943 Germans in Bohemia.

1,946 Slovaks with secondary school training: 39 per cent. of the whole population remained illiterate, and in Ruthenia as many as two-thirds. This state of neglect, contrasted with the breakneck pace of post-war development, will help to explain present difficulties. The full facts as to the differentiation of the various nationalities in Slovakia are not yet known. Its total population increased since 1921 from 2,998,244 to 3,329,793 (in other words, by 11 per cent.). The changes in occupation between 1921 and 1930 are shown by the following table:—

Agriculture	Industry.	Commerce.	Transport	Public Services.	Army.	Domestic and Personal Service	Other or no Occupation.
1,817,878	522,593	124,129	105,740	107,499	42,829	17,403	179,494
+74,164	+112,204	+57,149	+51,894	+48,484	+11,261	+8,516	-18,683

In 1921 there were also 80,679 workmen who did not clearly specify their occupation: today the corresponding figure has been reduced by 13,440. It will be seen that while the category of agriculture has only increased by 4 per cent., that of industry increased by 21.4 per cent. This in itself serves to explain the internal difficulties of Slovakia when the world crisis in exports became apparent, and at the same time foreign countries suspended immigration.

Ruthenia had in 1921 604,593 inhabitants, and this number increased in the following decade by almost 20 per cent., to 725,357. Of these, 25,335 did not specify their occupation. The following table shows the contrast between 1921 and 1930, as regards occupations:—

Agriculture.	Industry.	Commerce.	Transport	Public Services.	Army.	Domestic and Personal Service.	Other or no Occupation.
408,871	62,916	28,167	14,956	19,517	6,771	2,545	36,609
+71,987	+23,674	+13,383	+8,137	+10,555	+932	+1,556	-10,553

We see that there was an increase of 17.6 per cent. in agriculture, and of 37.6 per cent. in industry. Nevertheless, two-thirds of the total population of Ruthenia still remain engaged in agriculture and hardly 12 per cent. in industries, the corresponding figures for Slovakia being 56.8 per cent. and 19 per cent.

EMANUEL ČAPEK.

Further details concerning economic conditions, migration and social classification in Slovakia before the war are to be found in the present author's book *Politická příručka Československé Republiky, Sociologická studie* (Melantrich, Prague, 1931).

# THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SLOVAKIA

## I

WHEN, during the Great War, Father Alois Kolísek, that great advocate of Czechoslovak unity, travelled through Slovakia among the Catholics there and prepared the way for the fulfilment of the unity which he so fervidly desired, his friend Father Andrej Hlinka, whose cause he had championed in Rome, wrote to him as follows :

" Our relationship with the Czechs is to be brotherly, without compulsion, proceeding from the heart and the blood. To-day, of course, [this was during the period 1917-18], there are few who hold these views. People are afraid, and terror has big eyes. The Czechs are radicals in religious matters. Soukup, Stránský and Kramář, all these are regular bugbears to the easy-going Magyarised Slovak priest. Czech religious radicalism would compel them to undertake vigilant work for which they are not trained. The Czechs have been the enemy of Rome since the time of Hus and the White Mountain. They attribute all misfortune to Rome and to Catholicism. Moreover, they are by nature more hot-headed and inclined for freedom. With regard to language I have no fears, for we are almost identical, and we shall gradually merge altogether. Whether we speak Slovak or Czech will not weaken us or be to our detriment. The only thing which can destroy us is atheism. For this I should not care to take any responsibility upon myself. What guarantee shall we receive in this respect ? "

These words, which were written before the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic, foretell clearly enough that in the coming state unity of Czechs and Slovaks the religious question would play a very critical part and become a very difficult problem. Two worlds here clash : Czech radicalism with Slovak conservatism, the Czech antagonism to religion with the Slovak religious disposition.

In order to understand this better we must examine the reasons for the Czech and Slovak respective attitudes towards religion. Czech religious radicalism has a historical basis. The whole of Czech history, especially from the time when Jan Hus (1370-1415) appeared on the scene, is interwoven with a series of struggles, revolutions, and wars between the Catholic Church and the adherents of Hussitism, between the nobility and the people, between Prague and Vienna, or between Prague and Rome. The medieval religious discord, the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, left deep traces in Bohemia and culminated in the battle of the White Mountain where in 1620 the army of the Czech Protestant nobles was



defeated by the forces of the Catholic Ferdinand of Habsburg. This meant the downfall of the independent kingdom of Bohemia, and, as a result the Czechs lost their political independence and were under the hegemony of the Habsburgs. As the Habsburgs were Catholics, the rise of their power was accompanied by a parallel increase in the religious indifference of the Czechs, who regarded the Habsburgs as the enemies of their national endeavours. Thus, although the Czechs remained Catholics (according to the census of 1930 the total population of Bohemia was 7,120,000, of which about 5,316,000 were Catholics), the great majority of the Czech Catholics had no real interest in their church, and indeed their political and cultural organisations were often expressly anti-Catholic in character.

In addition to this historical cause of Czech religious radicalism, there is another reason and that is mentioned by Hlinka in the letter quoted above, where he says : " the Czechs are by nature more hot-headed and inclined for freedom." This is typical of the Czech character in general, which is rationalistic and given to thinking in terms of realities. This involves a third factor, and that is the industrial character of Bohemia itself. The Czech territories have long possessed a well developed set of industries, which are famous throughout the world, and they comprise two thirds of the total population of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. This circumstance must also be taken into account in considering the religious conditions, since industry involves the existence of Socialist labour organisations, which, on the Continent, are generally anti-religious in tendency. So much for the Czech side of the matter.

On the Slovak side we see the precise opposite. The history of Slovakia was associated with the history of conservative Hungary, where the Catholics were at an advantage owing to the Habsburg dynasty, from whom particularly in the 19th century the Slovaks expected a fulfilment of their national hopes. The whole history of Hungary clearly shows that the Magyars always contrived to exploit to the utmost the religious feeling of the people for their own purposes. The Slovaks are deeply religious by nature, and in this respect they have always been true Slavs, meditating upon the transcendental aspects of the mystic life. Thus, after the collapse of Austria-Hungary and the establishment of an independent Czechoslovak Republic two disparate elements came into contact there. The times had passed when it was enough for the priests in Slovakia to celebrate divine service without being alarmed by any anti-religious endeavours or other features of modern life tending towards materialism, rationalism, socialism. Elements such as these,

aimed directly against the Church, now assumed dangerous proportions. In Bohemia the watchword was: "We have settled with Vienna, now we must settle with Rome." One of the first steps taken by the Socialists was to introduce a measure for the separation of Church from State (which was, however, rejected). The Catholic Church was to be deprived of grants from the state funds, all the property of the Church being secularised, and the Church forfeiting all its rights as an educational force. The priest was to have no share in politics or public life generally.

The agitation which began in Bohemia spread to Slovakia and the organisation known as "Free Thought" had a considerable vogue. In addition, a new National Church, known as the Czechoslovak Church, was founded and soon gained some half million adherents. On the whole, however, it may be said that these activities tended, if anything, to strengthen the position of the Catholic Church and to-day it possesses all the rights which it claims. Indeed there is now every prospect that it will become more powerful than it was under the old régime. It is very much to the credit of Czechoslovak democracy that the Catholics in the Republic are able to assert themselves in political and parliamentary life just as much as in cultural and economic matters. After the Republic was established, President Masaryk uttered these significant words: "The Catholics will have as many rights as they secure for themselves." At first this utterance on the part of a democratic President was much resented by the Catholics, especially in Slovakia. It was considered an affront to suggest that the Czechoslovak Catholics would have to secure the rights to which they were entitled without any struggle, solely in virtue of the fact that they comprised 73.5 per cent. of the total population of Czechoslovakia. This feeling, however, did not last, and to-day it is clearly realised that the President's words implied the possibility for the Catholics to exert their full resources and gain all the rights and advantages which their capacity for endeavour place at their disposal. Today it can be said that they have already achieved this to a considerable extent. This is a point which should be emphasised, particularly in regard to Slovakia, for in certain quarters there has been a regrettable tendency to misrepresent the real position of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia and to arouse the impression that Slovak Catholicism has reached a critical stage of decay and that the only remedy which can avert its complete downfall is the restoration of Slovakia to Hungary.

I now propose to enumerate a few concrete facts regarding the real position of the Catholic Church in Slovakia. The Slovaks have

three bishops appointed by the Holy See and recognised by the State. In addition to this, we have in Slovakia four other bishops, whom the Holy See, by what is known as the "Modus Vivendi," has provisionally entrusted with those Slovak dioceses, to which the definite appointments have not yet been made owing to the fact that their delimitation has not yet been completed and the area which they comprise includes a number of dioceses having their suffragum in Hungary. The Bishops who have been definitely appointed are those at Nitra, Spišská Kapitula and Banská Bystrica, their nominations dating back to 13th February, 1921. The other dioceses are under the charge of "apostolic administrators" with episcopal rank and are at Košice, Trnava, Rožňava and Prešov, the latter being Greek Catholic, while the others belong to the Latin rite. All these Bishops are Slovaks by birth and staunch members of their race, not only familiar with the language of their charges, but knowing also their character and mentality. This detail should be stressed because, under the former Hungarian régime, the Bishops of Slovak dioceses were people of Magyar sentiment, who did not even know the language of the Slovak people, still less their way of thinking. Even when a Bishop of Slovak origin was appointed in Hungary he was compelled to serve the interests of the Magyar spirit by attempting to instil it upon the Slovak people. Here it may be mentioned that Bishop Párvy of Spišska suspended the Slovak priest, Father Hlinka, who today is the leader of the Slovak Catholics, on account of his Slovak sentiments and that the Vatican had to intervene on Hlinka's behalf.

In addition to the episcopate we have today in Slovakia other important Slovak church dignitaries. Thus, there are about eight Slovak prelates as well as a considerable number of abbots, canons, archdeacons, deans, monsignors, etc. Under the old Hungarian régime which utilised the Church largely as a means for Magyarisation, not a single Slovak held such office, and indeed the more important livings were given to priests as a rule more on the strength of their services to the Magyar cause than for any ecclesiastical merits. Those priests who showed Slovak national sentiments were penalised for this by being appointed to the worst parishes.

As regards the theological training colleges in Slovakia today, they are presided over by Slovak Superiors and Professors, who train the candidates for the priesthood in a Catholic and a Slovak spirit. This is a great advance on the old conditions when both Superiors and Professors were all Magyar in their sentiments and, as a result, instilled the Magyar spirit into the young theologians who

were to carry on their work among Slovak believers. In the pre-War seminaries the students were not allowed even to learn Slovak, the language in which they were supposed to preach, to hear confessions and in general to perform their duties among the Slovak people. It frequently happened that when those who were training as Slovak priests took private lessons in the Slovak language (as their only means of acquiring it, as there were no Slovak secondary or high schools), they were severely punished for doing so, even to the extent of being relegated from the theological colleges. It is unfortunately necessary to emphasise these facts, because the Magyars made more use of the Catholic Church as a means of spreading the Magyar language than for promoting the Catholic spirit. Provost K. A. Medvecký in his book "Church Conditions in Hungary" quotes numerous documents showing how the Magyars introduced into the churches the Magyar language, alike in sermons, hymns, and confession, although the people did not understand Magyar. The same applies to the schools in which, as a result of the law introduced by Count Apponyi, the Slovak Catholic Children received their education, including their lessons in religion, in a language which was unfamiliar to them. Owing to this intolerable state of things children who had attended elementary schools were able to recite parrot-like in the Magyar language a number of questions and answers on religious subjects, the meaning of which they did not understand, and their only knowledge of religion was what they were taught at home by their parents. Even confession was often carried out in Magyar, and when the prohibition was introduced into the schools: "Nem szabad tótul beszélni," (it is not allowed to speak Slovak), it frequently happened that the gravest sin to which children confessed was "I have spoken Slovak!"

To-day the Slovak language is the regular medium of instruction throughout Slovakia, and Slovak pupils accordingly are able to study religion in their native tongue.

Like other nations the Slovaks had their patron saints, but under the Hungarian régime they were not permitted to honour them publicly. Out of 1,198 parish churches in pre-War Slovakia, only three were deducted to the Slovak saints, St. Cyril and St. Methodius. Even then great difficulties were placed in the way of carrying out the people's wishes in this respect, and in the parish of Selce, for example, the Bishop would not allow the whole day of the patron saints of this parish to be solemnly celebrated as was usual in connection with such an event, but issued instructions that only a silent mass was to be held at a very early hour as on ordinary days.

From this example, which is typical only of many, it can be seen what a change has taken place in the status of the Catholic Church in Slovakia as compared with the conditions in pre-War Hungary. By the introduction of the Slovak language into churches, schools, and all ecclesiastical activities the Slovak Catholics are now able to perform their religious duties in a natural manner which obviously promotes their welfare as Catholics.

Here it is possible by means of statistics to indicate the full extent of this advance. According to the census of 1930 the total population of Czechoslovakia was 14,729,536, of which number 11,416,737, or 77.5 per cent. were Catholics. If we compare these figures with the statistics dating back to 1921 at a time when the Socialists were at the height of their power and were carrying on much anti-clerical agitation, we see that in spite of their efforts, the Catholic Church not only suffered no loss, but actually increased its membership by nearly half a million souls, the exact number being 498,399. It is true that in 1921 a National Church, known as the Czechoslovak Church, was founded, but the real significance of this organisation will be realised when we point out that in 1930 the total number of its adherents was only 793,385, or 5.39 per cent., and that this included many persons who before joining this new church were "of no religious persuasion" (konfessionslos). The statistics relating to the population of Czechoslovakia thus clearly show that the Catholic Church is in the ascendant there, and, in particular, its prospects in the future must be considered most favourable when we take into account the fact that post-War religious radicalism, as elsewhere, is on the decline and a more conservative period is approaching. In every respect Catholic Slovakia has a better future before it in union with predominantly Catholic Moravia and Bohemia than it ever had in Hungary, where the Catholics within the former Hungarian frontiers comprised only 59.6 per cent. according to the census of 1900. Today this percentage in Hungary is much more favourable since the Catholic areas, such as Slovakia and Croatia, have been detached, so that present-day Hungary is far more Calvinistic and Protestant than it was before the War.

In a political respect the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia has made remarkable progress. While in former Hungary the Slovak Catholics had only one or two deputies in the Parliament in Budapest and they were continually persecuted, imprisoned and otherwise harassed, the Slovak People's Party alone is represented in the Prague Parliament by twenty deputies. The Catholics in Czechoslovakia altogether, quite apart from any racial classification, are

extremely well represented in Parliament, and at the last elections the number of deputies representing Catholic Parties returned was 67, and the actual number of Catholic deputies, irrespective of party, is at least 75 per cent. of the 300 members. Here, too, it should be mentioned that the largest political party in Czechoslovakia, known as the Republican Party with fifty deputies, is thoroughly conservative in character and its programme is drawn up on entirely Christian principles. Hence in practical politics this party has gone hand in hand with the Catholic Parties against the Socialists.

In connection with the political strength of Catholicism in Czechoslovakia it should also be mentioned that the leader of the Czech Catholics, Monsignor Dr. Šramek, has almost continuously from the foundation of the Republic been a member of the Cabinet. He is still a Minister and was for a lengthy period active as Vice-President of the Government in place of the late Mr. Švehla during his illness. The leader of the Slovak People's Party, Monsignor Andrej Hlinka, was in the Government for more than two years, and although he is now in the Opposition, it should be pointed out that he is opposed not to the Czechoslovak State, but only to the Government. The Hlinka Party continue to emphasise that they unconditionally associated themselves with the Republic and repudiate any attempts at revision of the Peace Treaties or the return of the Slovaks to Hungary. This is attested by a large number of resolutions and statements which, however, for lack of space cannot be quoted in this article.

As the result of a law which was passed in 1926 the stipends of the clergy in Czechoslovakia are adjusted according to a definite scale which supplies them with an adequate remuneration from state resources. This law can, without exaggeration, be regarded as a triumph of Catholic policy in Czechoslovakia, where the material position of the priesthood will now compare extremely favourably with that prevailing in other European countries. The total amount paid in stipends to the Slovak Catholic clergy, numbering about one thousand, from 1926 to the last quarter of 1933, is 88,687,508 crowns, or about £800,000 sterling. This means that the average amount received by each priest during the period in question was 88,000 crowns, and this may be taken as an eloquent proof of the fact that the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia is on a material basis which will enable it to develop successfully.

As regards education, its development during the fifteen years of the Republic has been nothing short of miraculous. While under Hungary, out of all the schools in Slovakia numbering 3,641 only 140

were Slovak, statistics from the end of 1931 show that in the same area there were 4,065, of which 3,125 were Slovak. The Catholic share of schools is an amazing one. Thus, in 1931, while there were 1,349 state schools in Slovakia the number of Catholic schools was 1,739. It should be added that these schools are entirely in the hands of the priests who, together with the ecclesiastical educational committees, supervise the curricula as a whole and pay particular attention to the religious needs of Catholic pupils.

With regard to these Catholic schools there is one very important circumstance which is of great importance for estimating the relationship of Catholicism to the state. In other countries the Catholic schools have to be maintained by the Catholics themselves from their private resources, and this arrangement involves considerable sacrifice on their part, but in Slovakia these schools are maintained by the state itself. The respective parishes have only to make themselves responsible for the expenses incurred by such items as cleaning, heating, and the supply of school books, and for this purpose they receive abundant funds from the Slovak local committees. The largest item, however, in the expenses of the schools, namely the teachers' salaries, is defrayed by the state. That the amounts involved are considerable ones may be judged by the fact that in Bratislava alone for the year 1933 the State Treasury paid out the sum of 74,705,648 crowns (about £700,000) as salaries to Catholic teachers, and in addition to this the sum of 30,241,973 crowns, represented the outlay on teachers' pensions for the same periods.

It must not be supposed, however, that because these Catholic schools exist the Church has no say in the management of the ordinary elementary schools. Here the ecclesiastical authorities superintend the religious instruction which is provided by Catholic priests regularly at two lessons per week. The remuneration which they receive for this is allotted solely from the State Treasury, which in addition allows the priests their travelling expenses on an adequate scale. The foregoing particulars relate only to elementary education, but there are in Slovakia numerous secondary schools of various types, and in them, too, religion is regularly taught. In fact, the conditions in the secondary schools are even more satisfactory, since they have on their staff regular teachers of religion, who like other secondary school teachers are state employees with a regular salary scale. The number of such state secondary schools in Slovakia is 53, while the remaining 12 secondary schools there are largely of an ecclesiastical character, and therefore fully provided with facilities for religious instruction.

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It is obvious from what has been said that the number of schools in Slovakia is now incomparably greater than it was under the Hungarian regime. This means, of course, that most of these schools were not built until after the establishment of the Republic and the building operations were financed entirely by the state in the case of the state schools. With regard to the church schools, the almanach issued by the Society of St. Vojtěch in 1933 under the titles of "Catholic Slovakia" states that, from 1919 to 1933, the number of Catholic Church schools either rebuilt, newly built or extended amounts to 836, and the outlay involved was about 60,374,000 crowns. The Slovak Catholics received substantial grants for this purpose, partly from the Government at Prague, and partly from the provincial administration with headquarters in Bratislava. The exact figures relating to these grants are not available, but a fairly accurate idea as to the extent of these grants can be derived from the statement that from 1930-33 the total amount allotted by the Slovak Provincial Committee for the building of Catholic schools was 5,983,000 crowns, while from 1919 to the end of 1932 the state authorities granted the large amount of 95,367,943 crowns for Slovak schools in general.

As further evidence of the satisfactory position of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia a few more details may be enumerated which, though they refer to comparatively small items in themselves, mean a great deal to Catholics. Thus, both the state authorities in Prague and the Provincial Government in Bratislava have contributed very generously towards the building and repair of churches and altars, and the amount contributed by the latter body for the period 1930-33 was 743,000 crowns. Since 1920 the Prague authorities have made grants amounting to 2,675,540 crowns for church art, while the Provincial Commission at Bratislava has provided 859,600 crowns since 1928 for the same purpose. In 1931 additions were made to the Cathedral of St. Vitus in Prague and the State contributed very considerably to the expenses which this involved. In 1933, at a time when the crisis was at its gravest, the Czechoslovak Government contributed the sum of 400,000 crowns to the ecclesiastico-national celebrations of Pribina, the first Christian ruler of Slovakia, which took place at Nitra. Again, the Society of St. Vojtěch, the literary organisation of the Slovak Catholics which publishes religious works, receives an annual grant of 150,000 crowns from the Provincial Commission at Bratislava. It is also worth noting that until recently in the Czechoslovak Army there were 31 chaplains holding high rank, although owing to the need



for restricting expenditure this number is to be considerably reduced.

The Catholic press in Czechoslovakia occupies a prominent and esteemed position. Not only in Slovakia, but throughout the Republic there is a very large number of Catholic political periodicals. The largest Catholic literary and publishing society in the Republic is that of Vojtěch in Trnava with 100,000 members, who receive three or four books gratis annually, in addition to the hundreds of thousands of other books which circulate from this society all over Slovakia. There are several other large Catholic literary societies in Slovakia, such as the "Lev," the "Jednota," "St. Ondrej," and there are also several in Bohemia and Moravia; so that the Slovak Catholics have ample opportunities of unrestricted development in religious matters, and do not have to conceal their Slovak books from the stern gaze of the Magyar officials, as they used to before the changes of regime. There is also what is known as the Catholic Women's Union with headquarters at Trnava with 70,000 members, the Catholic Gymnastic Society known as the "Orol" (Eagle) with 25,000 members in Slovakia and a large following also in Moravia. In addition to these societies there are also special associations for young people, all with many thousands of members.

Finally, a circumstance should be mentioned which may be regarded as the culminating point in the triumph of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, and that is the well-known "Modus Vivendi." Dr. Mičura, a former Minister and a deputy of the Catholic Party, writing in the 'Ludova Politika' on 4th February, 1934, expresses his satisfaction that even circles which are non-Catholic, or which were hitherto anti-Catholic, recognise the triumph of the Catholic Church, and he points out that 'Národní Listy' after referring to the recent rise of religious conservatism in Czechoslovakia, adds that the realisation of the "Modus Vivendi" leaves no obstacle to the fulfilment of the boldest demands on the part of the Czechoslovak Catholics.

If it should be objected that I have represented the position of the Catholic Church in Slovakia in too favourable a light and have given prominence to my own personal views, I can here quote the opinion of eminent church dignitaries in Slovakia which they expressed in reply to my enquiry on this subject. Thus, Bishop Dr. Pavel Jantusch, Apostolic Administrator in Trnava, writes as follows: "It is not true that the Slovak Catholics must return to the Hungarians in order to save their Church. The Catholics of Slovakia possess in the democratic order of the Czechoslovak

Republic the possibility of defending, strengthening, and extending their rights.....and the Constitution of our state guarantees to us freedom of conscience and the further development of the Catholic Church." It may be added that Bishop Jantausch is regarded as an adherent of Hlinka's Party.

Again K. A. Medvecký, Provost and Archdeacon, who is well known as a Catholic writer, in the course of a lengthy statement contrasting past and present conditions, says: ".....A gratifying future is beginning for Slovak Catholicism in the Czechoslovak State, the strong Czech Catholic organisations have enormously promoted religious and social life in Slovakia, which had been neglected by the foreign hierarchy of the former regime. An eloquent proof of this is the fact that anyone who today aims at intensifying the religious life in Slovakia has recourse, in a majority of cases, to the organising bodies in the Czech territories. The Catholic Slovaks lean on the support of the older, more developed and richer sister organisations of the Czech Catholics. Nobody can deny this." He further expressed the view that Slovakia with its devotion to Catholicism is destined to become a leavening centre for the whole Republic, through which Catholic Renaissance will penetrate also into Czech public life.

Dr. Pavel Ziška, a Senator of the Slovak Catholic Party and Professor of Theology, in his reply to my enquiry said: "All of us Slovaks who were acquainted with Catholicism in Slovakia under the old regime and were familiar also with Catholic conditions in Bohemia realise that, although there was a strong anti-Catholic movement there, we had no reason for feeling any alarm when Czechs and Slovaks were united in a single Republic, that this would result in any disaster to Catholicism in Slovakia. I well remember that when Hlinka and I were discussing these matters in Budapest in 1918 he expressed himself enthusiastically thus: "Let us fear nothing, the Czechs will give us culture, and we shall give them faith," and in this I see the mission of Slovak Catholicism in Czechoslovakia.

To this I would add in conclusion my view that when the history of the present age comes to be written, the recent progress of Catholicism in Czechoslovakia will provide an outstanding example of how the Church can cope with modern materialistic and democratic conditions in such a way as to assert itself and even extend its influence. Czechoslovak Catholicism has become a touchstone for the new age.

ANTON KOMPÁNEK.

## THE UNIAT CHURCH IN GALICIA (1914-17)

THE Russian Government and its entourage were always extremely hostile towards the Uniat Church. As is known, the Uniat Church within the Russian Empire was definitely abolished in 1875 and the Uniats were treated extremely harshly, which, however, proved to be without result, because directly after the *ukaz* in the spring of 1905, proclaiming religious toleration, above 100,000 recusants returned, not to the Uniat, but this time directly to the Roman Catholic Church, hoping that it would be powerful enough to protect them and ensure the free use of their religion. But even after the publication of the *ukaz*, the Uniat Church could not count on any sympathy from official Russia. For instance, its priests were strictly forbidden to enter Russia, and if from time to time a few Ukrainian Uniat priests visited the Russian Ukraine as simple tourists, they had to do so under assumed names and passports. Russia was visited in this way, among others, by Count Andrew Szeptycki, the Metropolitan of the Uniat Church in Galicia. Of this attitude of official Russia, a typical instance is seen in what Sazonov, the Foreign Minister, said at the end of 1914 to M. Paléologue, the French Ambassador. "I respect the Roman Catholics, though I deplore their religious error, but I hate the Uniats and despise them because they are renegades."<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of the war, after the occupation of Galicia, the Russian Government officially declared its intention of maintaining religious toleration. Count Bobrinsky, the Russian Governor-General of Galicia, stated publicly that, "he would maintain complete religious tolerance and not allow it to be broken or infringed by forcible conversions of the Uniats to Orthodoxy." But in practice things proved to be quite different. As a matter of fact, the Uniat clergy were regarded by official Russia as hostile not only from the religious, but also from the political and national point of view, since the overwhelming majority of them belonged to the national Ukrainian parties. The Russians identified the religious questions with the political and therefore charged any undesirable clergyman with political disloyalty. The first blow of this sort fell on the head of the Uniat Church in Galicia, the Metropolitan Szeptycki. As a faithful shepherd of his flock he had remained in Lvov, and at the very beginning of the war he had published an encyclical to "all

<sup>1</sup> M. Paléologue tells of this himself in his "*Mémoires*," published in the *Revue des deux Mondes*.

the faithful of the three sees of Galicia, engaging them to remain true to their monarch and to their church." After the occupation of Lvov by the Russians, in a sermon preached in the cathedral, he said—as reported by a Russian gendarme present: "The newcomers are as good Christians as ourselves; only their Christianity is of an official synodical stamp, whereas ours is free and pure."<sup>2</sup> A few days after this he was arrested and deported to Russia, where he remained in prison till the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917.<sup>3</sup>

The arrest and deportation of the Metropolitan terrorised and disorganised the Uniat Church. What with acts of repression directed against Ukrainian cultural and economic institutions and schools, the abolition of the Ukrainian press, the prohibition of the Ukrainian language and arrests of Ukrainian leaders, a panic was created. Many of the intelligentsia and the clergy fled to the interior of Austria before the advancing Russian army. In the general panic the country clergy also fled in many places, though they tried later to return to their parishes. But use was made of this by those hostile to the Uniat Church to deal her a severe blow.

In the beginning of October, 1914, there appeared in the official Russian paper of occupied Lvov, *Lvovskoe Voennoe Slovo*, a communication explaining the practice of the Russian authorities with regard to religious questions. It was said: "The authorities will not encourage forcible conversions to Orthodoxy, but they are not going to tolerate the return of the former Uniat clergy to their parishes—those clergy who, like unworthy shepherds, left their flocks at a hard moment. New Uniat priests are not to be admitted without special permission of the Governor-General in each particular case. Orthodox priests are to be sent to those parishes only if three-quarters of the population express the wish to have one." The communication ended with the significant words: "All Uniats who wish to be converted to the Orthodox rite will be received with open arms."<sup>4</sup>

In the meantime every-day experience very soon showed that those Uniat clergy who remained in their parishes were left to the good or bad grace of inferior Russian officials who, according to the

<sup>2</sup> D. Doroshenko: *The Ruin of Galicia, 1914-1917*. Nashe Mynule, t. 3. Kiev, 1918, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> The arrest and deportation of the Metropolitan Szeptycki was described by me on the basis of documents in the archives of the Governor-General's office in Galicia, in an article in the volume: *Na chuzhoy storone*, t. XIII. Praha, 1925, pp. 160-166, and in the revue *Bohoslovie*, Lviv (Lvov), 1925, t. I-II, pp. 56-65.

<sup>4</sup> Iv. Petrovich: *Galicia under the Russian Occupation*. Vienna, 1915, pp. 72-73.

Governor-General, Count Bobrinsky, himself, belonged to the worst elements of the Russian police, were quite inadequate for their task, and only injured the Russian Government in the occupied country <sup>5</sup>

These administrative agents without discrimination took to arresting and seizing the Uniat clergy and monks and sent them, together with parties of criminals, into the interior of Russia and thence to Siberia, Astrakhan, and the extreme northern provinces. Only a very insignificant number of these arrests and deportations were authorised by the Governor-General. In the confidential report of Count Bobrinsky to the Tsar himself there are mentioned only 578 persons, among them 34 Uniat priests, deported on the ground of their *neblagonadezhnost* (unreliability). The greater part of the deportations were made by order of the subordinate agents, chiefs of all sorts of military detachments, etc. The principal hindrance to the introduction of the Orthodox rite, the presence of the Uniat clergy in their parishes, was thus in many cases disposed of. After that, it was not difficult to influence the village population in favour of a "voluntary" conversion to Orthodoxy.

It is to be supposed that Count Bobrinsky himself was actually opposed to violent measure for the conversion of the conquered population; but he had against him a very influential group of militant Orthodox, who had powerful supporters at St. Petersburg, both in government circles and in the Holy Synod. In his confidential report he speaks thus of the situation created: "In certain circles of the Russian clergy there was an opinion that the absorption of the Uniat inhabitants of Galicia into the general mass of the population of Russia ought to begin with their conversion to Orthodoxy, and accordingly even during the occupation these circles found it necessary to undertake an active propaganda, counting on the support and orders of the Russian Government. Convenient means were thought to be found in nominating Orthodox priests to Uniat parishes in Galicia on the wish of a very small number of the parishioners. This was the point of view of the Archbishop, Eulogius, to whom the Holy Synod entrusted the direction of the Orthodox Church in Galicia. I did not share this point of view."<sup>6</sup>

Actually there began between Count Bobrinsky and Archbishop Eulogius a struggle on the ground of Eulogius' endeavours to start in Galicia an unlimited campaign of militant Orthodoxy. Behind Eulogius there were important and influential forces, and Count

<sup>5</sup> *Report of the Governor-General of Galicia for the period of 1 September, 1914, to 1 July, 1915.* Kiev, 1916, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Report of the Governor-General*, p. 67.

Bobrinsky had to capitulate. At the beginning he tried to maintain the strict principle of nominating Orthodox priests to a parish only in cases where threequarters of the population of a given locality desired to have him. He was also against confiscating the property of the Uniat clergy to hand it over to the Orthodox. But here, too, he had to give way, and in his report he sadly remarks: "Archbishop Eulogius found it possible to ignore my orders and to nominate Orthodox priests without letting me know it." Further he adds: "The attitude of the population to these newly-nominated Orthodox priests has been far from hostile; still they have not acquired either their love or esteem. The causes of this lie in their inferior personal qualities when compared to the Uniat clergy as well as in their material conditions, which the superior ecclesiastical authorities have not considered in due time." By 15 April, 1915, Archbishop Eulogius created 113 Orthodox parishes; during the two further months before the evacuation of Galicia by the Russians their number was almost doubled.

By the side of this conversion to Orthodoxy in the country itself, there were conversions among young men and women deported from Galicia to Russia in order to follow courses of Russian for teachers, as the Ukrainian language was to be replaced in schools by the Russian. In Petersburg, for instance, all the 120 students of the teachers' courses at the Lokhvitzsky-Skalon school were converted in February, 1915, to the Orthodox rite.<sup>8</sup> There were also 20 individual cases of conversion among the Uniat clergy.<sup>9</sup>

The sudden change of the military situation on the Galician front that began in May, 1915, and led in the course of the following summer to the evacuation by the Russians of almost all Galicia, swept away all the endeavours of the Russian authorities towards implanting the Orthodox rite there. More than that: not only all the newly-converted had to abandon their homes and fly with the Russian armies, naturally fearing the vengeance of the Austrians, but all persons who had voluntarily or otherwise manifested their sympathy with Russia in one form or the other. More than 100,000 Ukrainians were obliged to leave their country and follow the retiring Russian armies. The lot of these unhappy people was, indeed, an extremely hard one. In Russia there were already millions of "refugees"—that is, the population of the territories immediately adjacent to the front, almost exclusively Ukrainians

<sup>7</sup> *Report of the Governor-General*, p. 43.

<sup>8</sup> Iv. Petrovich *Op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 81-83.

or White Russians whom the Russian authorities forced to abandon their homes and move eastwards in order to leave a "desert" to the advancing Germans. As a result of this barbarous way of making war, hundreds of thousands of homes were ruined, thousands and thousands of people, especially children, died of hunger, cold, and all sorts of privations and diseases. The unhappy Galician refugees drank to the dregs the cup of these sufferings, having trusted in the might of Russia and adopted the creed of their conquerors.

After the great retreat of 1915, eight districts only of Eastern Galicia remained under Russian occupation. After the successful offensive of General Brusilov, in the summer of 1916, Russia recovered an important part of Galicia and almost all Bukovina, 33 districts in all. As Governor-General, this time, was nominated D. F. Trepov, former Governor-General of Kiev. The headquarters of General Alexeyev worked out a special statute for the administration of the occupied territories; no "reforms," civil or religious, were this time arranged for the territory in occupied countries. In order to emphasise the different character of the new religious policy, neither Archbishop Eulogius nor his associates were allowed access to the occupied zones, and for the administration of the few Orthodox parishes remaining in the eight occupied districts, the Protoierey T. Titov, professor in the Theological Academy of Kiev, was nominated, acting as the representative of the Chief Protopresbyter of the Army and the Navy and not of the Holy Synod. In the beginning the population obtained a certain freedom; it was even allowed to reopen three Ukrainian high schools (gymnasias) in Tarnopol, Chortkiv and Chernovetz, on the condition, however, that they were not to be called "Ukrainian."

The Revolution of 1917 abolished all national and religious restraints, not only in Russia, but also in the occupied provinces. The Metropolitan Szeptycki was set free and left for abroad, travelling *via* Sweden. Hundreds of thousands of Galicians deported to Siberia, among them also clergy and monks, were set free and returned, mostly through Ukraine and Kiev. Immediately after his liberation, the Metropolitan Szeptycki visited Kiev and was received there with enthusiasm by the local Ukrainians as a martyr. A Uniat Church was built in Kiev in 1917 and to it was nominated the priest Shepaniuk, formerly deported and imprisoned.<sup>10</sup> The times of fanaticism and religious persecution vanished like a bad dream. Though East

<sup>10</sup> Arrested not long ago by the Soviet Government and exiled to the Caucasus.

Galicia had still in store long years of unsettlement and suffering, the Uniat Church as such was not attacked. Even after the compulsory annexation of East Galicia to Poland, the Uniat Church was recognised by the Polish Government and its juridical position was regulated by a Concordat between Poland and the Holy See.

The persecution of the Uniat Church in occupied Galicia was one of the darkest pages of the old Russian regime in the last years of its existence. The policy of the Russian Government was publicly condemned by the best representatives of the Russian intelligentsia : Professor Paul Milyukov, for instance, called it from the tribune of the Duma "a European scandal." This policy brought much evil to the Uniat population of Galicia and demoralised many persons, not only among those forcibly converted to Orthodoxy, but among all who had any part in this discreditable action.

D. DOROSHENKO.



# RUSSIA AND THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION (1848-9)

## I.

THE States affected by the Revolution of 1848 fall into two groups—those where the aim was the restoration of parliamentary government as in France, and those where constitutional demands were linked with the demand for national unity, as in Germany, Italy and the Danubian and Balkan countries. But while the union of Italy or Germany led to foreign complications (as in the Danish-Prussian and Austro-Sardinian quarrels), the question of racial unity in Central Europe raised very complicated territorial issues. There was everywhere a demand for the extension of civil rights and the introduction of parliamentary government, but within the limits of this demand each nation had its own project for the realisation of national unity.

On 11 April, 1848, the laws prepared by the Hungarian Parliament of 1847-8, restoring both theoretical and administrative freedom to the Hungarian State, received the sanction of the Crown; and on 25 April the new Austrian constitution was granted. Thus the Habsburg Monarchy was divided into two States linked by the Pragmatic Sanction and by the joint administration of certain affairs—the Crown inviting the Austrian and Hungarian governments to nominate plenipotentiaries to negotiate the details. The assertion that administrative independence was not granted to Hungary by her lawful king, but was merely the concession of a weak Emperor as sovereign of the Austrian State, does not correspond either with the facts or with contemporary documents. The confusion arises from the fact that the Habsburg ruler united in one person three different dignities. He was recognised by all his peoples as sovereign within the frontiers of his dominions; as Emperor he was sovereign of the Austrian State, as described in the Charter of 25 April, 1848: and he was Apostolic King of Hungary. Thus Hungary formed part of the Habsburg dominions, but not of the Austrian Empire. The compromise proposed between Hungary and Austria in 1848 relating to common defence, foreign affairs and finance, scarcely differed from that arrived at in 1867, and in both cases Francis Deák acted as chief negotiator. In 1848 it was intended that both countries should retain free administration of their internal affairs, while joint affairs were regulated by a special agreement. Accordingly the Hungarian Parliament resolved as follows on 3 March, 1848: “In respect to several questions it will

be necessary that the conflicting interests of Hungary and the hereditary provinces of the Empire be equally adjusted; in order to effect which we shall always be ready, with due maintenance of our independent national rights and interests, to lend a helping hand "

After Metternich's fall, Count Kolowrat became Austrian Premier from 20 March to 3 April, and during his tenure of office a Slav concentration was set on foot, by appealing to the Croats. An Imperialist officer was appointed Ban of Croatia, who denied allegiance to the Hungarian Crown and Government; and the British Ambassador, Lord Ponsonby, was informed that the Hungarian question would be solved by a Russian invasion.<sup>1</sup>

On 3 April the aged Kolowrat was replaced by the still more aged Count Ficquelmont, an intimate of Metternich, and under his administration the separation of the Austrian and Hungarian States was completed. On the 11th the Hungarian laws were sanctioned, and on the 25th the new Austrian constitution defined Austria as consisting of the hereditary provinces and the kingdoms of Bohemia, Galicia, Dalmatia and Lombardo-Venetia. On 3 May, Ficquelmont was in his turn replaced by Pillersdorff, whose War Minister, Count Latour, began to prepare for a general reconstruction of the Habsburg Monarchy through the annexation of Hungary. After the defeat of Sardinia by Radetzky, the army of Italy was linked up with Zagreb, the Croatian capital, under an Imperialist general; with Belgrade, where an Austrian colonel acted as consul and received instructions to take command of an Austro-Serb army corps in the Banat; and with Bucarest where the arrival of a Russian army had been announced to support the Austrian forces in Transylvania. Thus Hungary was ringed round with Austrian forces. The Court withdrew to Innsbruck, and Prince Windischgrätz, as commander in chief, opened the campaign, from which a solution of all pending questions was hoped, by storming Prague in June, Vienna in October, and invading Hungarian territory in December.

The idea of a compromise with Hungary by negotiation between the two Governments was soon abandoned, and the Austrian cabinet council of 27 August decided to address an ultimatum to the Hungarian Government demanding the surrender of the portfolios of war, finance and foreign affairs.<sup>2</sup> On 31 September, Baron Jelačić led an Austro-Croat army across the Drave, and on his defeat coalesced with the forces of Windischgrätz, who eventually occupied Budapest on 1 January, 1849. On 2 December, 1848, the Emperor-King Ferdinand was replaced by his nephew, Francis

Joseph, who did not take the oath to the Hungarian constitution and fully approved Windischgrätz's invasion of Hungary of 4 March, 1849. A new constitutional charter was promulgated incorporating Hungary within the Austrian State.

This new State of the Austrian Centralists was based on co-operation between Austria and the Czechs and Croats, the Serbs being rewarded with autonomy in the south, and the Roumanians being promised hegemony in Transylvania. But after the occupation of Hungary, Croatia was placed under a German military government, to the great disillusionment of Jelačić and his friends. The same thing happened to the Serbs, for the Voivodina had no distinct frontiers and was subject to German military administration. The Roumanians also were thoroughly disappointed, and their leader, Avram Jancu, ended his life as a broken man.

The Czechs already had a constructive plan for Central Europe. While the Slavophil Kolowrat was still in power, the Czech leader, Palacký, refused to send representatives from Bohemia to the German Federal Parliament. As Bohemia had a mixed population, the Czechs eagerly sought connection with the other Slav nationalities of Austria, and as the Austrian Government leaned on Germany a Pan-Slav Congress was organised at Prague as a protest against the Frankfurt Parliament. It was only dissolved after the capture of Prague by Windischgrätz, and the Czechs co-operated with Vienna in order to avoid absorption in the German Empire. Thus the army which occupied Hungary contained Czech troops, and it was with Czech help that the constitution of 4 March, 1849, was published. At that time Palacký would have been satisfied with the separation of Austria into a Slav and German section. According to his project of 1849, the latter would have been composed of Upper and Lower Austria, Salzburg, Vorarlberg and the German districts of Styria, Carinthia, Tyrol, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia; the former by the Slav portions of the same provinces; a third group would be formed by Poland, that is, Galicia and Bukovina, and the Ruthene counties of Hungary; a fourth by Illyria (the Slovenes, the Slav parts of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola and Istria); a fifth by the southern Slav provinces of Croatia, Dalmatia and the Serb Voivodina; a sixth by the Italian provinces of southern Tyrol, Lombardy and Venice; and a seventh by Hungary and Transylvania.

Another project was put forward by the Serbian Minister, Garašanin, who in 1844 demanded the union of all Southern Slavs under Serbia.<sup>3</sup> This was refused on the one hand by the Croats

and on the other by the Roumanians, whose church was then under Serbian administration. While the Croats sided with Austria, the Roumanians under the joint menace of Serbian hegemony and of a Russian invasion turned to the Magyars, and in the spring of 1848 Demeter Bratianu was sent by the Wallachian Government to Budapest to negotiate for a Magyar alliance. He was regarded by his own Government as responsible for the failure.<sup>4</sup> Soon afterwards a fourth project was put forward by another agent of the Wallachian Government, Ion Maiorescu, a native of Transylvania, who presented two memoranda to Archduke John at Frankfurt, demanding the union of all Roumanians under the Habsburgs. In addition to all this there were various projects of federation. The Austrian charter of 4 March met with great disapproval from all nationalities.

Meanwhile the Hungarian agent in Paris, Count Ladislas Teleki, was working for an alliance between the Magyars and the various nationalities; and on 18 May, 1849, a meeting was held in his rooms with Czechoslovak and Yugoslav delegates. The Poles acted as mediators, and it was agreed that every nationality inside Hungary should receive autonomy.<sup>5</sup> The Czech delegate was F. L. Rieger, Palacký's son-in-law. A copy of the minutes was seized by the Austrian police from a Polish courier, and Rieger was eventually pardoned on appeal to Schwartzberg. Meanwhile another copy reached Hungary, and on 21 July the Law of Nationalities was voted by the Hungarian Parliament, on the basis of the Paris negotiations.

The plan of a confederation between Hungary, Serbia, Wallachia and Moldavia was ascribed to Louis Kossuth, but it was only elaborated by him after his flight to Turkey. Attention was probably drawn to it by Russian diplomats who wished to alarm the British Government at the effect of the Hungarian Revolution upon the Balkan countries. The plan was submitted to Lord Palmerston, who approved it on condition that the Magyars, Serbs and Roumanians should form a strong barrier to Russian expansion.<sup>6</sup> The Russian Government denounced all efforts at federation and preferred a united Austria.

## II

Russian policy was determined by the Münchengrätz agreement of 18 September, 1833, by which the Tsar promised not to intervene in the neighbouring Monarchy unless invited by the Emperor. Step by step, however, Vienna was induced to accept the lead of Tsar Nicholas. Cracow was naturally a gift from his hands, and

Queen Victoria's comment on the Vienna protocol of 3 November, 1836, was : " It seems quite clear that Russia was at the bottom of the measure relative to Cracow, and it is, therefore, but reasonable to expect that she has an ulterior motive in view."<sup>7</sup> The Russian loan tied Austria to Petersburg, and henceforward Austria could not be regarded as a barrier against Russian expansion.

During the brief administration of Count Kolowrat the Tsar invited Queen Victoria to negotiate for the partition of Europe,<sup>8</sup> but his letter was left unanswered. Kolowrat was replaced by Ficquelmont, and the Tsar was content to await an opportunity such as would open to him the road to Constantinople. His chief anxiety was Poland, and in March 1848, General Count Berg was sent to Berlin and Vienna to prevent a Polish revolution and hold back the allied courts from sympathy with the Poles.<sup>9</sup> He himself told Count Thun that he would not tolerate a Polish movement on Austrian territory, and that on the first rumour of such an event he would send his troops across the border.<sup>10</sup> The Russian Ambassador in Berlin, Baron Meyendorff, described the Polish danger as the greatest imaginable for Russia,<sup>11</sup> and Palmerston warned Prussia not to provoke Russia by a recognition of Polish demands.<sup>12</sup>

As the court of Vienna based all its hopes on Russia, the Tsar proposed maintaining order in Galicia and Bukovina with Russian troops; and the Austrian regiments, being suspected by Russia owing to their mixed character, were transferred to Italy. In this way the Hungarian Government lost some of the best Magyar troops whom it had relied upon against Austria, while Austria lost troops on which she could have relied in case of Russian aggression; and it was their contribution to the victory over the Italians which enabled Radetzky to send help to Jelačić and Windischgrätz against Hungary. Soon after the concentration of the Russian troops on the Galician frontier and the occupation of the Danubian Principalities, the Austrian ultimatum was sent to Budapest (31 August).<sup>13</sup> Jelačić crossed the Drave almost at the same time that the Russian General, Lüders, entered Moldavia, and it was calculated that the two capitals, Budapest and Bucarest, would be occupied simultaneously by the allied troops. Hungary found herself between two Russian headquarters at Warsaw and Bucarest, and was threatened by an Austro-Russian invasion. The Austrian War Minister, Latour, admitted that the Russian advance had taken place in concert with his Government.

That Tsar Nicholas's Balkan designs were not unknown to Hungary may be seen from the minutes of the Hungarian Cabinet

on 12 April, 1848, when the Foreign Minister, Prince Paul Esterházy, was instructed to appeal to the British Government. It was resolved (1) to send agents to the various Balkan countries and demand the organisation of Hungarian consulates at Belgrade, Bucarest, Jassy and Constantinople; (2) to keep the Government at Vienna informed as to the movement of Russian troops, with a view to common action; (3) to send two deputies to the Frankfurt Parliament in order to win German support against Russia, and (4) to invite the British Government to take steps to prevent a Russian invasion of Hungary. The Viennese Government ignored the proposal for Hungarian consuls, and remained unmoved even by the alarming reports of its own consuls and agents, assuming that Russian action had the approval of the Court.<sup>14</sup> It opposed the despatch of the two deputies to Frankfurt. Lord Ponsonby sided with the Court, and Lord John Russell, in writing to him, referred to "the Austrian view you have taken of the politics of Europe."<sup>15</sup> No wonder that the Russian Ambassadors in Berlin and Vienna, Baron Meyendorff and Count Medem, became for the moment the real rulers of Central Europe.

Palmerston was convinced that Russian encroachment could be averted by strengthening the Habsburg Monarchy, but in supporting Austria and repudiating the Hungarian view, he could plead his inability to act as arbiter in an internal question. His weakest point was his lack of information regarding the growing influence of Russia upon the Austrian Government.

While Jelačić was advancing against Budapest, an Austro-Serb army was organised in the Banat and joined by volunteers from Serbia, while the Saxons and Roumanians of Transylvania were invited by the Austrian General, Baron Puchner, to take up arms against the Magyars. Palmerston was well aware that the Russian invasion of the Principalities was directly connected with the Hungarian revolution, and took part in agreement with the Austrian Government, but he did not realise that Austria was in the hands of the Tsar and that to strengthen her was to strengthen Russian influence in Central Europe.

### III

While Lüders had his headquarters at Bucarest and outposts along the Transylvanian frontier, Puchner who commanded at Nagyszeben (Hermannstadt), attacked the Hungarian army, in the hope of dispersing it and so effecting a junction with the main Austrian forces operating against Budapest. It was at this highly

critical moment that General Joseph Bem, one of the leaders of the Polish rising of 1830, took command of the Hungarian forces in Transylvania and by a skilful manœuvre forced the Austrians back to the frontier. Puchner, old and in bad health, had to face overwhelming Magyar forces, and being no longer in a position to protect the towns of Brassó (Kronstadt) and Nagyszeben, he secretly drew the attention both of the Saxons and the Roumanians to the Russian forces on the frontier. The Saxons accordingly accepted the idea of Russian intervention, and though a section of the Roumanians protested, their Bishop, Șaguna, joined the Saxons in appealing to Lüders; he himself did not return from Bucarest, but found his way to Vienna by way of Galicia. On 2 January, 1849, it was reported by the British Consul-General in Bucarest, Robert Colquhoun, that two deputations had arrived there from Transylvania to implore Russian and Turkish help. From this report it transpires that the invitation to the Russians came not from the Austrian General, but from the joint Saxon and Roumanian deputation; that they appealed to both the Russian and Turkish authorities, and that they received the answer that the Russian General was not authorised to cross the frontier.

On the same day, Lüders informed his Government that Puchner had asked for permission to send his military chest and archives to Wallachia, in order to be "en sureté sous votre protection."<sup>15</sup> Turkey being neutral, this raises an interesting point of international law. Lüders in his report refers to the Tsar's instructions of 20 November, 1848, not to cross the Austrian frontier; he now warned his master that a Hungarian invasion of the Principalities was imminent. The Russian and Turkish commissioners Duhamel and Fuad Effendi asked for instructions, and thus the question was transferred from Bucarest to Petersburg and Constantinople.<sup>16</sup> According to Segur, neither Duhamel and Lüders nor the Russian Consul Kotzebue hesitated to grant the aid demanded by Puchner. The real obstacle was Fuad, who emphasised Turkish neutrality. Thus the two deputations received a negative answer, and the invasion of Hungary from neutral territory was averted. The minutes of the Austrian Cabinet Council held on 12 January show that Puchner advocated intervention, but for the time Schwarzenberg preferred to strengthen the Austrian forces in Galicia, with a view to their helping Puchner.<sup>17</sup>

On the basis of Lüders' report the question was discussed at Petersburg, Buol again pressing for an Austrian loan; on the same day Duhamel informed the Russian Ambassador to the Porte, Titov, that Russian troops were moving towards Transylvania and

occupying the roads to Brassó and Nagyszeben, and that the Austrian army archives had been entrusted to the care of the Russians. On the same day Buol had an interview with Neselrode and showed him a letter of Lüders' dated 2 January, declaring that the Tsar would send the help demanded by Puchner if formally requested by the Ambassador. Buol replied that he could not give his support to intervention except at the request of the Austrian high command, and, as the Tsar concurred, Lüders was instructed in this sense.<sup>18</sup> Buol still hoped to avert it through the advance of the army of Prince Windischgrätz.

Fuad gave orders to admit and disarm every refugee coming from Transylvania to Wallachia, arguing that the Austrian demand that only the Magyars should be disarmed while the Austrians might retain their arms, would be an infraction of neutrality.<sup>19</sup> He even went further and appealed to the British and French Governments on the basis of the Straits Convention of 1841. But the Russian Government had already found a new pretext for intervention. Bem, being a Pole, was regarded as a Russian deserter, and it was feared that his real intention was to invade Poland by way of Galicia. Hence on 8 January Buol learned from Schwarzenberg that Prince Pashkevich, the Russian commander at Warsaw, had been ordered to prepare himself for such an eventuality. The Tsar could not, of course, be hampered in punishing his own subject, and henceforward both Austrians and Russians skilfully manœuvred with the assertion that the Hungarian Revolution was not a Hungarian national movement, but a Polish plot against the Russian State.<sup>20</sup>

At the same time Lüders argued that Bem's army would ere long be driven by Windischgrätz into the Principalities, and that Russia should prevent such an incursion into neutral Turkey. The arrival of Russian reinforcements was accordingly reported by Colquhoun, and Fuad vainly protested against the idea that "Wallachia, a province of Turkey, should serve as a passage for troops of one power to enter the dominion of another state equally on friendly terms with the Porte." Duhamel at once proposed a joint movement on the part of the Russian and Turkish forces to assist the Transylvanians, but this was rejected by Fuad, who argued that the Treaty of 1841 which closed the Dardanelles for warships, also precluded any European land troops from using Turkey as a line of passage.<sup>21</sup>

In actual fact Windischgrätz never reached Transylvania, and Bem prepared for a decisive campaign, while Puchner in his anxiety determined to invite the Russians. But as he hesitated to take



any responsibility for this, a war council was held on 20 January, so that the formal invitation should come from his inferior officers. In an undated letter of justification addressed from Wallachian territory to Schwarzenberg he stated that this council had originally voted against intervention, but had approved of it on learning that the fall of Brassó was imminent.<sup>22</sup> General Schurtter, who commanded at Brassó, himself called in the Russians on the 20th, and on the 22nd an Austrian major reached Bucarest with a letter from Puchner. On the same day fresh instructions arrived from Petersburg, by which the frontier could only be crossed at the request of the Austrian commander; but at the same time an advance corps was already pushed by Lüders in the direction of Nagyszeben.<sup>23</sup> The instructions were known on the same day to both the French and British consuls, and to Fuad, who told Ségur that he would protest against this violation of Ottoman neutrality.<sup>24</sup>

Lüders had on the 21st offered his help to Puchner, but when the Austrian major arrived next day, he asked for a written request. Ségur believed that intervention had been decided for at least three weeks, but on the 22nd it was notified by Duhamel to Fuad. It would, he said, be made on the direct application of the Austrian general, its aim would be to protect the two Saxon towns against the Magyars, and it would last till Windischgrätz arrived.

The rumour that Bem's army had been routed by Windischgrätz proved to be false. Bem's army was organised to help Transylvania, and it had no contact with the main Magyar army opposed to that of Windischgrätz. For the capture of Budapest the latter only advanced as far as the Tisza, and there was therefore no hope of his reaching Transylvania shortly. The statement that the Magyars retreating before him would soon reach the Principalities was a pretext for Russian intervention.

On 23 January the British and French Ambassadors, Canning and Aupick, protested at the Porte against intervention. Next day their Russian colleague, Titov, was informed by Duhamel that there would be no Russian intervention: but everything was upset by the decision of General Schurtter to evacuate Brassó, cross the frontier and make his way through Turkish territory to join Puchner's forces in their final struggle against Bem. Colquhoun spoke very frankly to Fuad of the "irregularity of allowing the men to retain their arms while in a country seeming to be strictly neutral."<sup>25</sup> Fuad was ready to protest, but abandoned the idea after consulting Ségur:<sup>26</sup> but he asked Colquhoun to inform Lord Palmerston that he alone was struggling against Russian encroachments.<sup>27</sup>

On 25 January Buol was instructed to thank the Russians for their offer and to inform the Tsar that Windischgrätz would be able to provide Puchner with all the help he needed. Two days later Lüders in a letter intercepted by the Magyars informed Puchner that without a direct invitation from him as commanding officer, he could not send troops to the rescue. Puchner declined any responsibility for such an invitation, but sent another petition on behalf of the population, and eventually on the evening of the 27th Lüders concentrated a force of 5,000 at the Rothenthurm pass to march on Nagyszeben.

Puchner in a long letter of 30 January addressed to Timoni, the Austrian Consul-General at Bucarest, affirmed that the Russians had been invited not by himself but by a war council; that the object was to save the population of the two Saxon towns, and that Timoni should explain it in this sense to his consular colleagues in Bucarest, as not really being an intervention at all.<sup>28</sup> Timoni accordingly told his colleagues that it was not an intervention, but an act of humanity, but the British and French consuls persisted in calling it intervention. Timoni himself wrote to Schwartzemberg that it was intervention, made on application from the Austrian general, as was announced at Petersburg.<sup>29</sup>

Intervention was followed by the protest of Stratford Canning at the Porte, and Colquhoun's secretary, Effingham Grant, was sent to Nagyszeben to obtain information on the subject—much to the annoyance of the Austrian Government. At the same time Canning appealed to Ali Pasha, and in his letter of 5 February to Palmerston mention was made of sending a combined British and French squadron.<sup>30</sup> The Russian troops met with a cold reception in Transylvania, alike from Saxons and Roumanians (1 February). Russian diplomacy at once began to work for cooperation with Turkey as the only means of holding her back from an appeal to the Powers. But the negotiations of the two commissioners, Duhamel and Fuad, at Bucarest resulted in an open breach between Russians and Turks. On 6 February the Austrian and Russian Ambassadors called upon Ali Pasha and accused Fuad of partiality towards the Magyars. Ali was thus forced on to the defensive, and while still defending Fuad's attitude of neutrality, sent him new instructions favourable to Austria, enabling Schurtter to join Puchner across Wallachian territory.<sup>31</sup> As a result, Turkey could no longer be regarded as a neutral power. The left bank of the Danube from Galaț to Orsova was now placed under the control of Russian troops, and this was justified by reference to the Treaty of Adrianople (1829);

but Colquhoun transmitted a copy of the treaty to Fuad with the remark that it contained no such provision, and in order to "convince him he is in error."<sup>32</sup> A deep impression was made by the arrival of the British fleet in Turkish waters, and meanwhile Grant reported that the Russians were meeting with "very little sympathy" in Transylvania.<sup>33</sup>

In point of fact Timoni continued to condemn intervention, and at the Austrian cabinet council on 26 February, Prince Schwarzenberg declared that it depended on the Austrian Government whether the Russians remained, and that he regarded their intervention as humiliating. Accordingly a courier was dispatched by way of Galicia, bearing a letter for Puchner and another from Count Medem to General Lüders. The French consul learned that Lüders wrote to Puchner, offering to withdraw his troops as soon as they ceased to be indispensable. Meanwhile the Roumanian *émigrés* in Paris demanded evacuation of the Principalities, and the question was hotly discussed in the chancelleries of Europe. The Austrian and Russian Ambassadors were actually warned by the Porte that Russian intervention in Transylvania would be followed by similar action in Italy, and the Sardinian Minister in London, when he hinted this to Lord Palmerston, received the answer that "it is not easy to see the direct connection between the entrance of a Russian force into Transylvania and the interference of France in any hostilities which may unfortunately take place between Austria and Sardinia in Italy."<sup>34</sup>

The question of admitting various Hungarian and Austrian refugees to Turkey had at the very first been under discussion at Bucarest. Foreign ministers and consuls enjoyed the right, under the Capitulations, to demand from the Turkish authorities the arrest of their own countrymen, and any Hungarians could thus be seized on the simple demand of the Austrian consul as being Austrian subjects. Fuad at the beginning promised equal treatment to all refugees and this seemed proper to Palmerston,<sup>35</sup> but the situation was completely changed by the instructions given to Fuad on 12 February, under which the Austrians were allowed to retain their arms, but the Magyars might be disarmed. The responsibility for this lay with Ali Pasha, who now sided with the autocratic Powers and was "not inclined to protest formally against the violation of its territorial rights by the passage of the Russians across the Transylvanian frontier."<sup>36</sup>

Palmerston wanted a strong Austrian Empire capable of opposing Russian ambitions, but when on 4 March, 1848, the new

constitution of a "Great Austria" was promulgated, Windischgrätz was already in retreat towards the Austrian frontier, while on the 11th Nagyszeben was captured and the joint Austro-Russian forces expelled from Transylvania. A great sensation was caused by the fact that Effingham Grant remained in the town until it fell into the hands of Bem, and that he then called on the General and returned to Bucarest with several letters addressed by Bem to the Vice-President of the French Republic and others. The information he brought led to a definite change in the opinion of the diplomats, and this led Schwarzenberg to complain to the Tsar. But more important than Grant's mission were the advance of the Hungarian army to the Turkish frontier and the possibility of understandings between Hungary and Russia and Hungary and Wallachia. On 17 March the Russian troops were recalled by Lüders, and the adventure ended in complete failure. The Russian garrison at Bucarest was demoralised, the Roumanian population turned against it and General Duhamel said to Fuad "Nous sommes sur un volcan." Puchner's army entered Wallachia in a miserable condition,<sup>37</sup> and while they moved westwards in order to recross the frontier at Orsova, the Russians retired homewards.

It was now generally recognised that the intervention had been a breach of international law, and the British Government warned Vienna that it was of vital interest to Austria that the Principalities should remain in the possession of the Sultan. After the Russian retreat began, everyone was convinced that Bem would cross the frontier and pursue his enemies on Turkish soil. Ségur at once requested him to respect the Turkish frontier, and even went so far as to demand from him a written promise to be sent to Fuad or Omer Pasha.<sup>38</sup> This was accordingly done, and thanks to French intervention the Russians remained undisturbed. The rumours of Hungarian invasion put about by the retiring Russians were denied by Bem in his reply to Ségur: "Nous respectons et nous respecterons les frontières de ce pays limitrophe." He even added that a similar assurance would be given to the Wallachian Government, thus showing that the Magyars made a clear distinction between the Turkish, Wallachian and Russian administrations. They sought to help on the emancipation of the Roumanians from Russian and Turkish rule, and let it be announced that a Roumanian national government would be recognised by Hungary. There was even a demand made for Roumanian consuls in Brassó and Nagyszeben—a proposal never put forward in later times.<sup>39</sup>

In these circumstances it was vital for Russia to secure Turkish

co-operation. While Palmerston still thought of Austria as the only barrier to Russian expansion and expressed the hope that the Principalities would remain in Turkish hands,<sup>40</sup> Lüders asked for reinforcements, and Schwarzenberg himself asked the Russian Government to take over control in Galicia, so that Austrian troops might be employed against the Magyars.<sup>41</sup> His declaration that the Hungarian revolution was "*l'ennemi implacable de toute autorité légitime, de tous les pouvoirs réguliers quels qu'ils soient,*" was not merely an exaggeration, but rather a formal invitation for Russian intervention:—

"S'opposer à ce triomphe est une œuvre digne de la sollicitude de tout gouvernement éclairé. Nous pensons que Sa Majesté Impériale de toutes les Russes serait à même de concourir essentiellement à ce but en échellouant le long des frontières de la Galicie des masses de troupes assez imposantes pour intimider les perturbateurs de l'ordre et pour leur donner la conviction que leurs tentatives éventuelles ne finiraient que par leur destruction . . . Si par malheur cet espoir été frustré, et que l'insuffisance momentanée de nos forces disponibles nous imposât la nécessité, pour réprimer la révolte, de faire appel à des secours étrangers, l'Empereur, notre auguste maître, est persuadé d'avance que l'amitié de son august allié ne lui ferait pas défaut en cette concurrence."<sup>42</sup>

For the time it was decided at St. Petersburg not to send reinforcements to the Principalities, and to throw all responsibility on to Puchner. Palmerston learnt with great satisfaction that the incident was over; but on 29 March, the day following Buchanan's report, Stratford Canning announced that the Porte would be forced to protest against, or to join a second time in, Russian intervention in Habsburg internal affairs.<sup>43</sup> The situation was still further aggravated by Turkish armaments and Russian agitation amongst the Greeks. It was, however, strange to read the optimistic view of Lord Ponsonby, who spoke of a great Russian victory and Bem's flight to Wallachia: "this report has been received by this Government, Prince Schwarzenberg having told me of it this morning."<sup>44</sup> In actual fact the Russians had been expelled from Transylvania; Nesselrode had invited the Austrian Ambassador, Buol, "de passer ce soir chez lui pour me donner de plus amples détails sur ce bien triste incident."<sup>45</sup> This defeat was to be completed by the Porte's recognition of the Hungarian Government and a possible alliance between Hungary, Turkey and Roumania—a danger which the Russians were convinced could only be averted by a Russo-Turkish alliance.

This was the secret of Lüders' proposal that the Turkish and

Russian troops should be mixed together, Ségur warning Fuad that this would provoke a great sensation in the West and would bring Turkey into the war.<sup>46</sup> Lüders and Duhamel now called upon Fuad and proposed sending Turkish troops to the frontiers, even offering to place a Russian garrison in Bucarest. The object was to confront Bem with Turkish troops defending their own territory. They described the situation as "extrêmement mauvaise," but Fuad again turned to Ségur, who proposed their taking over one sector only. Accordingly, only Omer Pasha's troops occupied the pass south of Nagyszeben. Both Fuad and Omer visited the French consulate and appealed to Ségur, "not as a friend to a friend, but as the Turkish Commissioner to the Consul of France." The key undoubtedly lay with Ségur, who was regarded as neutral, while Colquhoun passed as Russophobe and Timoni, of course, sided with the Russians. Duhamel asked for Turkish help on the ground that Cainenii had been destroyed by the Magyars, but he soon afterwards reported that the latter had not crossed the Wallachian frontier. The retreat, he reported, "had much demoralised the Russians from high to low, and the superior officers allowed themselves, in palliation of their own misfortune, publicly to indulge in such remarks on the conduct of the Austrian officers and army, which have reached the ears of the latter, that the worst possible feelings exist between the two."<sup>47</sup> As the Austro-Russian alliance could no longer be held together in Wallachia, Schwarzenberg turned direct to the Tsar, describing Transylvania as "a citadel whence Bem and the Polish adventurers hope to extend their revolutionary action to all neighbouring countries." He even described Palmerston as in secret connection with the Magyars, and the mission of Effingham Grant as a provocation to the allied Powers. He cautiously added that 30,000 Russian soldiers could hold up Bem till Windischgrätz could reach Transylvania, but in reality the latter was in retreat towards the Austrian frontier, and it was on the very day of this report that Nesselrode told Buol that in his opinion Transylvania was lost for Austria.<sup>48</sup> The Austrian Ambassador, acting on a "demande expresse" from Schwarzenberg, in vain renewed the invitation of 14 April.<sup>49</sup> On the same day Duhamel told Fuad, "the Transylvanian affair is over, we shall receive orders to evacuate immediately."

Lord Palmerston seemed to be better informed when he acquiesced in the occupation of the Principalities,<sup>50</sup> but he was not aware of the Austrian Cabinet's discussion of a second Russian intervention. Fuad received a Russian decoration, and while "Russian reinforce-

ments continued to arrive, the Turkish commissioner co-operated with his Russian colleagues in the enforcement of the most vexatious measures." Canning even stated that "some kind of change favourable to Russian policy has passed over the counsels of the Porte." Both he and his French colleague, General Aupick, were "much surprised by Ali Pasha's assertion that he had no knowledge of the arrival of any Russian reinforcements in Wallachia."<sup>51</sup>

The Hungarian Government sent an envoy to Turkey and Wallachia in the person of Edmund Beöthy, but he was not admitted, while the Tsar's aide-de-camp, General Grabbe, arrived on 14 April bearing an autograph letter to the Sultan. Canning remarked that "no good is augured from its analogy to missions of the same kind." And he was fully justified in suspecting that the Turks were conniving at the second intervention. On 20 April Medem reported to Nesselrode that the Austrian Government had renewed its request, and the Russian general, Berg, was sent to Vienna to convey the Tsar's promise to the young Emperor.<sup>52</sup>

Henceforward Palmerston observed strict neutrality and even forbade any renewal of Grant's mission to Transylvania. Russian renewed intervention was regarded as the only way of defending the Magyars, and the Hungarian agent in London, Francis Pulszky, was privately informed that the Foreign Office had despatched a courier to St. Petersburg, owing to the rumour that Austria would be occupied by Russian troops. Palmerston's information a fortnight later was that "the Russians have 150,000 men and a good Commissariat to advance, and that further they have another body of men ready to follow the 150,000. Lord Palmerston is very anti-Russian just now, and as far as he is concerned, could act strongly; his only difficulty would be in the support of the nation. Can the Hungarians resist 150,000 men?"<sup>53</sup>

On 1 May, 1849, Turkey and Russia signed a treaty at Balta Liman for joint action. Stürmer and Titov won the day owing to the vigorous support of their Governments. It was on the same day that Francis Joseph appealed for help and that the Tsar launched his armies across the Carpathians, and again that Pulszky was received by Palmerston. Pulszky's information was that the Foreign Secretary was "very well disposed to act against the Russians, but he does not, from want of English support."<sup>54</sup> But on the 8th Palmerston declared to the Austrian Ambassador, Count Colloredo: "*eh bien, vous allez avoir les Russes, c'est un grand événement qui ne peut pas être sans grande influence.*" He was very dissatisfied, but maintained his neutrality.

On reaching the frontier the Hungarians had made a great effort for an alliance with Turkey and Roumania, in order to balance the Austro-Russian alliance, but this plan was quickly spoiled by the Russo-Turkish agreement. Puchner's army was reorganised on Turkish soil and the Austrians marched through Craiova to Orsova, in order to join the Austro-Serb forces operating in the Banat. But the Banat was already in Magyar hands, and on 10 May the Hungarian General, Perczel, wrote from Pančevo to the Pasha of Belgrade, requesting that the Serbian troops should be recalled. This was followed by a Hungarian deputation, and the Serbs, with whom the Austrian alliance was never popular, began negotiations. Bem himself arrived, and on 10 June Count Julius Andrássy visited the Serbian Government. This plan of an understanding with the Serbs was only frustrated by the second Russian intervention.<sup>55</sup>

On 13 May Colloredo was instructed to inform Palmerston that Francis Joseph's request for intervention had been approved by the Tsar. Three days later the Hungarian Foreign Minister, Count Casimir Batthyány, in his turn appealed to Palmerston for mediation.<sup>56</sup> The solution of the question was thus transferred to Western Europe. Palmerston turned to Prussia, not knowing that the Berlin Government had already consented to the Austro-Russian alliance, and hence the only result was that the proposed transfer of Russian troops on the Prussian state railways was abandoned. Tsar Nicholas haughtily offered to England a policy of non-intervention in India,<sup>57</sup> and Palmerston reverted to his old idea of strengthening Austria through a compromise between the sovereign and his subjects.<sup>58</sup> His proposal was brushed aside by Schwarzenberg, who now had the Tsar's support and the co-operation of Prussia and Turkey, but the latter was shortly to be detached from the Holy Alliance. On 30 August, 1849, the Porte refused the extradition of Polish and Hungarian refugees, and when the Tsar turned against Turkey, the British fleet was sent to Besika Bay. In 1850 the Russians began to evacuate the Principalities, and it was hoped that Russian intervention there was at an end. Its renewal in 1853 was followed by the Crimean War.

*Budapest.*

EUGENE HORVÁTH.

<sup>1</sup> Hungarian Academy MSS. collection—Ponsonby to J. A. Blackwell, British agent at Pozsony (Pressburg), 28 March, 1848

<sup>2</sup> Minutes published by J. Redlich: *Das österreichische Staats-und Reichsproblem*, I, part 2, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> First published in the Belgrade review *Delo*, pp. 321-36, 1906.

<sup>4</sup> His reports of 6 and 10 July in *Anul* 1848, II, pp. 187-89 and 320-22.



<sup>5</sup> Minutes published by J. Ghica, *Amintiri din pribegie după* 1848, pp 396-402

<sup>6</sup> Hungarian National Museum MSS. collection—D. J. Vipan to Pulszky, 7 and 8 June, 1849.

<sup>7</sup> *Letters of Queen Victoria*, II, p. 135.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196

<sup>9</sup> Reports in Vienna Staatsarchiv

<sup>10</sup> Guichen, *op. cit.*, I, p. 79.

<sup>11</sup> Hoetzsch, *Peter von Meyendorff*, II, pp. 57-61.

<sup>12</sup> Guichen, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>13</sup> 31 August, 1888.

<sup>14</sup> It might be assumed that Blackwell communicated to his Hungarian friends the contents of Ponsonby's letter of 28 March foretelling Russian invasion "Austria driven into some arrangement with Russia, the Magyars would suddenly fall. Hungary may be conquered some time or other by the Russians." *Affairs of Hungary*, 1847-9, pp. 133-4.

<sup>15</sup> Vienna Staatsarchiv—Luders to Chernishev, enclosed in report to Count Buol, 15 Jan., 1849

<sup>16</sup> Ségur to Drouyn de Lhuys, 3 Jan., 1849—Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, xviii, pp. 96-7.

<sup>17</sup> Staatsarchiv (Timoni to Schwarzenberg from Bucarest, 9 and 12 Jan.).

<sup>18</sup> Staatsarchiv (Intervention russe, fasc. X, 27a, Buol's report).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid* (Timoni to Schwarzenberg, 17 Jan., No. 3).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* (Buol to Schwarzenberg, 18 Jan., No. 4).

<sup>21</sup> Colquhoun to Canning, 20 Jan., No. 6. F.O. 78/787.

<sup>22</sup> Vienna Kriegsarchiv, 143, XVIII, B. 90.

<sup>23</sup> Colquhoun to Stratford, 22 Jan. (*Affairs of Hungary*, p. 134).

<sup>24</sup> Fuad to Duhamel, 24 Jan. Hurmuzaki, *op. cit.*, XVIII, p. 107.

<sup>25</sup> Colquhoun to Canning, 24 Jan. F.O. 78/787.

<sup>26</sup> Ségur to Drouyn, 24 Jan. Hurmuzaki, *ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>27</sup> Staatsarchiv (Intervention russe, X, 27a).

<sup>28</sup> Staatsarchiv (Enclosure to a report of Timoni).

<sup>29</sup> Timoni regretted it and said that Puchner would be sent to an Austrian fortress for his action. (Ségur to Drouyn—Hurmuzaki, *op. cit.*, p. 115.) A direct appeal from Puchner to Lüders was never found in the archives, but was mentioned in Timoni's report to Schwarzenberg on 6 Feb (Staatsarchiv—Bucarest report No. 14) Timoni in his report of 10 Feb (*ibid.*, report No. 18) said that the intervention was made with the approval of the higher authorities, but that it would be impossible to represent it to the consuls as not being intervention. Cf also Ponsonby's report to Palmerston, 21 Feb. (*Affairs of Hungary*, p. 139).

<sup>30</sup> F.O. 78/772. (Private.)

<sup>31</sup> Ségur to Drouyn, 10 Feb.—Hurmuzaki, *op. cit.*, p. 111, No. 6.

<sup>32</sup> Colquhoun to Canning, 15 Feb., No. 17.

<sup>33</sup> Grant to Colquhoun, 16 Feb. F.O. 78/787.

<sup>34</sup> Palmerston to Canning, 26 Feb. F.O. 78/768.

<sup>35</sup> Palmerston to Canning, 20 March. (*Affairs of Hungary*, p. 167.)

<sup>36</sup> Staatsarchiv—Timoni to Schw. See also *Affairs of Hungary*, p. 143. (Canning to Palmerston, 14 Feb.), and same to same, 15 Feb. (F.O. 78/772).

<sup>37</sup> "The men knocked up and thoroughly disgusted and demoralised—the horses unfit for active duty, the artillery was brought into Wallachia by oxen." Colquhoun to Canning, 28 March, No. 41. F.O. 78/787.

<sup>38</sup> Letters of Colquhoun and Ségur, 22 and 23 March—Hurmuzaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-5.

<sup>39</sup> Bern to Ségur, 23 March—Hurmuzaki, p. 135; Staatsarchiv, Timoni to Schwarzenberg, 7 April, No. 54.

<sup>40</sup> F.O. 7/363: Palmerston to Ponsonby, 20 March, No. 59.

<sup>41</sup> Staatsarchiv (Interv. russe, X, 27a)—S. to Buol, 25 March.

<sup>42</sup> F.O. 65/364—No. 101, Buchanan to Palmerston, 28 March.

<sup>43</sup> F.O. 78/774. Canning to Palmerston, 29 March.

- <sup>44</sup> *Affairs of Hungary*, p. 168.  
<sup>45</sup> Staatsarchiv—Buol to Schwarzenberg, 2 April, No. 18B.  
<sup>46</sup> Hurmuzaki, XVIII, p. 137.  
<sup>47</sup> F.O. 78/787—Colquhoun to Palmerston, 3 April.  
<sup>48</sup> Staatsarchiv (Interv. russe, X, 27a)—Buol to Schw., 6 April.  
<sup>49</sup> Staatsarchiv. Sch. to Buol, 14 April.  
<sup>50</sup> F.O. 78/769—No. 84, Palmerston to Canning, 6 April.  
<sup>51</sup> F.O. 78/774—No. 118, Canning to Palmerston, 11 April.  
<sup>52</sup> Schiemann, *Kaiser Nicholas I*, IV, p. 192; Guichen, *op. cit.*, p. 288.  
<sup>53</sup> Hung. Nat. Museum, MSS collection—D. J. Vipan to Pulszky, 29 April.  
<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*—6 May.  
<sup>55</sup> F.O. 78/785—Fonblanque to Stratford Canning, 10, 11 and 29 May;  
*Hungarian Nat. Mus. Archives*—Andrássy to Casimir Batthyány, 11 June  
<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 May, from Debrecen; Staatsarchiv, Weisungen to London.  
<sup>57</sup> Hungarian Nat. Museum MSS.—Vipan to Pulszky, 26 June.  
<sup>58</sup> For particulars see *Affairs of Hungary*, 1847-49.

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# MICHAEL OF SERBIA AND THE TURKISH OCCUPATION

## III

IT will be remembered that nothing had been said in the protocol about indemnifying the citizens whose property had been damaged by the bombardment, but that the Turkish Government was expected to make good any losses incurred by Serbs during the events immediately preceding that incident, and that a reciprocal obligation was incumbent upon Serbia. All property owned by Mussulmans in the faubourg of Belgrade was to be handed over to the Serbian Government on condition that indemnities were paid the owners, and, similarly, the Porte was to arrange with Serbia for the purchase of houses which had to be demolished to make the new esplanade in front of the citadel. The actual amount to be paid by either side was left to a civil commission, composed of nominees in equal number from the two governments. Garašanin felt that it would be an improvement on the method devised by the protocol if each of the two governments were to indemnify its own nationals,<sup>1</sup> but such a view was less feasible than one would first suppose, for the simple reason that the Turks were by far the heavier losers. There was much, indeed, to dispute about, the Serbian Government still withholding compensation from the Turks who had left the smaller fortress towns, and Garašanin making the counter-complaint that the Porte had not yet nominated its delegates on the commission.<sup>2</sup> One might readily guess that the liquidation of these claims would be the most difficult part of the protocol to execute, even if the Serbian Government was willing to do its part in all good faith—which was more than doubtful.

Obviously there was no use for the civil commission to study the question until it was known just what houses were to be demolished. Fortunately, the task of defining the *rayon* proved a much easier task than the other. The protocol had fixed the boundaries in a general way, preserving from demolition the cathedral, the seminary, and the principal business street, and it was left to a military commission to work out the matter in detail, with the understanding that if the Porte proposed a slightly further extension of the *rayon* at the expense of the Moslem quarter, such a proposal would receive

<sup>1</sup> Botmiliau to Drouyn, no. 1, 26 Jan., *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade, vol. 14).

<sup>2</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 10, July 14. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/137; cf., F.O. 78/1749, no. 27, July 15.

consideration. At the first session the Turkish commissioner suggested a line which would have involved not only serious inroads into the Moslem quarter, but an extensive demolition of Serbian houses as well. None of the commissioners supported him,<sup>3</sup> however; and, after communicating with his government, the Turkish commissioner henceforth relied for the most part on the views of his British colleague.<sup>4</sup> Another difficulty was the question of whether the Jewish quarter should be included in the zone of destruction, for the Conference at Constantinople had apparently been unaware of its location, and the Turks, looking at the question purely from the point of view of the fortress, would have sacrificed this also;<sup>5</sup> and still another was the French insistence that no Serbian house should be condemned by a hypothetical extension of the line without Michael's permission,<sup>6</sup> which at first seemed impossible to obtain.<sup>7</sup> In the end, however, the Jewish quarter was preserved and the esplanade sufficiently narrowed to induce the Prince to concede the destruction of a few rickety buildings—all the sacrifice that the extension seemed to require from the Serbs.<sup>8</sup> Out of several proposed boundaries for the *rayon*, it was the French proposal that was finally accepted—a fact which may account for the Prince's generosity. Botmiliau, who had recently succeeded Tastu as French consul, declared that the work of the commission had been received with general satisfaction. Yet he felt that, as long as the Turks occupied the citadel, the Serbians would feel themselves threatened, and would take the first opportunity of seeking their deliverance.<sup>9</sup>

While it was still a question whether the indemnities would ever be paid, the only other points of contention related to certain strongholds which might or might not be held as belonging to the Turkish fortresses. It appears that the Conference of Constantinople had overlooked a fortified island in the Danube with a watch-tower facing the Serbian shore and also a village on the Drina, known as Little Zvornik, boasting of nothing in the way of fortification but

<sup>3</sup> Andlau to Drouyn, no. 2, Feb. 6, *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade, vol. 14)

<sup>4</sup> Andlau to Drouyn, no. 4, February 12. *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Andlau to Drouyn, no. 3, February 14. *Ibid.* The French commissioner pointed out that this would include two synagogues (both new), some schools, some well-built streets, and the habitations of about 1,500 persons. To demolish this, even though it might add to the security of the citadel, would, in the opinion of several of the commissioners, be an "act of vandalism."

<sup>6</sup> Drouyn to Andlau, 18 February. *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Andlau to Drouyn, no. 5, 28 February. *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Bulwer to Russell, no. 164, 1 April. F.O. 78/1734.

<sup>9</sup> Botmiliau to Drouyn, no. 17, 4 April. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade, vol. 15).

two towers, but situated opposite the Bosnian fortress of Great Zvornik. The island fortress could be used, it was contended, to impede navigation, and the Serbians insisted that it should be evacuated.<sup>10</sup> More important, however, was the case of Little Zvornik, which, in the hands of the Turks, could be used as a base for a raid into the heart of Serbia. The Serbians claimed that it ought to have been evacuated long ago in accordance with the Farman of 1833, while the Turks insisted that it was an integral part of Great Zvornik and necessary to its defence.<sup>11</sup> As the commissioners could reach no agreement on the matter, the question remained for two years an object of dispute, Turkey refusing to surrender the place because Ali, influenced by Bulwer, decided to stand firm as a means of getting Serbia to take more seriously the questions of the indemnities and the militia.<sup>12</sup> Michael was reported as saying that he would refer the problem to the Powers,<sup>13</sup> but, as he could always take this means of excusing himself from not indemnifying the Turkish fugitives from the newly-evacuated towns, there is no need to believe with Longworth that he was trying by a deliberate provocation to bring on a crisis that would justify his seizure of the place.<sup>14</sup> In September 1866 Michael came to the point of requesting the Porte formally for possession of Little Zvornik,<sup>15</sup> but soon afterward other matters came up which threw this minor question into comparative oblivion.

It had become apparent, meanwhile, that not only the disposition of these forts and the question of the militia, but also the amount of the indemnities must be left to negotiation between the interested parties. While the commission to trace the line of the esplanade had been a relatively easy task, the commission to fix indemnities was utterly unable to arrive at any adjustments, and progress could only be made, apparently, through interminable haggling, for which the Balkan peoples have shown a traditional aptitude, not unmixed

<sup>10</sup> Vasić to Rechberg, no. 10, 14 July. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/137.

<sup>11</sup> Rechberg to Vasić, no. 11, 20 July. *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> Bulwer to Russell, 23 July. *Russell Papers*, G. & D., 22/92, P.R.O.

<sup>13</sup> Ricketts to Bulwer, no. 28, 20 July. F.O. 78/1749. A mission of his wife, Princess Julia, to London, accompanied by one of the ministers, for the purpose of influencing British sentiment, was considered a sorry failure. Longworth to Bulwer, no. 8, 17 April. *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 41, 17 October, 1865. F.O. 78/1869.

<sup>15</sup> Longworth to Lyons, no. 33, 16 September, 1866. F.O. 78/1924. Not long before that Garašanin had made it clear that a request of the Grand Vizier for an understanding about the militia would not be granted till the case of Little Zvornik was settled. Longworth to Bulwer, no. 39, 18 August. F.O. 78/1749.

—we may suppose—with pleasure. The Serbians would not countenance the Turkish claim of eighteen million piastres for the ousted Moslems, while the Turks, for their part, would not take as a basis of valuation the present worth of the empty houses, since deterioration had been progressive since the bombardment, and they naturally insisted that all appraisals should be based on their hypothetical worth at that time.<sup>16</sup> In the spring of 1864 the Turks demanded ten million piastres; the Serbians would grant no more than seven.<sup>17</sup> When the Serbians finally offered nine millions, the Turks advanced the further claim that additional sums should be paid by way of damages for furniture and personal effects pilfered by the Serbians during the night of the bombardment. Even Longworth felt that this demand was unjustified, since no damages had been awarded to the Serbians for the property which had been destroyed by the bombardment.<sup>18</sup> But, even after the Porte accepted nine millions as the best bargain they could secure, the haggling continued over the length of time to be allowed for payment,<sup>19</sup> while the Serbians bethought themselves of new pecuniary claims; and it was not till the close of 1865 that an agreement was duly reached, and signed by the commission.<sup>20</sup> So much can be registered to Serbia's good faith (even though we hear no more of indemnities for the Turks of Šabac and Užice),<sup>21</sup> but, when Garašanin complained six months later that the demolition, required by the Protocol, had not been undertaken<sup>22</sup>—apparently the Serbs regarded the *rayon* as security

<sup>16</sup> Botmiliau to Drouyn, no. 49, 20 January, 1864. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade, vol. 15); Longworth to Erskine, no. 2, 2 January. F.O. 78/1813.

<sup>17</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 19, 27 April. F.O. 78/1813.

<sup>18</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 44, 2 November. F.O. 78/1814.

<sup>19</sup> Garašanin asked for six years in which to pay the sum in annual instalments, but this proposal was rejected by the Turkish commissioners on the ground that the Porte had already waited three years for a settlement and had reduced its original demands by half; Garašanin contended, on the other hand, that Serbia could not afford to grant more generous terms, as the property in question was not worth anything like the amount of the indemnity. After considerable discussion, he proposed a period of three years, payment being made in three annual instalments of two millions each (Longworth to Bulwer, no. 41, 17 October, 1865. *Ibid.* F.O. 78/1869). This was eventually accepted (Longworth to Bulwer, no. 47, 4 December. *Ibid.*).

<sup>20</sup> Longworth to Bulwer, no. 49, 19 December. *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> According to Longworth, Garašanin had promised liberal indemnities in order to hasten the evacuation of Sokol and Užice, but, when the question was broached by Longworth, he refused to discuss it. Longworth to Erskine, no. 2, 2 January, 1864. F.O. 78/1813.

<sup>22</sup> Botmiliau to Drouyn, no. 197, 1 June, 1866. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade, vol. 16).

for the city as well as for the citadel—we may judge that the Turks themselves were none too loyal to the protocol. No one could then have foreseen that events would make demolition unnecessary.

Yet it was obvious enough that because the three years following the protocol of Constantinople had been marked by quiet at Belgrade was no proof that Michael was content to rest his hopes for Serbia's future on the basis of that instrument. It might have been poor policy to risk the displeasure of the Powers by bringing on a crisis prematurely, and besides the military capacity of Serbia was not such as to justify hasty action. If we may believe a British report, the relations between city and citadel were much less strained—a fact credited to the new pasha;<sup>23</sup> and, though there was some dispute over whether the Pasha or the Premier should make the first official call,<sup>24</sup> and though the pasha later accused the Serbian Government of conniving at desertions from the garrison,<sup>25</sup> there was scarcely any sign of the old fear and suspicion which had threatened the peace during the interval between the bombardment and the protocol. Yet one had still to reckon with the Prince's *arrière pensées*. After substantial agreement had been reached regarding the indemnities,<sup>26</sup> Michael made some serious efforts to add to his stock of arms<sup>27</sup> (for the muskets obtained in 1862 were said to be of poor quality<sup>28</sup> and Serbia's one arsenal was hardly equal to the emergency), and he was reported as repeatedly saying that his militia must be organised to prepare for eventualities. Was it impossible that these "eventualities" were now eagerly awaited? Michael's military activities, if we read them correctly, were not without a diplomatic motive. On the eve of the French consul's departure for Paris, Garašanin bade him tell his Government that an uprising of the Balkan Christians might break out at any time, and that, while Serbia had so far done her best to quiet them, she could no longer make such efforts without compromising her influence; and, in short, that she was now prepared for the worst. She counted on French support, the Premier declared, but, if she did not obtain it, she must turn to Russia. "Tell M. de Moustier we are not Russian," he assured

<sup>23</sup> Blunt to Longworth, 3 July, 1865. F.O. 78/1868.

<sup>24</sup> Blunt to Stuart, no. 52, 6 December, 1864. F.O. 78/1814.

<sup>25</sup> Longworth to Lyons, no. 43, 19 November, 1865. F.O. 78/1869.

<sup>26</sup> One phase of the question—indemnification of the Serbians whose property (including forty houses, it was said), had been sacrificed to the esplanade—was not settled till March, 1867; Botmiliau to Moustier, no. 241, 28 March, 1867. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade, vol. 17).

<sup>27</sup> Longworth to Lyons, no. 183, 31 March, 1866. F.O. 78/1923; Botmiliau to Drouyn, no. 183, 31 March. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade, vol. 16).

<sup>28</sup> Botmiliau to Drouyn, no. 177, 23 February. *Ibid.*

Botmiliau, "but—it was a question of pursuing a national policy."<sup>29</sup> The inference is obvious. The time had come when Serbia must at last bring forward the question of the fortresses.

The chief occasion for such a decision was the course of events in the Ottoman Empire. The Montenegrin revolt had been terminated, but it had ended in arrangements which, considering the Turkish victories, was amazingly generous to the insurgents. Charles of Roumania was also in a fair way to obtain recognition—which, from the Turkish point of view, was a considerable concession. Moreover, the grievances of the Christian subjects of the Porte had not been adequately redressed despite the Treaty of Paris, and every one knew that Bulgars and Bosniaks were only waiting for an opportunity to bait the hated Turk. Finally, and of paramount importance, the Cretan insurrection was at its height, and not only were the Turks so far unable to suppress it, but the Greeks of the Hellenic Kingdom were ready to resort to arms unless the Porte should grant them the island in full sovereignty. Under these circumstances it would have been the height of stupidity on Michael's part to let slip the opportunity of forcing concessions from a suzerain whose weakness was so patent; while the very fact that his Slavonic neighbours looked to Serbia for leadership promised an instrument in reserve which might be used to practical advantage. Naturally most of the European Powers would look furtively at Russia, whose eagerness for a revision of the Treaty of Paris was not without justification, and whose sympathy for the Balkan Christians might now be enlisted for the double purpose of insuring aid to Serbia if needed and forcing the other Powers to anticipate—by rendering unnecessary—her possible intervention. Garašanin's studied allusion to Russia in his interview with Botmiliau is only too easy to penetrate. Moreover, Gorchakov's interest in the Cretan question has been anything but passive; and early in November, 1866, the Russian Ambassador at Paris proposed urgently that satisfaction should now be granted the Serbians, who could not fail to look upon the generous treatment of Roumania with a certain envy. Yet Moustier (who was now French Foreign Minister) was a little annoyed at Garašanin's hints of making trouble, and he stressed the importance of guarantees that Serbia would keep the peace if concessions were

<sup>29</sup> Botmiliau to Moustier, no number, 31 October. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie, Belgrade, vol. 16). In November (1866) Longworth wrote: "Preparations, in the meantime, are pushed more actively than ever," no. 40, 10 November. F.O. 78/1924.



made to her.<sup>30</sup> It was evident, too, that he felt some distrust of Russian policy.

But Michael, for his part, could not well afford to discourage any friendly dispositions, and Russia might well be needed to come to his aid, as she had done in 1862. Doubtless it was to that end that Marinović was sent on a pilgrimage to St. Petersburg<sup>31</sup> (though the nominal occasion for this visit was to felicitate the Tzarevich on his marriage)<sup>32</sup> and it was said that the Russian Consul was "in the most intimate relations" with the Serbian Government.<sup>33</sup> More significant, perhaps, were the friendly relations which the Prince had cultivated with Vienna<sup>34</sup>—a fact of which the Austrian dispatches give abundant testimony, and which resulted in the conferment of the Order of Leopold.<sup>35</sup> While it is evident that Michael did not scruple to beg for Russian support, he soon dispatched a special envoy to sound the Government of Vienna, with the result that Count Beust, now Foreign Minister, announced frankly that he had already instructed the Internuncio to advise the Porte to abandon all the remaining fortresses.<sup>36</sup> It is reasonable to conjecture that the change in Austrian policy had more than anything else to do with Michael's forward policy in 1866.

Michael's plan, after sounding the Protecting Powers, was to present a note to the Porte, requesting the fortresses. As a feeler, however, he had first dispatched a request for the two fortified points which had been the subject of discussion two years before. Ali had seemed impressed with the courteous tone of the communication, and, while he did not explicitly state his intentions, Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador, believed that he was disposed to grant the Serbian contention.<sup>37</sup> It was suspected, moreover, that Russia was putting pressure on the Porte,<sup>38</sup> and, judging from Gorchakov's

<sup>30</sup> See Moustier to Talleyrand, 12 November, *Origines diplomatiques de la guerre de 1870-1*, vol. 13, no. 3747.

<sup>31</sup> Both Prokesch and Longworth heard that such was the aim of the visit; Prokesch to Beust, no. 70, A-B, 30 November. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/84; Longworth to Stanley, no. 48, 23 December. F.O. 78/1924.

<sup>32</sup> Istria to Moustier, 9 November. *Origines*, vol. 13, no. 3742.

<sup>33</sup> Lenck to Beust, no. 98, 8 November. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/145.

<sup>34</sup> Godel-Lannoy to Beust, no. 3, 1 March, etc. *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Godel-Lannoy to Beust, no. 10, 29 May. *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Gramont to Moustier, 20 November. *Origines*, vol. 13, no. 3794. This may have been due to Marinović, who was in Vienna in September, and wrote most enthusiastically of his reception. Lenck to Beust, no. 120, 16 December, *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/146.

<sup>37</sup> Lyons to Stanley, 10 October, "Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Servia," no. 1, *Parl. Papers*, 1866, vol.

<sup>38</sup> Lyons to Stanley, no. 374, 10 October. F.O. 78/1914. (This is the same letter as the above, a portion of which is not printed in *Parl. Papers*.)

utterances to the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg,<sup>39</sup> we may presume that Marinović's mission had not been without success. Having thus paved the way for his decisive thrust, Michael dispatched on 25 November his formal demand for the fortresses. The Prince contended that five years had deepened, rather than effaced, the fear which the bombardment had produced, and that abandonment of the remaining fortresses, so full of danger to Serbia and to the Empire, would signify so great a mark of confidence that the Sultan "would attach to himself by indissoluble ties a brave and loyal nation."<sup>40</sup> While it may reasonably be doubted if Serbia's fears were quite so poignant as the letter depicted, there is no question but that the Turkish possession of the citadel of Belgrade was a standing invitation to disloyalty; and, whatever the strength of Serbia's case for its abandonment, the courteous language in which the document was drafted both pleased and surprised the Turks—surprised Ali, indeed, to the extent that he believed that Russia had had a hand in its composition.<sup>41</sup>

But, pleasant as it was to find a vassal like Michael speaking in dutiful language, there is no doubt that the Porte was loath to give up the fortresses, and Ali was reasonably apprehensive of the effect on the Moslem population of making such a striking surrender to a Christian people.<sup>42</sup> Much depended, of course, on the attitude of the Powers; and, without instructions from Stanley, Lyons was not prepared to depart from a mere attitude of sympathy with Turkey's position on the question. It was characteristic of British policy to leave responsibility to the Porte, while deprecating anything that would weaken its position. When the "cat-like Marinović" visited London on his tour of various capitals, he had found the atmosphere of Downing Street anything but cordial, and it was made plain to him that Britain would not recommend the relinquishment of the citadel—an asset which it was doubtful if the Porte would willingly abandon.<sup>43</sup> The fact that Gorchakov favoured the surrender of the fortresses<sup>44</sup> could not well have evoked surprise, and, if it is true that Russia feared that France was really contemplating a Greco-Slav union under French protection,<sup>45</sup> there was something beside Russia's sympathy with Michael to influence

<sup>39</sup> Buchanan to Stanley, 8 November, "Corr. resp. Aff. Servia," no. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Michael to Fuad, 29 October. *Ibid.*, no. 6, enc. 2.

<sup>41</sup> Lyons to Stanley, no. 421, 21 November. F.O. 78/1915; cf., Prokesch to Beust, no. 68 B, 16 November. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/84.

<sup>42</sup> Prokesch to Beust, no. 69 A-C, 23 November. *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Layard to Longworth, 8 May. *Layard MSS.* (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 39, 120).

<sup>44</sup> Buchanan to Stanley, 8 November.

<sup>45</sup> Buchanan to Stanley, no. 302, 23 June, and no. 418, 4 Nov.

Russian policy. Moreover, Vienna's change of policy must certainly have had its weight.

One fact which may have induced the British Government to swallow fairly gracefully what it would probably could not prevent, was this change in the attitude of Austria (now chastened by her defeat in 1866). We have already noticed the different tone in Vienna's relations with Belgrade, though no one could suppose that this portended a complete reversal of Austrian policy, and even the British Government was aware of but half the truth. The most that Beust would say to the British Chargé d'Affaires was that, "Austria would not be any longer opposed to the abandonment of the fortresses if the Porte would take that decision. It might be the only means of saving and still maintaining the Ottoman Empire. He said (so continued the British dispatch) that immediately on his entering office he had admitted a departure from the traditional policy of Austria, and he thought it was no longer incumbent upon Austria to seek to maintain inexorably every legitimate right when circumstances made a change now appear desirable, and he had also written in that sense to Baron de Prokesch. . . . His Excellency said he was most anxious on the subject of these Turkish affairs, and he thought there would be grave danger in allowing things to take their course unheeded, and in doing nothing to arrest the dangers that were so clearly menacing. He said that, as matters now stood, if nothing was done to compose the alarming state of affairs in that country, he had not the least doubt that the coming spring would usher in a general revolt of the Christian subjects throughout the Turkish Empire."<sup>46</sup> So sensible a reaction to the Eastern Question on the part of Austria was unusual, and to the French Ambassador, Beust frankly declared that he favoured the abandonment of the fortresses, including the citadel itself, in return for guarantees against an uprising.<sup>47</sup> That far Stanley himself had been willing to go, as the French Ambassador had already informed Moustier in answer to his inquiry, though it was always with reluctance that Britain ever joined in any pressure upon the Porte. To the Austrian Ambassador, Stanley declared that his Government would agree to the Serbian demands in principle, as the present condition of Turkey

<sup>46</sup> The quotation is the British chargé d'affaires' account of this interview; Bonar to Stanley, no. 87, 18 December. F.O. 7/712.

<sup>47</sup> Moustier to Bonnières, 22 November. *Ibid.*, no. 3797. This was reported through Metternich, the Austrian Ambassador to Paris. "He (Moustier) considers," reported Metternich, "that it is for Austria, the most interested Power, to take the initiative"; Metternich to Beust, no. 62, 2 November. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/87. Not improbably Moustier was trying by this show of deference to strengthen Austria's unwonted spirit of generosity.

seemed to make broad concessions to the Christians indispensable, though he frankly admitted that he expected from the Porte a stiff resistance to the relinquishment of what it "believes it ought to hold in the interests of his dignity and authority."<sup>48</sup> Perhaps the British Government hoped that Turkey would dare to reject the Serbian demands. But, at any rate, it was willing to join the other Powers in approving the surrender of the fortresses.

Oddly enough, it was not Russia who took the initiative in working out a scheme that the Porte might accept. Nor was it Austria—though she had decided not to let Russia alone pluck the advantage of winning a favour for the Serbs, and she had apparently been the first to put pressure on the Porte. It was France who had definitely proposed the cession on the understanding that adequate guarantees should be given for the loyalty of the Serbs—a formula to which both the British and Austrian Governments assented.<sup>49</sup> No one at first ventured to suggest what these guarantees should be (and their intention was probably nominal); but Stanley thought that the Sultan's dignity might be assuaged by allowing him frankly to entrust Michael with the garrisoning of Belgrade and by stipulating as a condition of the agreement that the Ottoman flag should continue to wave over the citadel.<sup>50</sup> The main thing, of course, was to get the Porte to yield the principle of renunciation, and both Lyons and Bourée (the French Ambassador) now worked with zeal to obtain this.<sup>51</sup> So, in fact, did Michael, if we may so explain the renewed bustle of his troops and the parading of his armaments.<sup>52</sup> Even Prokesch was arguing that Michael would resort to arms if his demands were not conceded.<sup>53</sup> Indeed, with the Cretan question still a festering sore, and Syria but lately subdued, the Porte could not but wonder if Europe would adequately sympathise with her troubles in the Balkans. Ali lamented that he could obtain no support from any of the Powers.<sup>54</sup> By the first week of January 1867, the French Ambassador noted that the Grand Vizier seemed discouraged and quite resigned to his fate.<sup>55</sup> And yet—

<sup>48</sup> Apponyi to Beust, no. 69 B, 19 November, and no. 73 B, 5 December. *Ibid.*, VIII/74.

<sup>49</sup> Stanley to Cowley, 19 and 23 November, "Corr. resp. Aff. Servia," nos. 4 and 5. *Parl. Papers*, 1867, vol. lxxv.

<sup>50</sup> Stanley to Lyons, 12 December. *Ibid.*, no. 11.

<sup>51</sup> Bourée to Moustier, no. 2, 2 January, 1867. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 569.

<sup>52</sup> Istria to Moustier, 28 December. *Ibid.*, vol. 13, no. 3980; Longworth to Lyons, no. 40, 10 November. F.O. 78/1924; Prokesch to Beust, no. 3 B, 18 January. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/85.

<sup>53</sup> Prokesch to Beust, no. 3 B, 18 January. *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> Lyons to Stanley, 2 January, "Corr. resp. Aff. Servia," no. 12. *Parl. Papers*, 1867, vol. lxxv.

<sup>55</sup> Bourée to Moustier, no. 9, 5 January. *Aff. étr.* (Turquie), vol. 569.

But the present was one of the few instances in history when Turkey was unable to find divisions among the Powers that would enable her to escape what must otherwise be dictated by justice and extorted from her weakness. The fact that the Porte would certainly have rejected Michael's demands, had it noted such a phenomenon, can readily be comprehended from its long hesitation and delay before deciding on surrender. Ali was fain to admit that the citadel might, in general, be a source of weakness rather than strength, but he could not overlook the force of Moslem sentiment which claimed the citadel of Belgrade as an historic bastion of the Empire and would look upon the yielding of it to the *rayahs* as a bitter humiliation<sup>56</sup>—not without its political dangers, too, if it instigated other subjects to look for like concessions. It was just because delay might prove to be dangerous that France and Great Britain had urged the Porte to make its concessions as though spontaneous, and not as the result of formal representations from the Powers<sup>57</sup>—still less as something extorted from a vassal. True, in any case the Porte must pay a price that would demonstrate its weakness, but much worse would happen, as Prokesch urged, if the affair should finally lead to a general conflagration.<sup>58</sup> It may also be remembered that France and Russia were pressing for adequate satisfaction to the Cretans; at times it was a demand for a Christian governor,<sup>59</sup> but already they had considered the feasibility of demanding that the island should be given outright to Greece.<sup>60</sup> Ali, for his part, was too shrewd a politician not to see that the end was inevitable; to Bourée he said that it only remained for the Sultan and the council to decide;<sup>61</sup> and to Lyons he seems to have stated, on 28 January, that the matter would soon be decided to the satisfaction of the Serbians. Bourée reported the matter as settled on the following day and so telegraphed his chief.<sup>62</sup> A week later Ali was elevated to the Vizirate—which undoubtedly gave his authority greater weight. And on 17 February, after much futile wrangling on the part of the council, the Sultan endorsed the project of yielding the fortresses to Serbia.<sup>63</sup>

The only things now to be done were the working out of certain

<sup>56</sup> Bourée to Moustier, 22 January. *Origines*, vol. 14, no. 4078.

<sup>57</sup> Stanley to Fane, 14 January, "Corr. resp. Aff. Serbia," no. 14. *Parl. Papers*, 1867, vol. lxxv.

<sup>58</sup> Prokesch to Beust, no. 3 C, 18 January. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/85; 'cf., Lyons to Stanley, 22 January, "Corr. resp. Aff. Serbia," no. 17.

<sup>59</sup> Bourée to Moustier, 22 January. *Origines*, vol. 14, no. 4098.

<sup>60</sup> Prokesch to Beust, no. 8, *réservee*, 22 February, *Staatsarchiv*, XII/85.

<sup>61</sup> *Origines*, vol. 14, no. 4098.

<sup>62</sup> Bourée to Moustier, 30 January, telg. *Ibid.*, no. 4120.

<sup>63</sup> Lyons to Stanley, no. 23, 18 February. F.O. 78/1958.

details and the formal communication of the Sultan's decision to Michael. The sole point which seems to have produced some debate was the question of whether the fortresses should be razed or should remain intact for the Serbians to garrison. Fuad Pasha, now Ali's successor as Foreign Minister, had been reported as favouring demolition, since for Turks to withdraw and allow their places to be taken by their victorious vassals would be liable to make the Serbians more arrogant than ever; he would prefer that Serbia should be denuded of fortresses like the Danubian Principalities.<sup>64</sup> Wisely enough, Michael himself had forborne to raise the question, and Bourée advised Ristić, Michael's capable kapou kiaya, to persuade his master to let matters take their course.<sup>65</sup> It was Ali's opinion, as usual, which decided the point. "The historic traditions which are attached to the name of Belgrade," he said, "make it impossible for the government to raze the fortresses . . . It is not a question of yielding Belgrade to the Serbs; we have, instead, designated the Serbs as guardians of the Empire, demanding for that reason that Turkish and Serbian flags should wave together over the ramparts." Despite some doubts on the part of Ristić,<sup>66</sup> there was no real reason to suppose that Michael would not grant this slight concession; for after all the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan had not been questioned. The only unpleasant note in the final phases of the controversy was the Austrian Consul's premature announcement to Michael (by order from Vienna) that his demand had been met<sup>67</sup>—the effect of which manœuvre was rather to take the edge off the Porte's "spontaneous" action.

There is no need to dwell at length on the Vizier's letter to Michael. The Porte delivered the fortresses to Serbia and confided the command of them to Michael. As salve to the Sultan's dignity, it was stipulated that the Imperial flag should float beside the Serbian on the ramparts.<sup>68</sup> Two years later a French sojourner noted a vast deserted pile, an esplanade already turned into a boulevard, and a café perched on one of the ramparts of this symbol of departed glory.<sup>69</sup> He made no mention of any flag.

<sup>64</sup> Prokesch to Beust, no. 7 B, 15 February. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/85.

<sup>65</sup> Bourée to Moustier, 6 February. *Origines*, no. 4165.

<sup>66</sup> Prokesch to Beust, no. 10 A-C, 8 March. *Staatsarchiv*, XII/85.

<sup>67</sup> Beust to Lenck, 19 February, telg.; Lenck to Beust, 22 February, telg. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/152. Aali was much concerned over this, as it made a painful impression at Constantinople. It was Prokesch who had suggested the manœuvre, as he had telegraphed on 18 February, "I think we should be the first confidentially to inform the Prince."

<sup>68</sup> "Corres. resp. Aff. Serbia," no. 25. *Parl. Papers*, 1867, vol. lxxv.

<sup>69</sup> G. Perrot, "Souvenirs de voyage en Serbie" in *Revue des deux mondes*, vol. 82, p. 129.

The rejoicings of the Serbians at their deliverance can well be understood, and Michael, who could afford to be magnanimous, had promised early in February that he would pay a visit to the Sultan.<sup>70</sup> In April he performed his mission of homage, and made a very agreeable impression. When he departed, he took with him an Arab charger as the gracious gift of his suzerain.<sup>71</sup> It was to be hoped that the Prince would now behave himself, but there was no certainty, of course, that he would not use his victory to precipitate further trouble. A reported understanding between Serbia and Montenegro and a rumour to the effect that Michael intended to take the Bosniaks under his wing—perhaps even extort the governorship of that province from the Porte—caused at Vienna grave concern, and a special emissary was sent to Belgrade to exercise his art in persuading Michael to relinquish any plan of intervention.<sup>72</sup> But such was more than a timely act of precaution. It appears that Austria, having lately sounded France on the feasibility of revising the Treaty of Paris,<sup>73</sup> was herself interested in expansion on the Adriatic, as evidenced by a conversation at Paris between the Emperor and the Austrian Ambassador.<sup>74</sup> Hence, we may suppose, the curious reversal of Austrian policy in the East, the care to placate Serbia, the indifference to the helplessness of Turkey. But this is another story. That Michael was not content with his hard-won deliverance and was scheming to bind the Slavs together in a movement to liberate them all from Turkish suzerainty has been repeatedly asserted and commonly believed; but, while his restless activity was displayed in keeping up his military establishments and while there is some circumstantial evidence that his ambition was not yet sated, the evidence from foreign archives gives us little more than grounds for suspicion. Whether he would have once more become the stormy petrel of the Balkans but for his untimely assassination in 1868 is only for the dreamer to speculate. History willed that in 1867 Michael Obrenović had done his work. 10 April saw the first Turkish battalions leave the citadel of Belgrade; on 5 May the last Turk took his departure. Serbia was free of the Turkish occupation.

T. W. RIKER.

<sup>70</sup> Bourée to Moustier, 6 February. *Origines*, vol. 14, no. 4165.

<sup>71</sup> Longworth to Stanley, no. 14, 21 April. F.O. 78/1973.

<sup>72</sup> Zichy to Beust, 16 March. *Staatsarchiv*, XXXVIII/152.

<sup>73</sup> Beust to Metternich, 1 January. *Ibid.*, IX/86.

<sup>74</sup> Metternich to Beust, no. 2, 7 January. *Ibid.*, IX/85. "In regard to compensation for France," suggested Metternich, "we thought of Egypt as a fertile field for her to exploit." It will be recalled that Napoleon was then putting through his Suez Canal project.

## ANGLO-POLISH RELATIONS IN THE PAST

THE distinguished British scholars who under Professor Temperley's leadership attended the last International Congress of Historical Sciences at Warsaw have certainly noticed how anxious we are to promote the scientific knowledge of Poland's historical relations with other countries. We started, of course, by dealing with our neighbours; but being fully aware that access to the sea means neighbourhood with all the nations of the world, and more particularly with those who are themselves deeply interested in sea problems, Anglo-Polish relations have by no means been neglected.

It would be awkward to begin with something like a bibliography, but it is worth while mentioning that all the leading Polish historians who have written on diplomatic relations in modern times have carefully taken into consideration Great Britain's policy with regard to Polish affairs. I shall have the privilege of quoting below the investigations of Professor Dembiński, the well-known Chairman of the Warsaw Congress. Professor Askenazy, after explaining among so many other connected problems the rôle of Pitt at the moment of Poland's first partition, encouraged Dr. Wawrzakowicz to describe Anglo-Polish relations in the decisive years 1813-15. The chief features of these relations during the next fifty years have been outlined by Professor Handelsman, some important details being studied under his direction by Dr. Widerszal. Quite recently Dr. Feldman has given a most remarkable description of England's Polish policy from 1788 to 1863.

It seems to me, however, that our research work in that respect should not be limited to contemporary history, beginning with the partitions of Poland. In order to arrive at a general outlook on Anglo-Polish relations in the past, these relations ought to be considered as a whole, going back to their origins. Just because famous English writers, including personalities like Carlyle, Disraeli, Lord Salisbury and others, have rather severely condemned Poland's independent past, trying to justify the extinction of the Republic, it might be instructive to follow the development of the relations between our two countries during the earlier centuries.

It is true that, in doing so, we notice at once a certain lack of continuity in their mutual intercourse. But such an impression largely results from insufficient knowledge and will doubtless vanish with the progress of our research. This research work is as yet



very far from being accomplished, and therefore it cannot be my purpose to supply in this short essay any complete or final results. On the other hand, I should like to avoid premature assertions or mere conjectures. Therefore I shall try to apply the following method.

Unfolding before my readers the unwritten story of Anglo-Polish relations from their very beginning, I shall venture to draw their attention to a limited number of pages and to comment upon one or two characteristic documents. These documents have been published almost without exception in Poland and seem to be rather unknown in England; but having been written by Englishmen, they are certainly not tainted with partiality for Poland.

It is only fair to take as our first example the earliest letter of a King of England to a King of Poland that is at present known. It is rather unexpected to find that Henry V, before resuming in 1415 the war against France, asked Wladislaw Jagello for his military assistance: "cum vestri potenti brachio industris milicie nobis amicabilem praebeatis subsidium." In order to convince the founder of the Jagellonian dynasty of the justice of his cause, he forwarded to him something like a memorandum—"compendium quoddam de substantia nostrorum actuum"—containing full information on his previous endeavours to come to a pacific arrangement with France and on his hereditary rights to the French crown.

Jagello's reply is not less interesting. His sympathy for England and her King has been experienced by many English people travelling in Poland. He, however, invites Henry V to accept the proposed mediation of the Emperor in order to avoid war. He would be ready to satisfy the King of England's desire, but only so far as reason and justice permit, making it quite clear that many other people had tried to explain to him the situation from an opposite point of view.

Of course Poland's interference in the Hundred Years' War was quite impracticable. Nevertheless, this correspondence of itself remains extremely significant. Not so much earlier, the English gentry had frequently participated in the crusades conducted by the Teutonic Order against Lithuania, Jagello's country of origin: "In Lettow hadde he reysed and in Ruce," as we read in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Still, after Lithuania's conversion and union with Poland, Henry of Derby, the future Henry IV, had personally assisted the Teutonic Knights to besiege Vilna, leaving us detailed accounts of his expedition. And even before

and after the famous battle of Grünwald,<sup>1</sup> public opinion in England, as well as in the other Western countries, had been in favour of the defeated Order.

This opinion changed, however, a few years later. It should be noted that, just in the years when Henry V and Jagello exchanged their friendly letters, the whole of Europe, represented at the Council of Constance, was informed of the real situation in the East, where Poland had converted the Lithuanians and now defended them against the Teutonic conquest. One of the reports sent by Jagello to Constance, describing the progress of the Faith in Samogitia—then the most contested part of Lithuania, now the main territory of the Lithuanian Republic—made such an impression upon the Council, that even a Scottish theologian, James Haldenstone, Prior of St. Andrews, copied it carefully in his record book.<sup>2</sup>

Just before the meeting of the Council, a Burgundian Knight, Gilbert de Lannoy, had travelled in Lithuania and in Poland, gaining a thorough knowledge of the united countries, and somewhat later, in 1421, he returned thither as Ambassador of both Charles VI of France and Henry V of England. Hoping to obtain Jagello's participation in the contemplated crusade against the Turks, this first British Ambassador in Poland presented the King, among other things, with two of those English bows which proved so effective in the Hundred Years' War.

At a later moment in the same war, a Polish diplomatist, Nicolas Lasocki, was one of the ambassadors sent to Arras by the Council of Basel, to promote the peace negotiations of 1435. His brilliant speech, the text of which has recently been discovered, just like Jagello's letter to Henry V, is a strong appeal in favour of a mutual understanding between England and France.

This long enduring interest of England in the Teutonic Order must be explained not only by the skilful propaganda made by the German Knights during their struggle against Poland, but also by the commercial relations between Danzig and London. Taken away from the Poles and occupied by the Order in 1308, Danzig with Pomerania—the so-called Western Prussia—returned to Poland in 1454; and from this very moment the Polish Kingdom, having regained free access to the Baltic, came into much closer contact with Britain. At once, in 1455, King Casimir recommended his new

<sup>1</sup> In 1410, when the Teutonic Knights met a crushing defeat by almost a Pan-Slav "crusade" led by the Grand Prince of Lithuania, Vitovt. The site of the battle is almost identical with that of Tannenberg in 1914.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Recently published in *Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree* (Oxford, 1930), by Professor J. H. Baxter, who kindly drew my attention to this document.

subjects and their commercial interests to the King of England; a first treaty was concluded in 1465 and, three years later, a first Anglo-Polish conflict threatened to arise in connection with the seizure of goods belonging to the merchants of Danzig.

That incident, although it remained without any serious consequences, has been noted by our contemporary historian John Długosz. How seriously this Polish writer of the 15th century was interested in British affairs, is clearly shown from the fact that in the margin of his history of Poland he mentioned several striking events illustrating the past of England: for instance, the Norman conquest and the Battle of Hastings, the death of Thomas à Becket and the Wycliffe movement.

Thus, one is scarcely astonished to see the rapid progress of cultural relations between our two countries accomplished during the next century, which constitutes the climax of Poland's historical development. It is quite generally known that the greatest Polish Reformer, John Łaski—"a Lasco," as he was called abroad—before working among his countrymen, acted in the middle of the 16th century as head of the community of foreign Reformers in London. Still earlier, in the years 1518-26, an English poet, Leonard Cox of Monmouthshire, was professor of Latin at the University of Cracow. His pamphlet "*De laudibus celeberrimae Cracoviensis Academiae*" gives us an excellent idea of how Poland and Polish civilisation were appreciated by an English scholar of the Renaissance period.

But having to deal rather with political relations, I should like again to mention a piece of correspondence between our sovereigns. In 1502 Henry VII sent the Rev. Godfrey Blythe, Dean of York—later Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry—to the Jagellonian brothers then reigning not only in Poland and Lithuania, but also in Bohemia and Hungary. He proposed to them a permanent league—"ligam, unionem et confoederationem perpetuam"—to be directed against the Turks as well as any other enemy and to include the following allies: France, Spain, Scotland, Portugal, Denmark, Austria, the Bishop of Liège, Savoy, Ferrara, Naples, Venice and the Hanseatic Union.

Strongly recommended by the King of Hungary, this ambitious scheme was favourably received by the Poles: if for no other reason "*propter distantias*," it would at least make our name more famous among the nations to which we were still unknown. King Alexander himself, however, was rather sceptical with regard to the "*Anglicana confederatio*." He suspected that the proposal was made not to defend the Faith but to open new roads to English

commerce, and knowing that "the Kingdom of England used to be seditious"—of course an echo of the Wars of the Roses—he wanted precise engagements to be stipulated. Although not realised, this initiative which inaugurated the new century remains a first trial of Anglo-Polish co-operation within the European community of nations.

Among our kings of that century it was certainly Sigismund Augustus, the last of the Jagellonian dynasty, who took the greatest interest in regular relations with England, both in the political and in the commercial field. In doing so, he was inspired by the desire to make Poland a sea-power and to create a nucleus of a Polish navy.

His general policy can be studied more thoroughly since the so-called "*Libri legationum*," the diplomatic registers of the Royal Chancellor's office, have been restored to the Polish State Archives by the Soviet Government. It appears that when dealing with the Livonian problem, Sigismund Augustus wanted to utilise the influence exercised by England over the Hanseatic cities. On the other side, considering Russia as his most dangerous rival, he felt alarmed about the first Anglo-Russian relations, when a "*nova navigatio ex Anglia in Moscoviam mari oceano*" had been opened in 1553. He noticed at once, as is clearly expressed in his correspondence with Danzig, that in future a serious danger for Poland would arise from what Milton called the first discovery of Russia.

The King had negotiated first with Queen Mary and her husband Philip of Spain. But as soon as Queen Elizabeth had taken their place, he congratulated her most heartily on her accession to the throne, which she owed to her hereditary rights, but also "*propter praeclaras animi dotes*." Here Sigismund Augustus seems to have foreseen the future—Elizabeth's glorious reign. He at once expressed the hope that under her rule his own subjects would recover the privileges which they used to enjoy in England, and he promised the same to Englishmen who might come to Poland.

These commercial relations, encouraged by the last Jagellonian King, brought so many Englishmen to the Polish cities that at Danzig alone, under Sigismund III, they numbered 15,000, and a hundred years later a British Resident could state that "there is not in any place in Europe so great a number of British natives." Of course the same relations led occasionally to diplomatic controversies, and it is well known that one of Sigismund III's representatives was rather rudely received by Queen Elizabeth, but protested with hardly less energy. I prefer, however, to recall

another ambassador sent by the same king to James I, thanking him for having of his own accord declared to the Turkish Sultan, who had just assailed Poland, that he was a friend of the King of Poland and "would not forsake him in any danger." The speech, made on that occasion by a Polish Ambassador more than 300 years ago and printed by His Majesty's order, came to my knowledge, thanks to the courtesy of our present Ambassador in London.

But it is time to approach the most tragic moment in the development of Anglo-Polish relations and in Polish history as a whole: the Partitions. Poland, after having for centuries occupied the first place in Eastern Europe and being treated on the same footing with all the Western countries, including England, was now to be dismembered by rapacious neighbours. In the meantime, England had become one of the greatest powers in Europe, and therefore could have influenced events even in such distant parts of the continent.

In papers read before the International Congress of Historical Sciences, two English scholars have perfectly well characterised Britain's policy with regard to the first partition. "She steadily opposed it," said Mr. W. F. Reddaway; "by diplomacy she did something to restrict it: but she consistently abjured direct opposition, as inappropriate to a commercial power." Enlightened opinion was anyhow quite aware of the consequences: Edmund Burke's commentary, mentioned to the Congress by Mr. A. Cobban, is particularly instructive. "No wise or honest man," he wrote in 1772, "can approve of that partition or can contemplate it without prognosticating great mischief from it to all countries at some future time."

The turning-point was, however, the years immediately before the two last partitions. Professor Dembiński, who described them so ably in 1913, published among other things a contemporary document, discovered in the Chatham Papers of the Record Office, showing us Britain's responsibilities as well as the possibilities opened before her. In a memorandum on the expediency of combining Poland with the defensive system of England and her allies, the British Minister in Berlin, Ewart, submitted to William Pitt in the autumn of 1790 the following considerations: "It has been pretty well ascertained that Poland can furnish all the production which this country at present draws from Russia and that a competition of trade might be established with great advantage. But unless the political existence and independency of Poland be

secured, it must remain in a state of anarchy from the influence of foreign and especially Russian factions, which have so long disturbed the tranquillity of the country. . . . If therefore the opening of an extensive trade with Poland be an object of importance to this country, the forming of a political connection with it becomes absolutely necessary, and it cannot be supposed that Russia would venture to make any incroachment upon an alliance secured by so powerful a guarantee."

This suggestion, made by a British diplomatist, was in full agreement with the desires and aims of the Polish patriots of the "Great Diet." They hoped to save their country by concluding in 1790 an alliance with Prussia. But they realised perfectly that it would remain inefficient without being completed by an alliance with Britain, Prussia's ally since 1788. Only a combination with the whole British "system" could seriously guarantee Poland's independence and integrity. Prussia alone was both unable and unwilling to do so. The British Minister in Poland, Daniel Hailes, even assisted the Prussian policy as being "a complete counteraction of what we are labouring at Warsaw."

Pitt's Government seemed to agree with its representatives in Central Europe as to "the great importance of securing Poland to our system." When Michael Ogiński came to London in January 1791, hoping to obtain for his country an appropriate place in the federative chain of powers directed by Britain, Pitt had a very friendly conversation with him and showed much interest in Poland's situation and in the development of Anglo-Polish relations.

Unfortunately, the famous debate which took place in the British Parliament on March 28th and 29th entirely disappointed the Poles in their expectations. Pitt not only was obliged to give up the idea of sending an ultimatum to Russia, but, in debate with Fox and the Opposition, he himself spoke much more of Turkey than of Poland, its desperate situation being scarcely taken into consideration. The scheme of a federative system including Poland was definitely abandoned, and the ill-fated country, having lost her last chance of any effective diplomatic support, was left alone.

The patriots did their best by voting for the constitutional reform of 3 May, but Prussia, instead of assisting Poland, participated with Russia in the partition of 1793. Not only Polish scholars, but even the most competent English historian of the period, Professor Holland Rose, came to the conclusion that Britain was not irresponsible in these events. She had thought the coalition against the French revolution much more important to her than

the proposed interference in Eastern affairs. But what Ignace Potocki had called, as early as 1780, England's "*égoïsme politique et politique arithmétique*," did not prove successful. In 1794 Prussia, disregarding the convention concluded with Lord Malmesbury, preferred to fight against Kościuszko rather than against the French revolutionaries, and next year she signed the peace of Basel in order to be free to secure the largest possible share in Poland's final dismemberment.

Our fate was decided in the name of the so-called balance of power in Europe. But a few years earlier a British Consul at Warsaw had reported to the Foreign Office that just in the interest of such a balance an independent Poland was "absolutely" necessary. The experience of the next century was to show that he was right.

Just when Poland had ceased to be an independent state, our relations with England became closer and much more frequent and regular than ever before—a circumstance which explains many misunderstandings between the two nations. In general, public opinion in England was always rather favourable to the oppressed Poles. Scarcely in any other country did they receive such impressive proofs of sympathy as from the Society of Friends of Poland and from persons like Lord Dudley Stuart, David Urquhart and so many others. But never did the Poles obtain the practical support of the British Government, which they wanted so badly and even at so many moments expected: during the Congress of Vienna in 1815, during and after their struggle against Russia in 1830–31, in 1846 when Austria annexed Cracow, in the years of the Crimean War, and especially during their last insurrection in 1863.

The last of these cases is perhaps the most typical one. Here again English historians have themselves expressed severe opinions regarding the attitude of their country. In a paper on the subject prepared for the last International Congress, Mr. J. H. Harley argued "that Poland went out of the picture towards the close of 1863, because the ruling commercial oligarchy in Britain had by that time begun definitely to set their minds against any direct action on behalf of the oppressed country."

But let us take again a contemporary document, one of those which have been published in 1914 by M. T. Filipowicz. The report sent to Lord Russell by Lord Napier, the British Ambassador in St. Petersburg, on 6 April, 1863, seems to be particularly comprehensive. It obviously influenced the Foreign Minister himself, who a few days before receiving it stated in rather

energetic words that "Russia as a member of the community of European States has duties of comity towards other nations to fulfil," while a month later he spoke in Parliament against the idea of Poland's independence.

To Lord Napier, even "the independence of the kingdom of Poland as at present circumscribed by Treaty" seemed to encounter "formidable impediments." He felt sure that "some guarantee" would be asked for by Russia, and he was wondering whether "Her Majesty's Government would find it convenient to bind itself." But he was still much more opposed to the "chimera" of "a great Polish State" reconstituted on the basis of nationality: "with such dreams Her Majesty's Government cannot even speculatively have much sympathy."

Of course, any Pole reading this memorandum must be painfully impressed. But it is only fair to note that on several points Lord Napier was entirely right. He was right when he expressed serious doubts as to the possibility of maintaining a Polish State within the limits of 1815, a possibility which was contemplated by Lord Palmerston not only in 1863 but also in 1854. We realise to-day, much better than during the 19th century, all the mistakes of the settlement adopted by the Congress of Vienna. We must understand, too, that Lord Napier felt alarmed about the scheme of a Poland stretching "wherever heretofore the Polish arms have had a transient triumph." In his disgust at what he regarded as unauthorised claims "of their visionary nationality," he remarked with irony: "Moscow is not to be claimed." Here, however, the British Ambassador in Russia was certainly under the impression of the anti-Polish propaganda which supplied him with wrong information, and also of regrettable exaggerations which struck him in some of the Polish propaganda publications, for instance, an "enclosed map published in Paris."

Unfortunately Lord Napier did not see that between the two extreme solutions which he believed equally dangerous: a Poland within the frontiers of 1815, and a Poland stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea and as far as the Dnieper, there was an intermediary solution, consistent—to use his own words—with common justice and with the popular will impartially interpreted.

It is true that even that solution—the solution of today—was unattainable without a struggle between the European Powers, without a great war. And here we reach the most profound reason of the opposition between England's and Poland's vital interests during the whole period from the partitions to 1914. England wanted



peace, while Poland's independence could not be restored unless by a war.

Such a war was avoided in 1863, and Poland was sacrificed once more. "Poland died in 1863 and died forever"—these words written by Sir Charles Dilke in 1887 expressed the general opinion not only of England, but more or less of the whole of Europe. Is it astonishing that under such conditions Anglo-Polish relations were entirely interrupted? And that is certainly one of the reasons why it was so difficult to re-establish them after 1918.

Any judgment on the present situation would be beyond the competence of a historian. Nevertheless some positive conclusions clearly result from the historical antecedents. As it was easy to presume, Poland was reborn thanks to a dreadful war, a war which broke out without any Polish responsibility. The principle of Poland's independence was unanimously admitted at the Peace Conference, and even by the nations which once had divided the former Republic. But the details of the final settlement and more especially the problem of the frontiers being controversial, each of the Great Powers had its own Polish policy at the Conference and afterwards. Now it seemed to my compatriots that Great Britain's attitude in these matters was rather unfriendly to the State which was to be reconstructed.

I do think that they were wrong. In the Polish question, as well as in so many others, England wanted to arrive at a reasonable compromise in order to establish a lasting peace. The solutions adopted in that sense did not entirely satisfy the Poles, but have been loyally accepted by them. For that very reason we are entitled to hope that they will be respected in future by all the parties concerned. Great Britain's views having prevailed in 1919, far more than in 1815, we may expect that she will be anxious to maintain the present *status quo* as she tried to safeguard the stipulations of the Congress of Vienna, which were so much less satisfactory not only for the Poles, but from the point of view of justice.

Therefore, contrarily to the conditions of the 19th century, England and Poland have now no opposite interests whatever, but a common primary interest in perpetuating peace. Moreover, they are both interested in the progress of international organisation in order to avoid the reappearance of situations where one or another aggressive Power could threaten England's prosperity and Poland's existence, as happened near the end of the 18th century.

In this respect even the painful experiences of contemporary history, since the partitions, do not any longer disturb the mutual

## FIFTEEN YEARS OF POLISH LITERATURE (1918—1933)

### (I)

ANYONE who has even a nodding acquaintance with modern Polish history knows that the significance of literature in Poland, during the 19th century and up to the World War, was rather unlike that in most other countries. The nation, deprived of its political institutions, had no other channels of free expression but art and writing. And it was not unnatural that writers and artists became generally regarded as leaders of the national spirit. A fairly adequate symbol can be seen in that masterly monument of Mickiewicz by Bourdelle which is now standing in the Place d'Alma in Paris and which represents the poet with a pilgrim's staff in his hand, marching forward like a prophet and pointing the way for others. This representation may be roughly taken as good, not only for Mickiewicz and his "romantic" period, but also for the later "positivists," as they called themselves, and even for the last pre-war generation which, in many respects, reacted against its predecessors. Most of the writers considered it their duty to give counsel to the community and to stimulate it. And readers grew accustomed to expect from literature warnings, instructions, chastisement, strengthening or solace. This did not, of course, hinder great artists from being great artists; but still, in many cases, it imposed limitations and burdened their work with a kind of twofold responsibility.

From the national point of view, these feelings and tendencies were certainly salutary, although their domination was not without victims; in two cases, at least, they did harm, deeply affecting and partly wasting two talents of the first order: one of them, Fredro (1793—1876), because he was judged to be inopportunistically light-hearted; the second, Norwid (1821—1883), because his ideas seemed too strange and his expression too arbitrarily individual.

During the war, as might have been expected, the mood of national responsibility was further strengthened. Even those poets who, up to that time, had stood rather aloof, came down from their solitary heights to take their part in the common cause. But only in a few cases did this result in lasting poetic achievements. The greatest of them was, certainly, *The Book of the Poor* (1916), a lyrical collection by Jan Kasprówicz, in which prayers for the nation and agonising anxiety about the whole war-ridden world mingled with uplifting feelings resulting from attained religious certainties.<sup>1</sup> But,

<sup>1</sup> See the present writer's essay on him in the *Slavonic Review*, no. 28, p. 28.

on the other hand, there was all the time a profusion of short stories and verse which ran to death the easier kinds of patriotic phraseology.

When the war ended and the Polish State was restored, it might have seemed rather strange that only comparatively few expressions of triumph and celebration resounded in literature, though that was precisely the moment so ardently awaited by three earlier generations. The younger writers rejoiced, indeed, but not in the way that one could have expected. The hour had come, it was believed, to unburden literature from the yoke of national constraint. Thank God, they seemed to say, there is no longer a need to be solemn and sad. "When there's spring in the world, let me see spring and not Poland," was the defiant proclamation of the poet Jan Lechoń, at that time not yet 20 years old (b. 1899). In his lyrical rhapsodies he summoned his contemporaries to repel all the ghosts of the past; he even expressed the wish to sweep away all historic memorials: which was, of course, excessive, as everybody knew how many historic memorials had been swept away already during the devastations which Poland had undergone; but a rodomontade of this kind was only giving exaggerated proportions to what was in the spirit of the moment. It was the conviction of those days that, with the institution of political freedom and administrative machinery, literature would be entitled to forget entirely the existence of national problems.

The poet Lechoń, however, a very characteristic figure of the first post-war years though he was, did not at once follow his own teaching. He was soon awake to the idea that some things of old may yet reappear and revive in our own days, with what was splendid as well as with what was mean in them. He began to review good and evil in the inheritance of the past, and thus came, the other way round, to the historical conditions of reality which he wished to escape. It was precisely by poems on these subjects that he became really popular. A wider popularity was obtained only by his gift as a satirist, which he brilliantly exercised as the founder and, for some time, editor of the spirited humorous weekly, *Cyrulik Warszawski* ("The Warsaw Barber").

His later poetry is mostly concerned with metaphysical issues of *Love and Death*; in these words he summarises them himself in the title of a series of his poems. He is the very antithesis of spontaneity. When reading his work, we get the conviction of everything here being poised, sifted and carefully meditated; and the impression is further strengthened by his traditional, almost classic, prosody and rhyming. It is this element of scrupulous crystallisation that

principally attracts us to his pages, even if his juvenile emphases leave us otherwise cold. Among the most impressive of his poems are those suggested by great literary personalities, such as Byron, Norwid, Thomas Mann or Marcel Proust. They are typical of his meditative sensibility, and their very subjects map out the tracks of his mind.

But his abandonment of motifs of a national character proved not to be fruitful for his abilities, and for several years past he has not written any new poetry. His early anti-historical declarations, however, were to be taken up and carried on by others.

The war was not yet ended when a literary group was formed in Warsaw, of men born some years before 1900, later to be known as the *Skamander* group, from the Homeric name of their "poetic monthly" (which name, however, did not come to them directly from Homer, but from a drama by Wyspiański). Lechoń was one of them, and the chief thing which united them all was their lyric propensity. The majority of them were under the spell of the outstanding representative of pure poetry, Leopold Staff, whose renown was established during the last decade before the war. He was to be the most openly acknowledged and the most obviously influential author.<sup>2</sup> And this meant a high standard of prosody and diction.

The first of these young poets to make a stir was Julian Tuwim (b. 1894), a man of Jewish extraction, born in seemingly the most anti-poetic town of Poland, the industrial Łódź. Despite such apparent handicaps, he drew universal attention by his genuine feeling for the "singing" quality of Polish verse. Owing to this feeling, he is able to write in the easiest way and on the plainest and most ordinary things. One of his poems, entitled *The Muse and a Few Words Only*, begins as follows :—

Do not search in dictionaries,  
Do not look for shattering words :  
We shall sing of the nightingales  
Which are chanting amid those boughs.

We shall sing in the old way,  
We shall yearn as when we were young ! . . .

Thus the commonest and most hackneyed items of the old poetic repertory return and become fresh with him. For, besides his gift for verse instrumentation, he has the vigour to suggest to the reader

<sup>2</sup> See the present writer's essay on him in the *Slavonic Review*, no. 31, p. 145.

the reality of the things of which he speaks. But what is likewise incessant in Tuwim's poems is the sense of something overwhelming and surpassing the immediate actuality. In one poem, for instance, he describes his flat, and, suddenly, we are informed (*A Flat*) that when he lays himself down on the sofa, an immense whirlpool of Things Primeval starts turning him round and round; when he falls asleep, he sinks into some depth; and when he opens his eyes, a cascade of formidably rushing eternity breaks from his sleep into the room. In such cases, as we see, he makes free use of those "shattering words" which he dismisses on other occasions.

His great energies, however, are not directed to anything which might be described in a commonplace way as an object in life, though he falls himself from time to time into the delusion that he is going to have some definite extra-literary message for the world. He certainly would like to have it. He often dreamed of effecting some great rescue, and his first book bore the title, *Lying in Wait for God*; but these declarations were only the expression of his unrest and his desire to be taken out of himself. We heard him praying, and we heard him using religious formulas for bizarre paradoxical effects. For a while he was a humanitarian, in sympathy with grey unattractive multitudes, but some time later he ridiculed and defied the subjects of his compassion. He was seen among militarists and among pacifists. And, of course, all his gospels were equally meaningless. What is true in all of them is only his internal welter, craving for violent expression. So he is always; a force not directly constructive, but offering a large choice, and quite compelling in its proper domain of poetic entities. Running, wallowing, pursuit, expansion, belong to his privileged images which alternate with soft yearnings and placid reminiscences of early days. In accordance with these impulses, when he speaks of nature, he exalts above all the manifestations of its growth and abundance. He is the poet of everything resinous, full of sap, dense, gluey, fertile and expanding.

His vocabulary is as resourceful as his verses. He not only proved himself to have a keen sense for the right word (some early neologisms excepted), but went deep into the study of the language, down to its Slavonic origins, and showed a rare discretion in using it. He gave evidence of a singular insight in his notable rendering of the medieval Russian masterpiece, *The Tale of the Host of Igor*. This power over the language often draws his own poetic attention to itself. He describes admirably, for instance, the rapturous sensation of a moment when a phrase, suddenly found, changes confused matter into order. In another poem, he pictures himself

as a scientist in a laboratory, with words as his materials. He cuts them with his lancet and blood wells out. And then it is possible even to say simply: "The weather is getting warmer."

It does not strike one as inconsequent that Tuwim's attempts at prose writing are mostly failures (though he is knowledgeable in some corners of the social history of Poland). On the contrary, he is an excellent verse humourist, and for years has been known to be the chief contributor to one of Warsaw's variety theatres.

The activity of Tuwim's contemporary and Skamander colleague, Antoni Ślōnimoski (b. 1895) is, somewhat similarly, twofold. To the larger public he is chiefly known as a journalist; very witty, a sharp observer, a master of humorous allusion, and gifted with a noticeable amount of common sense, though his early days are still remembered, when he used to be reckless and, on certain occasions, plainly brutal in the expression of his idiosyncrasies. But this ingenious and acrid journalist is also a lyrical poet, and of no small stature.

His verse is not "singing," but rather oratorical. Neither shall we meet, in his poetry, with such dizzying swings as in Tuwim's. It is more subject to concentration and less variegated in intensity. The element of unity which pervades the main body of his work may be glibly defined as the sense of the pathetic elements of existence. Big words and high-sounding antitheses are used frequently here, but they are not used in vain. The overwhelming mystery of Nature; the drama continually lurking behind the most commonplace events; the eternal solitude of Man—are among the poet's most essential ideas.

But what we also meet with again and again in his poems is the discredited word "heart" and all the rest of the vocabulary which is affiliated with it. It is true that Ślōnimoski often cools his burning phrases by associating them with studied metaphors and setting them to drumming rhythms, but still, it is this emotional element that gives the most poignant notes. This sneering publicist is the poet of a heart open to personal love as well as to the world:—

My pity is impatient  
And my heart is unreasonable.

These lines (*Pity*) are among his most direct, and most characteristic at the same time. He was not even afraid of the word *Sentimentalism*, and in a poem under that title he glorified old pastorals and novels denouncing at the same time the dreary modern world which considers itself so superior to them. There is much he finds to protest against in the modern world. He pictures it often as a whirlpool of

grim nonsense, imbecile fads and self-conceited phrases. Certain things, as, for instance, wars, he holds in such horror that he does not draw the line at making his poetry an instrument of propaganda against them. But his eyes are likewise open to many other evils of a more permanent kind: to all the "snares of hatred and blindness." Neither is he easily deluded by facile slogans; in one of his early works he violently answered the well-known Russian Bolshevik poet, Mayakovsky, intoxicated by the motto "to the left" (*A Counter-March*), and in one of his latest poems (*Pity*) he repeats his amazement at those who are able to turn despairing human eyes into the "iron links of the dialectic of Karl Marx, Engels and Lenin."

There is, however, in the modern world one strain which has enraptured him: it is the activity of science; its research, discoveries and inventions. In this a follower of H. G. Wells, he fostered the belief that therefrom we may expect the panacea for all the troubles of the world. We can easily understand his growing melancholy.

Słonimski, like Tuwim, is of Jewish extraction, and this is, probably, some explanation of the contrasts of his nature, that of compassion and violence being one of them. As a publicist he has raised his voice on a number of important occasions, expressing his opinion with a directness, civil courage and disregard of convenience which is appreciated even by those who, otherwise, do not share his Wellsian ideals and do not approve of his corrosive journalistic manner.

He has also written a good book of travel impressions from Soviet Russia,<sup>3</sup> and achieved some notable successes in comedy. His best in this field is his latest play, *A Family*, which brings to a Polish country house a German Hitlerite and a Soviet Communist; the chief point in the plot is that both of them make unexpected and undesired discoveries concerning their origins; the Hitlerite does not appear to be of pure Nordic race; nor does the Bolshevik appear to be of the pure working class; their uneasiness at the disclosure is derided by all the rest of the company who, far from being models of mankind, are, nevertheless, endowed with plain humane feeling and healthy common sense. The play is sparkling with wit, all the vital problems of today are tossed to and fro in the dialogue, all the characters are clear-cut and most amusingly marked with caricatural traits.

Another poet of the same generation and of the same group is Kazimierz Wierzyński (b. 1894). In his early youth he took part

<sup>3</sup> See the present writer's notice of it in the *Slavonic Review*, no. 33, p. 724

in the war and spent several years as a war prisoner; but, having returned from the concentration camp, he struck a boisterous tone of joy—unlimited, ecstatic joy of existence. His first book bore the adequate title, *Spring and Wine*. Lines abound in it, as well as in two or three others which followed it, which read like this: "I cannot tell you how happy I am," "I am like champagne," "I am laughing to myself," "I am flirting with the whole world," "It is green in my head, and violets are blossoming there." Such and similar phrases made his poetry popular and widely enjoyed. His diction united a feeling for flowing rhythms with gay imagery which was gleaming and yet not gaudy.

This enchantment with everyday things, "with the world widely open on all four sides," lasted for some years, verging dangerously on poetic confectionery, but, on the whole, victoriously escaping that danger. A vaster variant was added to it by the *Love Diary*, the title of which summarises its contents, and by the poet's interest in sports, which won for his collection, entitled *An Olympic Laurel*, the mark of ancient distinction: a crown at the Olympiad (1928).

But the latest books of Wierzyński brought a change. In one of them (*A Talk with the Forest*), following the example of his companions of *Skamander*, he grasps at metaphysical matter, using for it an intensive vocabulary (of winds twirling the whole world, fire burning the heart alive, and so on) more in the manner of Tuwim than of his own earlier works. Another book seems to show a complete break in the series; it is a collection of crude poems on the misery of slums in post-war big towns. They are called *Fanatic Songs*, and their harsh and loathsome imagery is accompanied by nothing but resigned despondency ("I know I cannot shift it, and no one can"). This deadly despair, together with the coarse wording, give the book a singularly grim outlook which might seem to be a heavy retaliation for several years of continual rejoicing. The same may be said of Wierzyński's prose short stories, *The Limits of the World*, displaying pictures of fierce and mostly purposeless cruelty.

Only his latest collection shows a move toward a new reconciliation with life. It is still *A Bitter Crop* (as its title shows), largely concerned with the horrors of post-war Europe and America, but it brings us back, nevertheless, to the splendours of the world and to creative raptures which give rise to hope and strengthen love. Wierzyński's later style is brilliant, though not so distinctly individual as that of his early works.

The poets of the *Skamander* express, as we see, various emotional vistas. To do so, they introduced several innovations in verse



music and developed a rich new imagery, the privileged vehicle of which are bold, often dazzling, metaphors. Some of their juniors outdid these tendencies, falling into baroque extravagances; the main stock, however, of their achievements in the domain of diction is of a lasting value. This was acknowledged not only by their contemporaries, but also by that representative of the earlier generation whom they recognise as their literary inspirer, and who is almost universally regarded as the greatest Polish poet now living—Leopold Staff (b. 1878). In his recent volume, *High Trees*, he paid his disciples a great and unusual compliment by a few poems written in their own characteristic manners. This, however, only threw into relief the difference between the older poet and the moderns. Most of them are full of unrest, anxiety and changing moods, whereas his last works (especially the last but one, *The Needle's Eye*) exhibit the magnificent quiet of one who, after long wanderings, has found Faith and feels that in any vicissitudes he can rely upon its guidance.

There were some similar elements of sublimity and calm in the valedictory works of those outstanding lyricists of the earlier generation who died during those fifteen years. Jan Kasprówicz (1860-1926) gave the final expression to the Franciscanism of his last period in half-humorous ballads, having for heroes the most inconspicuous and plainest creatures, and being written in a deliberately rough style suggestive of a chap-book, but permeated with warm fraternal sentiment. (In his humble sympathy he called them *My World*.) Antoni Lange (1862-1929), who all his life meditated on death, completed his stoic verse by a number of penetrating poems which combine the natural colour of direct communication with the sense of a mysterious presence. Mme. Ostrowska (1881-1928), after the disillusioned *Sun-Mill*, gradually returned to the earlier attitude of her masterpiece of affirmation which was *The Ring of Life* (1919) and voiced in her last poems the growing peace of her heart, one of her last lyrics asking whether she will be forgiven, since she has none indebted to her whom she might forgive in her turn.

In the meantime other lyrical forces have developed among the younger, in looser connection with the activities of the Skamander group. The first of them was Mlle. Iłakowicz. She comes from the country gentry and was born in those north-eastern parts which formed the old Grand Duchy of Lithuania and which, for Polish letters, have long had the romantic importance which Scotland had in English letters. In her voluminous, versatile and uneven writing she was once more to voice the traditional atmosphere of a country

manor, to exalt the sentiments of village people, and to retell, in her own—rather curious—way, their old devotional legends and fantastic fairy stories. She has not avoided political matter, providing in her prayer for reconciliation with the Lithuanians a great example of its treatment. But, on the whole, it is not this descriptive, narrative or national poetry that gives Mlle. Hlakowicz her literary rank. Poems in which she is most intensely original and most convincingly expressive concern individual feelings: it is the poetry of stifled sentiments and frustrated hopes. They are penetratingly conveyed by direct lyrical monologues, as well as by symbols. One poem, for instance, describes a stone; a rough big stone forgotten in some solitary place; and suddenly we hear: "Let it alone . . . it is the stone which is lying upon my heart" (*A Stone*). Another poem is about a moth beating itself against the panes and flying to death in a candle; but at the very outset we were told: "It is not a . . . moth—it is I" (*A Moth*). Or, again, it is a tree losing its leaves, or a weatherbeaten weed, or an imprisoned bird (*A Crying Bird*—such is even the title of one of her books). Suggestive of suffering though these poems are, there is, nevertheless, nothing in them that might suggest humiliation. On the contrary, they are pervaded as it were with pride in that costly human experience and in the outspokenness with which it is worded.

Personal pain awakes in the poetess a new sensitiveness for Nature. The meadows and pastures of the native land take the place of love.

Not lips kissed,  
But listening how the river is swelling under the ice,  
Not a heart pounding violently against another heart,  
But lights and shades from fir-trees under the moon.

These lines we find in her amazing poem *Fatherland*. With these feelings she likes to appear in her poetry as a sorceress, a witch, with a following of birds, hedgehogs, moles, beetles, butterflies, hornets, and so on. And this masquerade proves a powerful means of fascinating and suggesting atmosphere without extensive descriptions.

Mlle. Hlakowicz often follows the patterns of traditional prosody and stanzas. But in her most personal poems we meet as a rule a new kind of verse which has become typically hers. It is independent of any syllabic principle and consists of lines connected rhythmically only by a constant number of accents and, we may add, with a rather free understanding of the word accent. Her preference is for long lines which give her diction some touch of *recitativo*. Her

rhymes, in a great many cases, are not traditionally complete, but approximative, and this introduces again a new shade, well in harmony with the rest of her individual art.

It is difficult to imagine a greater contrast than exists between this poetess and her junior, Mme. Pawlikowska, in spite of the similarity of certain of their subjects. Mme. Pawlikowska speaks also of love, its longings and disenchantments. But it is a different kind of love; not a darkly overwhelming power, but something languorous and sensuous. And it is a different kind of writing too; neither widely expanding symbols nor penetrating monologues, but light and elegant epigrams. Her principal collection consists, indeed, of poems of four lines only, somewhat reminiscent of the shorter kinds of Japanese lyrics which were for some time so admired in the West. In one of these poems, for instance, Ophelia is speaking, and declares that it will take her long—lying amidst rushes in the river—before she finally understands that she “simply—was not loved”; and that is the whole poem. Of course, you have to imagine the delicate and pungent wording, of which precisely this rough summary here has deprived it. The melancholy mirth of these miniature poems is not without a miniature philosophy; it springs from an awareness of the truth that what is silly is so often indissolubly mixed with a larger pathos. A *Précieuse*, helpless before a puddle, her Siamese dog, her bouquet and her umbrella in her arms, must in any case “step into infinity”, and a moth (for Mme. Pawlikowska has, as well as Mlle. Hłakowicz, a poem on that subject), with all its poor foolishness, burns “like Joan of Arc herself.” This mood of the poetess is best supplied by happenings in the sphere of salons and society parties; but even when she leaves that privileged area of hers, she discovers the same mixture of drama and nonsense: in bourgeois flats with their grim cupboards as well as in great Nature herself with her inexplicable monstrosities. All these points are effectively brought forward in a diction which is subtly ironical, precise and pellucid, sparing in words.

It may seem as though we had stepped into another world when we pass from Mme. Pawlikowska's poems to those of Władysław Broniewski (b. 1898). His work might rightly be defined by Wierzyński's formula of “fanatic songs”; he has for years espoused the cause of the proletarian working masses, and expresses their sufferings and their wrath in verses of piercing directness and menacing violence. This social rhetoric of his is made even more impressive by his scanty personal lyrics, which bear testimony to his profound and genuine sensibility.

A kind of counterpart to Broniewski's negative proclamations has been given by Marjan Piechal in *A Handful of Ashes*, which is a series of dirges over fourteen peasant boys and girls, who gave their lives while rescuing from fire the historical treasures of a large private collection. He sees them raised from proletarianism to immortality, and their ashes, by being mingled with those of the monuments of the past, acquire the symbolic meaning of "lampada vitæ tradita." And this is the more significant as Piechal himself is a "proletarian," son of a factory worker at Łódź.

As this series of silhouettes may show, these were years of a great outburst of lyric energies. As a consequence, lyric poetry has won a position which at the moment no other section of literature can equal. Lyricism has been conquering special areas hitherto little familiar with it. The poet M. Braun, for instance, has given himself to the praise of arts and crafts; the poet M. Jastrun has meditated in verse over the elusive essence of Time; and the list might be continued. On the other hand, there were still many who knew how to write in a fresh way on such primordial themes as the nostalgia for one's native haunts and the beauty of familiar landscapes. (We can quote as remarkable examples L. O. Podhorski and the short-lived E. Małaczewski.) Feminine feelings have been voiced by several poetesses from among whom Mlle. H. Konopacka, Mlle. H. Łazowert and Mlle. F. Kruszevska may be singled out, both for the individual aptitude of their diction and for the psychological interest of their soliloquies. The crop of poetry was so abundant that a poet might have not only appeared but have died without being noticed by critics. Such, indeed, was the case with Jan Zahradnik (1904-1929), whose small collection of lyrics is now rightly vindicated as unique of its kind—a record of a dying man who, in loneliness, with his writing-tablet as his only friend, is waiting for the hour at which there will be no more waiting, with full consciousness that "each of his poems is a last one."

(2)

Dramatic literature was in this lyrical period less cultivated. The prevailing genre in theatres were realistic comedies with more or less of a satirical admixture (S. Kiedrzyński is to be singled out from among the purveyors of these comedies, for his technical skill), and in many of them a penchant for trivial effects was noticeable, which was commented upon as a measure for attracting the public, whose taste—as it was said—would not have had subtler art on the stage. The public, however, belied this opinion by bestowing its

greatest favour precisely on the writer who persisted in what might be called poetic drama, Jerzy Szaniawski (b. 1887). But, whereas the lyrics have made such an approach to everyday life, as we have seen, and so enlarged the area of poetical subjects, this playwright is under the spell of poetry in a rather cheap sense of something dreamy and sentimental. He knows how to build a play and give good rôles to the actors, but his chief characters are always possessed with a taste for frail and misty sophistication, and naturally find it difficult to cope with strong truths as they are afraid even of strong words. Only in his very latest works he has given evidence of somewhat more vigour. A rather vigorous problem has been tackled by another writer, K. H. Rostworowski (b. 1877), who is certainly less popular with the public, but much esteemed by critics. In a dramatic trilogy he has investigated the genesis and tragic consequences of a crime in the conditions of the world of today. Two of these plays at least are full of dramatic tension, which makes them good performances on the stage, but the final impression is that of something rather heterogeneous, owing to the blending of tragedy with the element of secrets and coincidences, too much reminiscent of detective drama.

A special kind of dramatic work, historical comedy, has its exponent in a writer of the older generation, Adolf Nowaczyński (b. 1876). An indefatigable journalist, a great wit, with the most prominent talent for satirical invective (to be compared only with Léon Daudet among contemporaries), every now and again he likes to discover in history some moments in a way analogous to our own times and to portray them in an unexpected manner, as a rule to the disparagement of the present day or, at least, of its opinions. His last success, a play on the subject of 1848, as good as his pre-war works, was exceptional in being soothing and cheerful. Unfortunately, it has not been followed by other successes.

A reinforcement for the theatre was to come from the camp of the novelists. Perhaps the greatest theatrical event in the whole period was Żeromski's play under the title taken from a popular ditty, *My Little Quail Has Fleed Away*, performed and published in the last year of the author's life. Having won during the last two pre-war decades renown and admiration by his novels and tales, he mastered theatrical technique at the end of his days and compelled his audience by the dramatic presentation of a conflict between fiery passion and strong moral and social inhibitions. In the portraiture of the background, which is the activity of a provincial university extension, as well as in certain points of motivation, the

play shows some naivety, but it was the naivety which was always granted to Żeromski (1864–1925) and even recognised as one of the elements of his greatness.

This example was followed a few years later by another writer who had obtained recognition in the field of fiction, Mme. Nałkowska. Her first drama (*A Women's House*) had immediately a success of technical novelty, as it was a play with feminine parts only. In its contents it was a comment on the scantiness of our knowledge of one another. A man dies, and his widow is tormented in her conscience by some shameful secret of hers which she had never avowed to him. But it appears that in *his* life there were many more secrets of which she was quite ignorant. There is, of course, a touch of Pirandello in it, but, on the whole, it is much more matter of fact, and the author has skilfully managed the plot so as to smoothe out suspicions of improbability, at least during the performance. Another play (*The Day of His Return*) has some similarly sensational element in its texture, and is constructed with the same system of gradual disclosures, but its conflict is deeper. It is created by cross currents of rational and irrational love and by the unsolved problem, whether there is such a thing as a born criminal or, rather, whether everybody is a potential criminal.

In the field of higher comedy the best achievements were those of Słonimski (which have already been mentioned). Bruno Winawer and Marjan Hemar (both of them of Jewish origin), distinguished themselves as authors of clever farces. One of the former's plays (*The Book of Job*) was honoured by Joseph Conrad, who translated it into English.

### (3)

Żeromski's and Mme. Nałkowska's desertion from the novelists' camp was not quite untypical. The war seems to have given a blow ~~to~~ fiction, as though indeed it seemed too futile in the face of the tremendous reality. In fact, the most distinguished among the fiction writers kept long silence. Original novels, for a number of years, became quite a rare kind of publication. This was a singularly propitious moment for new editions of earlier writings and for translations. This was also the moment which brought into prominence a fresh and portentous literary figure, Tadeusz Żeleński (b. 1874), chiefly known under his English-sounding nom de plume, Boy.

He was by profession a doctor. While studying in Paris he took a liking to French cabaret songs, and on returning home he practised

their genre in a small literary circle of his native Cracow with a piquant wit and a mastery over the language which were at once remarkable. It soon appeared also that his French tastes went higher than Montmartre. He liked Molière. He wished to see one of his plays in his own town, and as the old translations had not satisfied him, he translated it himself anew. The work so delighted him, that soon he rendered the whole of Molière, and did it amazingly well. Some more translations ensued: Brantôme, Lacos, and a few others. When the war came, our doctor was at once enlisted and given hospital work, not so much of a medical as of an administrative kind. It was frightfully dull. To dispel his boredom, he did more and more translations, which became almost second nature with him. Quite adventurously, he even started publishing them at his own risk, without any substantial help from publishers, who were mostly terrified by the turmoil of the war. He found a warm reception. And so he has translated and published Villon, Rabelais, Montaigne, Pascal, Racine's *Phèdre*, the principal works of Montesquieu, some Voltaire, Diderot and Lesage, the *Confessions* of Rousseau, the Letters of Mlle. de Lespinasse, much of Marivaux, a number of smaller novels, such as *Manon Lescaut* or *Adolphe*, a good deal of Chateaubriand and Musset, not a little of Mérimée and Stendhal, and a voluminous selection of Balzac, his initial and always his greatest love in French literature. The difference in standard between his translations and even the best of earlier ones was such, that the public eagerly re-read many a familiar volume for the sake of the excellence of its new Polish rendering alone. But Boy-Żeleński was not a mere translator; he initiated his readers into old authors by introductory studies which have revealed in him a fine genius as a critic. The war once ended, he parted with medicine and devoted himself entirely to writing, in which he developed a still more energetic activity than before. By now the series of his translations has gone to well over 100 volumes, without any lowering of level, and volumes of his original essays are counted in dozens.

His books are not constructed; they arise from journalistic work, but this has gradually extended from purely literary and theatrical matter over many social questions of a very general and vital appeal. His limpid style, formed on the best French models, his sharply-discerning mind, his thorough outspokenness, were most beneficial for a literature in which, owing to well-known historic circumstances (such as the German influence, and the long political necessity for leaving certain things unsaid), the amount of hazy phraseology was at times threatening to become a calamity.

But, unfortunately, the great intellectual sobriety heralded by Boy-Żeleński, has also proved intoxicating. As a negative critic he was in most cases to be agreed with, but when he exhibited his positive social and moral programme it appeared to be rather thin; it has been well summed up by another writer (J. E. Skiwski) in the phrase "life facilitated"; and, indeed, apart from the dismissal of certain restrictions, there was little more in it. On the other hand, in his studies of the classics he has aroused some distrust by dwelling complacently on the seamy sides of biography. To a certain extent this was justified again by the hypocritical reticences and false idolatry of some earlier biographers; but Boy has exaggerated in the opposite direction, stressing in his subjects the elements of littleness much more than those of greatness, and thereby in a way destroying the reasons for studying great men in general.

This stirred up opposition, and, though it was conducted by much lesser literary talents, its fundamental objections have not been satisfactorily answered. Moreover, Boy committed the ominous fault of losing his temper. The result is that at the present moment this immensely potent personality has adversaries practically everywhere, even in the nearest vicinity of his principal tribune, which is the leading Polish literary weekly, *Wiadomości Literackie* ("Literary News").

(4)

There are not likely to be many writers in contemporary Poland who do not owe something to Boy-Żeleński, no matter how much they may differ from him in their views. His influence has been felt in every department of literature, fiction included. But the prevalent influence of the first part of the period was that of Żeromski, the great master of the pre-war years.

Żeromski himself, who was still living until 1925, published in this period two novelistic works which, though not on the level of his earlier achievements, are still very significant of his art. One of them (*The Wind from the Sea*), a series of tales on the past of the maritime province of Poland, was much more arresting in its lyrical than in its constructive elements (which was not a unique case with Żeromski); another (*First Spring*), having for its theme the Bolshevik menace at home, was one more testimony of the old writer's patriotic vigilance and showed him once more a great artist in scenes and figures from country life, but was rather unsatisfactory owing to inconsistencies in the plot (which was, again, not unique with him).

Żeromski had large resources in his style which he used with



discrimination, but there was one variety of it which proved to have had a peculiar hold over younger writers; it was the deeply emotional and passionately plastic prose of his lyric digressions and proclamations. It was on this prose that Juljusz Kaden Bandrowski (b. 1885) first trained himself, who at the present moment is, apart from Boy, certainly the most strenuous Polish littérateur. His first books were written before the war, but he drew the attention of the general reader in the war years, by tales in which he portrayed and extolled *Piłsudski's Men*, i.e. soldiers of the Polish legion fighting under Piłsudski against the Russians. The war once over, he set himself a very ambitious task of becoming a kind of novelistic Juvenal for his country and of scourging by description all the evils in the re-born State. He has proceeded quickly; he has given one bulky volume to the growth of the high military administration (*The General Barcz*), two volumes to the conditions of the coal district (*Black Wings*), and three to parliamentary life (*M. Bigda*). And with the momentum he has acquired by now he is certain to go much farther.

We cannot deny him a Juvenal-like art of fury. His is a special mastery in presenting things which are ugly, putrescent, revolting and disgraceful. His characters are painted not with a brush, but with a broom, yet the ferocity alone with which he handles it makes them startling. And what still enhances the impression, is his method of amalgamating processes of the mind with processes of the body. I do not know if he has read any behaviourist psychologists, and, on the other hand, I do not know if there are any consciously and deliberately behaviourist novelists; but if they exist, I do not think they would be superior to Kaden Bandrowski; he has shown us, indeed, people who apprehend with their noses, feel with their stomachs, and take decisions with their legs.

But there is a sympathetic defect in this fierce talent. He may impress us with his rogues when they are right before our eyes, but he is quite unable to invent links between their detached vile moments which would explain their inherent roguery. What is the matter with the intriguing officers in the first novel, why the mine directors provoke a strike in the second, what is the essence of the machinations of the greedy deputies in the third, we do not exactly know; we have to take it for granted that there is something wicked in all of them. On the other hand, whenever the author happens to depict someone suffering, stung by remorse, or actuated by some good impulse (be it a rogue or not), he is most explicit and gives complete satisfaction to our need for probability and connectedness.

This awakes the suspicion that this frenzied caricaturist is rather on a wrong track. And the reading public rightly recognised the true nature of his talent, remaining unmoved by his social nightmares and cordially acclaiming the series of tales in which he tenderly (with only a slight abuse of rhetoric) recounted his own childhood (*My Mother's City*, and its sequel, *In the Shade of Forgotten Alder-Trees*).

The war was the point of departure for several other storytellers, and they recorded it from various angles. One of them (the short-lived J. Żyznowski) fought with the Poles in the French army; another, equally short-lived, E. Małaczewski, mentioned already as a poet, gained his war experience in the north of Russia; a third (J. Kossowski) found his material on the Italian front. One of the older writers, the industrious, though not very original, Andrzej Strug (b. 1873), reached his zenith in a novel from the history of the Piłsudski brigade (*A Badge for Faithful Service*).

It was war experience also, though not at the front, that determined the literary fortune of Ferdinand Goetel (b. 1890). As an Austrian citizen who lived in Warsaw, he was deported by the Russians to Turkestan, spent there the whole time of the war, passed through the welter of the Revolution, and only in 1920 succeeded in escaping by way of Persia. His first book was simply the record of this flight. It was followed by a number of shorter and longer tales connected with the same lands and with the conditions of the same period. Goetel had had no previous literary training, but precisely for his genuine simplicity, united as it was with a natural gift for narrative and a knowledge of life reduced to its simplest elements, he was welcomed as a fresh spirit and captivated many readers not only in Poland, but abroad, as most of his tales have been translated, (one of them, *Kar-Chat*, has been published in English, with an introduction by G. K. Chesterton). His novel *From Day to Day* (also accessible in English), unusual in its technique, as two parallel stories are there interwoven, combined the Turkestan motifs with a picture of life in post-war Poland; but, interesting though large parts of it are, this novel baffles the reader by its conflicts being cut short rather than solved. Later novelistic works of the author are of less importance. However, he has written a fine travel-book about Iceland.

The historical novel, which for the last three generations was held in such favour, has now but few exponents, and the number of notable achievements is small. Mme. Kossak was very entertaining in a little story from the 17th century (*Beatum Scelus*), but in larger

compositions she scatters her attention on details and does not achieve perspective.

Very curious and very ably written is Leon Kruczkowski's novel *A Sham Hero and a Churl*, giving an unsympathetic view of the Polish rising in 1831; the author depicts the struggle for national independence as the cause of one class only, quite foreign to the working peasant masses; but his weak point is that, although he professes to be faithful to the documents, he departs from them in the most decisive moment of the story.

The best of the historical kind has certainly been Mme. A. Gruszecka's historical idyll, *On the Lake*, a minor masterpiece of style and insight, representing the West of Poland in the 13th century vividly and sympathetically. The author, however, did not remain in the field of historical fiction, and in her next novel (*An Adventure in an Unknown Land*) she attacked a psychological subject, giving a minutely inquisitive history of a friendship.

Another writer who has produced a very fine short story from the past is Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz (b. 1894). His is a many-sided talent, too many-sided to concentrate on any one of his gifts. He is a poet (and his verses have a peculiar stamp of their own), he is a fine essayist, he writes fiction. His greatest strength is in the art of creating atmosphere, and this he does at his best when he is painting the Ukraine, from which he comes himself, as is the case in the already-mentioned story on the 1830's, called *The Feast of Autumn* (in the collection entitled *Legends, Demeter*), or in the novel on the immediate pre-war years, *The Moon is Rising*.

He is more questionable as an analyst of love, which also fills a great part of his works. In his representation it is always a fatal irresistible power, immeasurably enthralling but always accompanied by such degradations that its most fervid worshippers are happiest when they escape from it. He has written, among other things, a version of *Romeo and Juliet* in which the hero and heroine avoid dangers from without but finish by killing one another (*The Lovers of Verona*). The most artistic expression of this strain of his mind is his latest volume of tales, *The Young Ladies from Wilko*.

We meet with a similarly gloomy and arbitrary philosophy of love in the novel *Jealousy and Surgery*, by the young writer Michał Choromański (b. 1904), who again can skilfully evoke atmosphere. In this novel he has even succeeded in fascinating the reader by atmosphere alone and little else; for his characters are fashioned as stiffly as puppets, some of their motives are quite beyond comprehension, and in the development of the plot he has collected as many

improbabilities as could be reasonably contained in a novel of small dimensions. To achieve a grip over the reader with such deliberate handicaps certainly takes some doing, and, of course, it was obtained only by a very elaborate application of a very subtle craft.<sup>4</sup>

But, at the moment when this brilliant but tricky story was being enjoyed, a considerable change was taking place in the general tendencies and ambitions of literature. As often happens, a book published at a favourable juncture suddenly revealed what the public had long awaited and set a new vogue for readers and writers alike. This book, which remains the outstanding point of curiosity in contemporary Polish letters—as its final volumes are still pending—is Mme. Marja Dąbrowska's novel, *Nights and Days*.

The book is quite plain, but that was exactly one of the elements of novelty at the moment. It may be briefly described as a history of one family, extending from the 1860's well into the present century. Its scope has been determined by an exhaustiveness of presentation, but there is no special architectural device to fix our minds. The narrative seems simply to flow as life is flowing. There are even no unusual events in it. The characters also are of the very plainest: an ordinary land steward, his wife, their household and farmers, their relatives and occasional visitors. But it is obvious that the author knows her milieu as one knows only the milieu in which one has been born and brought up. The basic pleasure, therefore, which the book provides has been well defined by one of the critics (L. Piwiński) as the conviction we get from it that "things were indeed so."

There is no aggressive philosophy attached to the novel, but the whole of it is imbued with a sentiment of friendliness and generosity towards life. There is a sure touch also in the distinction between

<sup>4</sup> A footnote at least is due to St. I. Witkiewicz (b. 1885), though it would be difficult to deal with him in any other way, so unconnected is his work with the main lines of literary history. Son of a renowned critic and artist, himself a talented painter, a philosophic mind, with solid philosophic training, he was attracted to literature both by its theoretical and by its "practical" side. In theory, he developed the idea of "pure form," which may freely clash with probabilities and realistic truth, its only objective being a "meta-physical shudder." His dramas are meant to be applications of these principles. Novels, on the other hand, are not considered by him to be works of art at all, but just "sacks" into which to put ideas, scenes, sentiments and whims. In fact, it is difficult to distinguish between his "pure form" and his less pure "sacks"; both groups of works seem to be rather akin; startling on one page and annoying on another; a mixture of fine intellectual discussions, clever witticisms and most incredible trash. Apart from a logical brain, there is in him something eternally schoolboyish which delights in criminal stunts, "shock" erotic, bad language and funny names. It is a rare picture of remarkable gifts most remarkably wasted.

major and minor issues, in which greater writers have sometimes shown themselves of lesser balance.

*Nights and Days* is not unimportant, either, as a page from the social history of Poland; this family chronicle, representing average Poles in average conditions is, among other things, an explanation of that force of resistance and accretion which secured the unbroken existence of the nation.

Mme. Dąbrowska had practised in the workshops of Żeromski and Kaden Bandrowski, and her early tales from peasant life bear a visible imprint of their style. We no longer see this in the last work. Plain old narration has regained its lead with this novel, and the author feels so sure in it that she does not hesitate frequently to break her epic thread and pass her own comments on events. And, once again, the quality of the book is thereby put to a test. These personal dicta are scattered through it abundantly, and none of them ever seems cheap, superficial or strained.

It is still impossible to say whether it is going to be a first-class literary work. After the heights reached by the second part, the third is rather disquieting by its looseness, as well as by the crowds of people introduced for no visible purpose and presented very sketchily. All this may be transposed in the final volumes into some higher order which we are unable to foresee at the moment. It may be that we have already seen the best of the work. But whatever the issue, the historical importance of the book is beyond any doubt.

The publication of this novel seemed to be a turning point. It was patent that the readers nourished for so long on exquisite wine of poetry and on very cleverly devised prose *hors d'œuvres* were simply hungry for the rough brown bread of ordinary serious narration. They wanted to taste the reality of today or of yesterday, of their own localities or of others, but in any case to be seen on the map. They cared less for stylistic preparation. They did not mind even if a novel was badly written, provided there was the truth of real life in it.

Certainly we must criticise, as rather indifferent writing, the novel of Gustaw Morcinek (b. 1891) entitled *The Hewn Passage*, which is a large-size picture of several years of life in Silesia, that province which has been reunited to Poland after age-long separation. Morcinek is a self-made man, and in a most simple-minded way he mingles styles of various writers, according to the subject and the mood he is rendering. But his knowledge of Silesia is undoubted, and whenever he starts speaking of its mines and farms we feel that he knows well what he is talking about. The value of the book as a

document of the innate vigour of the Silesian peasant stock largely outweighs the imitative character of its style and some melodramatic inclinations of the author's fancy.

Other young writers have continued in the same trend. One of them (Z. Uniłowski) has written a penetrating book on the life of indigent students sharing one common room, another (Mme. Boguszevska) a collection of stories about a suburb in which people from the intelligentsia come into daily contact with the working class; a third (A. Rudnicki) has narrated some months of military service in barracks; a fourth (Mme. Kuncewicz) has depicted a small provincial town; a fifth (Z. Nowakowski) has given a vista of stage life; a sixth (M. Rusinek) has presented a story of a street-boy; and so on. The list might be extended. The degree of literary skill in these authors varies considerably, and their fortunes will certainly be different. But in all their books we meet with strivings for honest realism, in every one of them the value of documentation and personal contact is recognised.

These tendencies have brought a more sympathetic appreciation of the late Włodzimierz Perzyński (1878-1930), who for long years had been underestimated. It is true that he allowed of a good deal of arbitrariness in the texture of his plots, it is true that in his characters there is always something of the simplicity of satirical cartoons; but his style was unsurpassed in its transparency and sobriety, he was a splendid observer of details, and excelled in scenes from everyday life (especially that of Warsaw); and this has been more cherished during the last few years than it was during the greater part of his career.

But another result of this realistic turn was that more attention has been drawn to the literature of memoirs and personal records, the output of which began at the same time to grow significantly. The life record of a peasant (J. Wojciechowski), the reminiscences of a convict (Urke-Nachalnik), autobiographies of the unemployed (collected by one of the social institutions), were books which popularised themselves more than many novels, and this among nearly all classes of readers.

From the point of view of artistic taste we certainly could not call this an advance; but from the point of view of social health it is, perhaps, not to be deplored; anyhow it is a fact, and literature may gain from it in the future.

W. BOROWY.

# THE LITERATURE OF THE SLOVAKS

## I

THE first literary work in which a deliberate attempt was made to use Slovak as a literary language was a novel, *The Adventures and Experiences of the Young Man René*, which appeared at Bratislava in 1783. The author was Jozef Ignac Bajza (1754-1836), a priest, and his book, which was inspired largely by the writings of Voltaire, Marmontel and Wieland, is of interest only because it preceded the literary activities of Anton Bernolák (1762-1813), whose name is generally associated with the earliest attempt to establish a Slovak literary language. Bernolák, who was also a Catholic priest, published at Bratislava, in 1787, his *Dissertatio Philologico-Critico de Literis Slavorum*, in which he argued that the Slovaks, like the other Slav nations, were entitled to a written language of their own. This was followed in 1790 by a *Grammatica Slavicae*, and in 1791 by an *Etymologia vocum Slavicum*, containing Bernolák's rather primitive ideas of linguistic method. He was anxious that the new Slovak vocabulary should be as Slav as possible, and this led him to devise words which were distinguished more by ingenuity than practical value. Thus, in order to avoid a non-Slav terminology, he replaced the words nominative, genitive, dative and accusative by *menovatlivec*, *rod'itlivec*, *dávatlivec*, and *žalovatlivec* respectively. Moreover, his scheme was handicapped by the fact that he had taken the dialect of western Slovakia as its basis. Although his venture did not meet with general acceptance, it was by no means a failure. He devoted the best part of his life to collecting the material for a polyglot dictionary which, under the title of *Lexicon Slavicum, Bohemico-Latino-Germanico-Ungaricum*, appeared in six volumes more than ten years after his death. He also helped to found the "Slowenské učené Towarišstvo" (Slovak Learned Society) in 1792, with headquarters at Trnava and branches throughout Slovakia. His movement produced, too, one genuine poet in Ján Hollý (1785-1849), the author of epics, such as *Swatopluk* (1833), and the *Cyril-Metodiada* (1835), dealing in a neo-classical manner with more or less historical episodes from the lives of the ancient Slovaks. Hollý had schooled himself on the poets of Greece and Rome, whose metres he copied and whose works he translated. In 1824 he issued a volume of selections from Homer, Theocritus, Horace, Ovid, and other classical poets, while in 1828 he published a translation of

Virgil's *Æneid* The effects of these classical studies are seen in his original verses, but Holý possessed genuine poetical qualities of his own. It was unfortunate for him that he selected Bernolák's artificial and clumsy dialect as his medium of expression, since this was intelligible to a restricted circle of readers.

Bernolák's experiment met with much adverse criticism, notably from Dobrovský, who as the practical founder of modern Slav philology was certainly able to express an authoritative opinion. Dobrovský deplored Slovak separatism as a menace to national unity, and argued that linguistically the Slovaks were on the same footing as the Moravians who, while preserving the local peculiarities of their speech, had continued to write in Czech. These arguments prevailed for a time, and the two most distinguished Slovaks of their period, Šafárik and Kollár, both took a leading part in the Czech literary revival. Kollár, in fact, was the greatest poet which the revival produced, and even to-day his verses are of more than historical interest.

## II

But Slovak literary separatism had not been finally disposed of, for in spite of the sound arguments against it, there were still several factors in its favour. Bernolák's movement, mistaken though it was in certain respects, was not the result of a personal idiosyncrasy, but manifested, in a more systematic manner than hitherto, a set of tendencies which had existed before Bernolák and continued after him. It should be remembered that to the Catholics among the Slovaks the Czech language was associated with the Kralice Bible and other works savouring of heresy. Hence it is not surprising that the priests used the local dialects in addressing themselves to the people, not only orally, but also in writing.

Yet, curiously enough, it was not a Catholic who gave Slovak its permanent status as a literary language, but an Evangelical, Ludevít Štúr (1815-1856), who at an early age became the leading spirit among the Slovak students at Bratislava, where, from 1840, he lectured on Slav languages and literatures. The zeal which he showed for his special subject aroused the suspicions of the authorities, and in 1842 Count Zay, the newly-appointed inspector-general of Lutheran education, brought forward a scheme for introducing Magyar as the language of instruction, and the resulting conflict between him and Štúr led to the dismissal of the latter in 1844. This misfortune caused Štúr to revert to an earlier plan for establishing a newspaper for which, in 1842, he had failed to obtain



official sanction. While on that occasion, however, he had applied to Budapest for permission to issue his periodical in Czech, he now announced that, if the authorities agreed, it would be published in Slovak. By this change of policy he succeeded in overcoming official opposition, and in June, 1845, his *Slovenskije Národnje Novini* began to appear, with the *Orol Tatránski* as a fortnightly literary supplement to it.

This difference in the official attitude towards Czech and Slovak helps to explain why Štúr decided to establish Slovak as a written language, although it was actually first used for publication as early as 1844, in the second annual volume of the *Nitra*, a literary almanac. Štúr's apologia, a work entitled *Nárečja slovenskuo a potreba písanja v tomto nárečí* (The Slovak Dialect and the Necessity for Writing in this Dialect), appeared in 1846. The arguments which he here puts forward are largely of a philosophical character and reveal the influence of his Hegelian studies in Germany. He claimed for Slovak a peculiar virtue as being the language spoken by the direct descendants of the primitive Slavs, and therefore the pure fountainhead of Slav speech, whereas Czech had already been contaminated by its contact with German. Štúr's real aim, however, was probably to unite all the Slovaks, Catholic and Protestant, gentry and peasantry, against the increasingly drastic official measures in favour of the Magyar language. In this connection, too, it is noteworthy that Štúr, profiting by the error of Bernolák, based his written language upon the central Slovak dialect which would, of course, be more widely and more easily understood than any other.

Štúr and those associated with him in his movement, notably Jozef Miloslav Hurban (1817-1888) and Michal Miloslav Hodža (1811-1870), encountered much adverse criticism, one of their most outspoken opponents being Kollár, who very emphatically urged the need for maintaining Czechoslovak linguistic unity. Kollár was sound in judgment, if rather abusive in manner, for he attacked not only Štúr, but also the Slovak language itself, the uncouthness of which, he said, recalled to him the odours of stable and tavern. Šafařík and Jungmann who, with Kollár, had been the prime movers in the Czech revival, also opposed Štúr, although with less violence. So, too, did Palacký and Havlíček. All these men showed greater foresight than Štúr, who, before the end of his life, received ample proof that his movement, at least in a political respect, had been a blunder. That he acted in good faith will hardly be questioned, but being impulsive and fanatical, he was ill-fitted to handle a situation which demanded prudence and moderation.

## III

Štúr, Hurban and Hodža were more important as organisers and men of action than as authors, and what they wrote is chiefly of expository and historical interest. Thus, although they all tried their hand at verse, the poetical contributions to the literature which they had established were made by others. The most distinguished of these was Andrej Sládkovič, whose original name was Ondrej Braxatoris (1820-1872), the author of *Marina*, a long romantic poem showing traces of the influence of Pushkin's *Eugene Onegin*, and not altogether unworthy of its great prototype. This was followed by *Detvan*, composed in 1848, but not published until 1853, an epic in five books, the subject-matter of which is derived from the lives of Slovak mountaineers. The poetry of Sládkovič was literary rather than popular in quality, and never met with the wide success which was achieved by the revolutionary and patriotic verses of Samo Chalúpka (1812-1883). Chalúpka, whose Slav enthusiasm led him to abandon his theological studies and take part in the Polish insurrection in 1831, is frequently regarded as the leading figure among the poets who followed the precepts of Štúr. His verses possess the great merit of being rooted in the tradition of folk-song, and, indeed, he was writing in the dialect of the Slovak people before the separatists had actually started their movement. Chalúpka's poetry combined the spontaneous ease of improvisation with the careful finish of conscious artistry. He excelled also as a writer of ballads. Another poet who often succeeded in reproducing the artless simplicity of folk-song, and who possessed great ability as an improvisator, was Janko Král' (1822-1876), who, in the course of an unquiet and wandering life, suffered imprisonment and narrowly escaped the gallows for his political activities. Here, too, should be mentioned Ján Botto (1829-1881), who cultivated the ballad and the epic, notably in his narrative poem, *The Death of Jánošík* (1862), depicting with romantic idealism the last days of the lawless Slovak hero. Though epic in structure, the poem is elegiac in tone, and owes much to Mácha's *Máj*, which seems to have met with more immediate recognition among the Slovak poets than from the Czechs. Botto's chief poem is thus, at one remove, a product of the Byronism which had so great a vogue with the Slav poets of the early 19th century.

The general impression left by the work of such men as Sládkovič, Chalúpka, Král' and Botto is that they wrote with a sureness and a maturity surprising in the case of poets using so new a medium as Slovak was at that time. Their verses reveal few signs

of anything experimental, and will compare quite favourably with what was being produced by their contemporaries in languages with far older traditions. Slovak prose was somewhat slower in its development. Its chief exponent at this period was Ján Kalinčák (1822-1871). His early work was in verse, but from 1842 onwards he wrote a series of historical tales, until in 1860 he published his most important book, a novel entitled *Reštaurácia* (The Elections), in which with much satirical humour, excellent character-drawing and an admirable mastery of dialogue he depicted the lives of the Slovak gentry in Hungary before 1848. Kalinčák also wrote some interesting personal reminiscences of Sládkovič.

#### IV

The history of Slovak literature from the middle of the 19th century onwards is a record of vicissitudes and struggles. Immediately after the revolution of 1848 there was a brief interlude during which the authorities at Vienna, acting on the advice of Kollár, then a professor there, introduced as the official language of Slovakia what was styled "Old Slovak," consisting actually of Biblical Czech with a few local peculiarities. At first it seemed that Štúr's movement would suffer the same fate as that of Bernolák. After Štúr's death, his place as leader of Slovak intellectual life was taken by Hurban, who proved less uncompromising in the language question, and varied his tactics in accordance with the political conditions. In 1857 Hurban proceeded to renounce on behalf of the Lutheran Slovaks the form of Slovak, the claims of which he had so long and so untiringly advocated, and he later drifted into an attitude of compromise. Slovak was to be reserved as a medium for appealing to the people, while Czech would serve purely literary purposes. Meanwhile, the political situation became less and less favourable to the Slovaks, who in 1861 presented a memorandum to the Emperor asking for a measure of autonomy to include legal recognition of the Slovak language. Promises were made, but not fulfilled, and the decade between 1850 and 1860 was a period of uncertainties, complicated by the lack of unified purpose among the Slovaks themselves. After much vacillation Czech was once more abandoned, and three Slovak secondary schools, two Lutheran and one Catholic, were founded. An important advance was made, too, in 1863, when the Government sanctioned the establishment of the "Slovanská Matica," a cultural society in which centred every branch of Slovak scholarship and artistic endeavour. This triumph was short-lived, for in 1867 came the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich,

enabling the Magyars to dominate the non-Magyar races in Hungary. As a result the Matica was suppressed and its funds confiscated in 1875, on the grounds that it was being utilised for pan-Slav agitation, the three Slovak schools were closed, and on 15 December, 1875, Tisza, the Magyar Prime Minister, informed the parliament at Budapest that there was no such thing as a Slovak nation. No wonder that this destruction of Slovak hopes caused Botto to exclaim: "Blossom after blossom falls. Worms, sate yourselves!" Once again Hurban had recourse to Czech, and the volumes of his literary almanac *Nitra* for 1876 and 1877 were issued in that language. He also considered a scheme for publishing a Czech daily at Budapest, but he failed to collect sufficient funds for the purpose. In 1869 his efforts on behalf of the Slovaks caused him to be imprisoned for six months, and in 1876 he served a further term of three months. The effect of this persecution on Hurban was to turn him into a convinced believer in the need for Czechoslovak unity. Unfortunately, he did not find adequate support for his idea, either in Slovakia or among the Czechs, and he was even unable to bring out the eighth volume of his almanac *Nitra* owing to a shortage of subscribers. It was obvious that Hurban's influence was now on the wane, and in 1880 the group of Slovak writers who, in the small but famous town of Turčianský Sv. Martin, precariously managed to keep their national movement alive, finally decided to discard Czech in favour of Slovak.

## V

The most important representative of the Slovak generation which grew up among these discouraging conditions was Hurban's son, known in literature as Svetozár Hurban Vajanský (1847-1916). During his period of military service he took part in the occupation of Bosnia, and this experience left its traces on his very first volume of poems, *Tatry a more* (The Tatras and the Sea), which appeared in 1880, and which in part was inspired by Vajanský's impressions of the Southern Slav regions. It is not surprising to find that the theme of protest against tyranny recurs frequently in his verses, and the title of his second book *Zpod jarma* (From beneath the yoke), published four years later, is typical in this respect. Vajanský wrote also a number of short stories and novels, of which *Letiace tiene* (Fleeting Shadows), published in 1883, and *Suchá ratolest* (The Withered Branch), in the following year, are perhaps the most significant. In these stories Vajanský depicted the life of the Slovak gentry and intellectuals, with special reference to the racial

conflicts arising from their environment. The two titles quoted indicate symbolically certain fundamental aspects of Slovak society, the "fleeting shadows" being the danger of complete racial decay, and the "withered branch" those Slovak landowners who, in national questions, were more opportunist than heroic. Vajanský translated Turgenev's *Fathers and Children* into Slovak, and in his own fiction there is much which recalls the literary methods of the great Russian writer. Russia was, in fact, one of Vajanský's cherished idols, and he never lost his belief in the romantic idea that Russia would ultimately liberate the Slovaks from their racial subjection. He was a fanatical advocate of Slovak self-sufficiency, and stubbornly opposed what he regarded as pernicious influences from western sources. Yet although because of this uncritical devotion to the theories of the Russian Slavophiles his point of view was often at variance with realities, he rendered far-reaching services to the Slovak cause, notably by his political and artistic contributions to the *Narodné Noviny*, for which he wrote regularly from 1878 onwards.

Vajanský's poetical achievement was matched by work of his great fellow-countryman and contemporary Pavel Országh (1849-1921), who wrote under the proud name of Hviezdoslav. It is significant that his first verses, written while he was still at school, were not only inspired by the study of Petöfi, but were in Magyar. Soon, however, he joined the Slovak poets, largely as a result of reading the works of Sládkovič. His first volume appeared in 1868, and his long period of literary activity continued until 1919, when he published his *Blood-red Sonnets*, which, with their vehement outcries against the folly and evil of war, are of closer human appeal than anything previously written by him, or perhaps by any other Slovak poet. Hviezdoslav's poetical range was wide, and in addition to several volumes of sensitive lyric verses, mostly elegaic in tone, he produced both epic and drama. Among his narrative poems should be mentioned *Hájkova Žena* (The Gamekeeper's Wife), first published in volume-form in 1886, the subject of which is a village tragedy on fairly familiar lines. A peasant woman, in defence of her honour, murders her husband's master, the young squire, but after cross-purposes and misunderstandings have been satisfactorily disposed of, there is a happy ending. Here, as also in *Ežo Vlkolinský* (1890) and *Gábor Vlkolinský* (1899), two further narrative poems deriving their titles from the names of the cousins who form the main characters in them, the actual story is of less account than the setting, which is conveyed in a series of charming descriptive

passages and lyrical interludes. Hviezdoslav's chief dramatic work is his *Herod and Herodias* (1909), in which the titular figures are portrayed as symbolic representatives of the old order which is destined to be superseded by a better world, foreshadowed in the person of John the Baptist. Among the other works of Hviezdoslav which are based upon Biblical subjects may be mentioned *Hagar* (1883), *Cain* (1892), *Rachel* (1891), and *Solomon's Dream* (1900). Here a parallel can often be detected between the scriptural events and features in the contemporary life of the poet's nation. (This device for commenting upon the actions of an oppressive government is not uncommon among Slav authors, the most outstanding example being the *Biblical Melodies* of the Polish poet Ujejski.)\* The progress of Slovak culture was promoted not only by Hviezdoslav's original works, but also by his poetical translations, which, in themselves, form a remarkable achievement. They comprise four large volumes, and cover the wide field of Slav, German and Magyar literature, together with Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The choice of originals indicates Hviezdoslav's literary preferences and also his unusual linguistic skill, for here will be found Pushkin's *Boris Godunov*, and *The Prisoner in the Caucasus*, Lermontov's *Demon*, the *Crimean Sonnets* of Mickiewicz, Goethe's *Faust* and *Iphigenia*, Schiller's *Song of the Bell*, a copious

\* Compare also the following sonnet by Martin Braxatoris-Sládkovič, the son of Ondrej Sládkovič :

#### CAPTIVES

Far from the bounds of Zion, Israel enchained  
Was pining ; the murmur of the river was blent  
With plaints of the throng who awaited, in travail pent,  
The hour of their return, an God so ordained.

The stately and hallowed strains of harps were at rest ;  
And the dwellers there craved for songs to be sung,  
In vain ; no songs were heard. Israel had hung  
On willows the harp which once kindled divine zest.

“ How shall we sing in this land, so foreign, so chill ? ”  
Mournfully quoth the trammelled Israelite  
And ceased not to be listless, downcast and still . . .

O, life decays in time of evil plight ;  
The serf in gyves and the dark shackles of wrongs  
Knoweth not ecstasy nor any high songs.

selection from the lyric poems of Petöfi and Arany, *The Tragedy of Man* by Madách, as well as a large number of shorter pieces representing the finest romantic poetry of Russia, Poland and Germany. By these translations Hviezdoslav carried out a task of great educative value to the Slovak people and extended the resources of the Slovak language. In this respect he deserves to be compared with Vrchlický, whose services to Czech literature were of a similar order, though wider in scope. Hviezdoslav, equally ardent a patriot as Vajanský, was less extreme in his views, and stood closer to the feelings of the ordinary people. In particular he realised the essential need for Czechoslovak unity, as he demonstrated in his stirring ode to the Czechs, dating from 1891. During the war, in May 1918, he took part in the manifestations to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the National Theatre at Prague, where he delivered a speech which was a tribute alike to his sincerity, foresight and courage.

The third great Slovak author of this period was Martin Kukučín, the pseudonym of Matej Bencúr (1860–1928), who excelled as a writer of prose fiction, and is sometimes designated as the Slovak Gogol. Strangely enough, the greater part of his life was spent outside his native country. By profession he was a doctor, but finding the conditions in Hungary unfavourable, he took up his residence on the Dalmatian island of Brač, from which, in 1908, he emigrated to South America, settling, first in Buenos Aires, then at Santiago, and finally at Punta Arenas, close to the border of Tierra del Fuego. After the war, in 1922, he returned home for the first time, but soon left for Yugoslavia, where he remained till his death. The collected edition of Kukučín's works comprises close on thirty volumes, and consists of short stories, novels and travel sketches, the settings of which are as varied as might be expected from an author with such wide horizons. He began his literary career with simple tales from Slovak rustic life, and in this vein he continued to write for several years, including the period between 1886 and 1893, when he was studying medicine in Prague and becoming familiar with Czech and Russian authors. In 1903–04 appeared the most important work, the novel *Dom v stráni* (The House on the Hillside), the scene of which is laid in the Dalmatian surroundings where he was then living. The book contains a detailed and vivid description of the Slav countryside there, the main theme being the social gulf which is fixed between landowner and peasant, and which not even love can satisfactorily bridge. Although this book was recognised as the most important Slovak novel hitherto written, little was heard of Kukučín after his departure for South America,

until in 1926-27 he published an extensive work entitled *Mat' volá* (The Mother Calls), in which he recorded the results of his observations among the Dalmatian emigrants in South America. The book contains abundant studies in human destinies, supplemented by the author's reflections on the problems arising from the lives which he portrays, and its documentary value is considerable. The same is true of Kukučín's comprehensive *Prechádzka po Patagonii* (Ramble through Patagonia), which, like so much else that he wrote, deserves to be made accessible to a far wider reading public than can be reached by his native language.

## VI

One of Kukučín's chief merits was that he helped to emancipate Slovak literature from the romanticism which had anachronistically lingered on in it. He is usually described as a realistic writer, but his realism was of a moderate kind, tempered with a kindly humour, which proved acceptable even to the older generation of Slovaks, and although his work marks a definite advance towards a closer contact with everyday life, it was left for the younger writers to abandon completely the older tendencies. The new spirit which was thus introduced into Slovak literature is associated with the periodical *Hlas* (Voice), which began to appear in 1898, and the adherents of this group consisted largely of intellectuals who had studied in Prague, and had come under the influence of Masaryk's ideas there. They regarded with disfavour the social structure of Slovakia where, owing to the political conditions, the popular element was too widely separated from the educated classes, whose studies inevitably lacked a popular, racial basis. Those associated with this movement which, after the *Hlas* ceased to appear, was continued in connection with its successor *Prúdy* (Tendencies) from 1909, undertook to remedy this state of affairs by organising various societies for the benefit of the people, both in an educational and a material respect. It should be added that the "Hlasists," who included among them men such as Vavro Šrobár, Milan Hodža, Fedor Houdek, Igor Hrušovský, Ivan Dérer, and others destined later to become prominent statesmen, were uncompromising advocates of Czechoslovak unity. These common aspirations united a number of authors, the leading poet among whom was Ivan Krasko, the pseudonym of Ján Botto (b. 1876). Krasko spent several years as a student in Prague, where he became familiar with Czech poetry at a time when the symbolist movement was exerting its formative influence, and from it Krasko derived a subtle word-music which



had not yet been heard in Slovak. For this reason, although he published only two small volumes of poetry, *Nox et solitudo* (1909) and *Verses* (1912), his nostalgic and introspective lyrics form one of the most important contributions to modern Slovak literature. While more European in technique than the work of any earlier Slovak poet, they nevertheless remain true to the Slovak spirit, often expressing, as they do, in subjective form the collective distress of the nation. Similar moods prevail in the verses of Vladimír Roy (b. 1885) and Ivan Gall (b. 1885), who are both poets of distinction. The former has translated widely, in particular from Shelley and Swinburne. Another poet who contributed to *Hlas* is Janko Jesenský (b. 1874), who began by writing delicate and ironical verses modelled upon those of Pushkin. During the war Jesenský was taken prisoner on the Russian front and recorded his subsequent experiences in a collection of poems, *Zo Zajatia* (From Captivity), which was published first in Petrograd in 1917, later in America, and finally in Slovakia in 1919. Jesenský here reveals himself as a poet of vivid descriptive powers which enable him to evoke the changing moods of a sensitive prisoner of war. The war plainly marked an important stage in Jesenský's poetical progress, and the same is true of Martin Rázus (b. 1888) who, between 1917 and 1919, published three noteworthy volumes of poetry, *Z tichých i búrných chvíľ* (From moments of calm and storm), *To je vojna* (Such is war), and *Hoj, zem drahá* (Ah, beloved land), which reveal the reactions of a staunch and sincere personality to the changing fortunes of his people. More recently Rázus, who is now a prominent politician, has produced prose fiction, notably the lengthy novel *Svety* (Worlds), published in 1929 and depicting the atmosphere of the post-war period in a Slovak rural area.

## VII

At the present moment Slovak literature is passing through a period of transition. The representatives of the older generation have probably, for the most part, completed their artistic development, and the younger writers are still in the making. There is certainly no lack of talent. Of the poets, the most promising is, perhaps, E. B. Lukáč (b. 1900), who has already published several volumes of verses revealing the inner conflicts of a temperament still in quest of spiritual peace. Lukáč has also published a collection of skilful metrical versions from French poetry, and, like many other recent Slovak writers, he has come under the influence of the Magyar poet Ady, on whom he has written a detailed critical study.

Unrest, too, finds frequent expressions in the poems of Ján Smrek (b. 1898), the title of whose first volume, published in 1922 is, significantly enough, *Odsúdený k večitej žižni* (Condemned to eternal thirst). Here, and in his two subsequent collections, Smrek shows that he possesses a spontaneous lyrical talent, accompanied by an admirable sense of rhythm. The rallying point of the youngest poets is the periodical *Dav* (The Crowd), founded in 1925, the political tendencies of which are ultra-radical. The racial grievances which prompted the pre-war poets have now been replaced by themes derived from social injustice in its various phases. In 1932 this group issued an anthology, *Výkriky* (Outcries), the contents of which, while suggesting that the title was aptly chosen, display sincerity of purpose rather than any positive artistic achievement. The two poets who are most actively associated with the Communist cause are L. Novomeský (b. 1904) and J. B. Poničan (b. 1902). The chief problem which all these young writers have yet to overcome would appear to be that of shaping an adequate medium for what they have to say. The modern Slovak literary language is still in process of formation.

As regards prose, Milo Urban (b. 1904) achieved the distinction of writing the first Slovak novel to meet with great success abroad. This was *Živý bič* (The Living Whip), which first appeared in 1927, and describes with much realistic detail the effects of the war on the life of a Slovak village. It was followed three years later by *Hmlý na úsvite* (Mists in the daybreak), which extends the narrative to the period after the war. Realism is favoured, too, by Gejza Vámoš (b. 1901), the author of a lengthy novel *Atómy boha* (God's Atoms), published in 1928, the pessimistic subject-matter of which is derived from the author's experiences as a doctor. Vámoš, in common with other of his contemporaries, is endeavouring to enlarge the scope of Slovak literature by copying foreign models. A typical example of these efforts is provided by Ivan Horváth (b. 1904), who, in 1930, published a collection of short stories entitled *Vizum do Evropy* (Visa for Europe), in which the author aims at introducing a cosmopolitan atmosphere into Slovak literature by locating the scene of action in Paris, Dresden, Antwerp, and other centres of western civilization. It is doubtful, however, whether this short cut from Slovak regionalism led to a destination which marks a real advance.

Side by side with these modernist experiments the older literary modes still continue to flourish. The most striking instance was the belated fame achieved by Ladislav Nádaši (b. 1866) with his historical novel *Adam Šangala*, which appeared in 1923. Nádaši,

who writes under the pseudonym of Jégé, shows an intimate knowledge of Slovakia's past, and he handles his subject-matter with a commendable freedom from sentimentality. He has since published several other historical novels, notably *Svätopluk* (1928), the scene of which is laid in Greater Moravia.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that the reunion of Czechs and Slovaks has produced the most gratifying results precisely in the domain of literature. The precarious conditions under which Slovak books used to be published have vastly improved, and in this respect the importance of Czech co-operation deserved to be emphasised. Slovak books and Slovak periodicals are appearing not only in the old traditional Slovak literary centres, but also in Prague, where some of the most interesting of recent Slovak publications have been produced. This is a good augury for the future.

PAUL SELVER.

## RUSSIAN transliteration

ALTHOUGH the Latin alphabet is used for almost all the languages of Europe and for many of those spoken in other continents, yet it is not phonetically adequate for any single one of them. Even when it is bedizened with accents, dots, hooks and so on, or by the apostrophe, cedilla or diæresis, it cannot do justice to the shades or pronunciation characteristic of a given language.

English, which with only negligible variations is written identically in America, in Britain and in the British dominions and possessions, is perhaps the chief offender against phonetic good sense. To represent its forty or more sounds it is content to make shift with the 26 letters of the Latin alphabet, though it is true that, as a make-weight, it throws in an entirely unnecessary apostrophe to indicate a syntactical relationship apparently selected at random. Such at least is the printed style of ordinary English books and the periodic press. In more serious literature a diæresis, combined letters, and so on, are found.

The French are not quite so easily satisfied. Rejecting *k* and *w*, except for some foreign words, they seem at first sight to be even more economical than we are, but their regular use of three accents and a cedilla, to say nothing of the apostrophe, turns the scales in their favour.

German has a greater paucity of sounds than either English or French, and it is not strikingly unphonetic, even when garbed in an alphabet which has added only a diæresis (but no apostrophe) and the "long s" (in the combination ß—for which *sz* may also be written).

Spanish uses, in addition to the ordinary letters, a tilde over *n* to indicate the palatal quality of the consonant. An acute accent and, more rarely, a diæresis are in normal use, but *k*, *w* and *x* are for foreign words, and the apostrophe is not used.

Italian has no innovation of its own, *k*, *w*, *x* and *y* occur only in foreign words. The grave accent and apostrophe are in regular use, but are less common than in French.

Other nations have followed much the same lines, and some have made additions: there is, for example, a crossed *o* and *l* in Swedish and Polish, respectively, and an *a* and *u* surmounted by a small *o* in Swedish and Czech respectively.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The usual devices for eking out the resources of the Latin alphabet are: (1) the use of letters belonging to other types or alphabets (e.g. italics, Greek letters); (2) the addition of accents, strokes, hooks, etc., to the ordinary letters, as is done in Czech for example, and in most philological alphabets;

[Continued on next page]

Among the Slavonic languages which do not use modifications of the "Cyrillic" alphabet, Czech and its imitators occupy a special place. Dissatisfaction with the inadequacy of the Latin alphabet to represent the native Slav sounds led Hus to devise a most ingenious system of diacritic marks. This early reformer gave his countrymen an alphabet which even now, some hundreds of years after its inventor's death, is comparatively phonetic. Other languages have followed the lines thus struck out—notably Croat, Slovene and, quite recently, Lithuanian and Lettish. Some, like Polish and Hungarian, have adopted a compromise of diacritics and digraphs.

One inconvenience of the Latin alphabet is that the capitals often have a form which is distinct from that of the small letters, while the italics—and, of course, the handwritten shapes—may vary again. Thus A a and *a* are really three different letters, though we do not readily think of them as such. Propaganda for the Latin alphabet should no doubt reckon with this overlapping, and consider the advisability of making the small letters universal for all purposes. This would mean the abolition of capitals for proper names and at the beginning of sentences—not a revolutionary experiment, for it has had some success both in England and Germany—and the

and (3) the creation of new letters, which are generally modifications of familiar letters or combinations of them—this is the usual practice of phoneticians.

Another possibility, which typographically is only an extension of the principle of using an apostrophe or comma in the body of a word, is the use as letters of the Arabic numerals and punctuation marks. To use a 4 or ; for the sound of the English *sh*, which Czechs write as *š* and phoneticians as *ʃ* has three advantages: it evokes no disturbing associations with the usual symbols (this, too, was the reason that phoneticians evolved their invented letters; as *ʃ* has a sound of its own, and is therefore far better represented by a letter of its own than by *š* or *sh*, *sz*, etc.). Also it is cheap to print, for in all presses numbers and punctuation marks are as frequent as letters, and, lastly, it is as easy to write by hand as an ordinary letter, though it has the disadvantage of not linking up with its surrounding letters.

There are drawbacks, however. Until familiarity bred contempt, there would be a strong dislike on the part of a normal reader to seeing a page of print bespattered with figures and other symbols never thought of as letters. The printing problem, too, particularly as regards height and alignment, might be troublesome, though in this respect a-d-g, for example, differ, and the apostrophe with its absence of bottom is an offender.

Hitherto framers of alphabets for newly-recorded languages have shrunk far more from interspersing the normal letters with figures and signs of punctuation than with phonetic, italic, Greek, inverted, hooded, etc., letters. An examination of the translation into some hundreds of languages of a verse from a gospel shows that punctuation marks have been used to render sounds in Lisu (Western dialect) and in Nama (Khoi-Khoi), though the phonetic system as represented, in an extreme fashion, in Mende, Micmac and Yahgan is much commoner.

adoption of some special kind of script handwriting until the type-writer becomes even more widely used than it is now.

Yet, in spite of its numerous drawbacks, the Latin alphabet, plain and simple, gains ground. Phonetically insufficient though it is, it does not yield to any rivals with which it comes into competition, and the day is perhaps not far distant when it will remain in undisputed possession of the field.

The knell of Turkish written in Arabic characters has already sounded. In China a growing number of persons, instructed by foreign missionaries, are learning to use the Latin alphabet in preference to a complicated script which has, no doubt, the advantage of making dialectical differentiation unimportant, but also the drawback of requiring long study for the mastery of its intricacies. In Japan and in India the native scripts do not enjoy complete supremacy, and a claim has been staked out for the usurper from the West. In Africa, too, its use grows apace, and in some languages gospel translations have been printed in a strictly phonetic alphabet, that of the Association Phonétique Internationale. Even alphabets with a long and honoured tradition behind them have here and there begun to give way before the attacks of an importunate enemy. A Hebrew newspaper in the Latin character is published in Palestine. The British and Foreign Bible Society has used a straightforward, non-diacritic Latin alphabet for printing part of the Bible in Greek.

In short, as contact with Western Europe and with America increases, and as illiteracy disappears, the use of the Latin alphabet is bound to develop at the expense of all other claimants. The cinema, the radio, modern science and learning ensure its success in one form or another. The commercial world will more and more insist on it. Typewriters suitable for other alphabets are manufactured, but they are expensive luxuries.

The reason for the victory of the Latin alphabet is its simplicity. An alphabet with only a score or so of letters and with a satisfactory system of punctuation has an enormous start over all others. The fewer, indeed, the number of letters,<sup>2</sup> even if they can do the task asked of them quite inadequately, the greater does an alphabet's chance of success appear.

If we assume, then, that the Latin alphabet reduced to its simplest

<sup>2</sup> Hebrew has only twenty-two letters (all consonants), but the peculiarities of a Semitic language, where the vowels of a word are easily filled in by the reader who speaks the language, offer no parallel to the conditions prevalent in nearly all languages using the Latin alphabet.

form presents the greatest practical advantage, in what way can a transliteration of Russian be best effected?

In an original and careful article, Mr. Morison has set the ball rolling. He favours the use of a Latin alphabet almost entirely unencumbered by any diacritic or other signs. He takes up a practical standpoint, which he strongly supports by æsthetic considerations. The Latin letters unadorned are cheap (though cheapness is not mentioned by Mr. Morison) and, because of their familiarity, they do not offend the eye, as there is danger of the alphabets of the Czechs, Poles, Croats and Slovenes doing to those prejudiced against innovations. Although at first sight it appears attractive to adopt for Russian one of the Western or Southern Slav alphabets, closer examination proves that this is hardly feasible. The alphabets do not agree among themselves. A Czech or Slovak *h* has a different sound, connotation and origin from a Croat and Slovene *h*, and the sound of Spanish *ñ* is represented in Czech by *ň*, in Polish by *ń*, and in Slovene by *nj*.

There is also the question of practical politics to be considered, namely, to what extent, if any, a transcription of Russian should consider the alphabets in use among the smaller Slav nations. Great Russian is spoken over a great area and, on the whole, with remarkable uniformity by a total number which at least equals that of all the other Slavs. Except for philological purposes, and for reasons which fall within the spheres of sentiment, politics and religion, the question of approximating the alphabet of Russian to that of other Slavs may be neglected as unimportant. It may easily be, on the other hand, a matter of "actual" and "real" importance for the framers of a new Russian alphabet to bear in mind the alphabetical facts of English, French and German, and even of Spanish and Italian.

Mr. Morison aims at finding a suitable method for transliterating Russian, mainly as the language is written and not as it is pronounced, but he makes some concessions to pronunciation, notably in suggesting that (i) it might be advisable in certain circumstances to denote the position of the stress, (ii) a regular, instead of an occasional distinction be made between *e* and *ë*, and (iii) *v* be used as the transliteration of *r* in the genitive singular adjectives. Now, although Mr. Morison has undoubtedly selected salient features where a phonetic improvement of Russian is desirable if the Latin alphabet is ever to be adopted, I have the feeling that he has gone either too far or not far enough.

Even with these and other concessions made by Mr. Morison,

Russian in its Latin garb remains very unphonetic; I have therefore in the scheme outlined below preferred to transliterate as far as possible strictly, that is, letter for letter. The alphabet I consider is that now used in Russia, and I have not discussed how *ѣ*, *ѐ*, *ѡ* might be best transliterated.

The question of the re-transliteration of foreign names also is not entered into. The original spelling, whenever ascertainable, should be restored irrespective of any system; for example, Goethe, Hugo should under all circumstances be so written, whatever the system adopted.

The main points to be considered in a practical transliteration scheme would appear to be:—

1. The Latin alphabet to be used with a minimum of diacritic signs (for reasons of cheapness and æsthetic appearance).
2. The material available to be used as far as possible: thus *x*, *w*, *q*, etc., should not be shirked if they can be fitted in.
3. The phonetic principles of one letter for one sound and one sound for one letter to be applied as far as possible.
4. The scheme should be "fool-proof," that is a person ignorant of Russian should be able, by the scheme, to transliterate a page of Russian and then, purely automatically, to put it back correctly into the original Russian by using the scheme.

The proposal which I offer as an alternative to that detailed by Mr. Morison does not wholly satisfy the requirements which seem desirable. Indeed, it does not satisfy the four conditions just quoted as well as Mr. Morison's (though the difference is slight). It does, however, less violence, I venture to think, to phonetic theory, and yet does not lose sight of practical typographical considerations.

In the alphabet now used in Russia there are 31 letters, if *ѣ* is considered to be excluded and *ѡ* is counted as distinct from *и*. Of these 31 letters only 15, namely, *а, б, в, г, д, з, к, л, м, н, о, п, р, с, т*, present no problems for the transliterator, for they have in the Latin alphabet adequate equivalents in *a, b, v, g, d, z, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t* (*g* being used, not *v*, for masculine and neuter genitive singular of adjectives and pronouns).

The transliteration of all the other letters is debatable, and I propose therefore to follow Mr. Morison's arrangement of the material, to discuss the difficulties connected with them, and suggest a solution or alternative solutions which shall be as far as possible in consonance with the principle laid down of respecting the present Russian spelling, unphonetic though it is.



(1) Russian Ъ. This letter never occurs at the beginning of a word, and normally has therefore no capital form. When printed closely before an undotted *i* a new letter is formed, but this dual use of Ъ is of no importance for a transliteration scheme, because Ъ and ы are totally distinct letters to all Russians, and the idea of their possible connection would occur only to those who are interested in the origins of the alphabet. Transliterations of Ъ and ы into the Latin alphabet can therefore be made quite independently of each other.

Ь has no pronunciation of its own, for it serves only to palatalise a preceding consonant, for example, бан differs from бань as French *banne* does from *bagne*. It is a common letter in Russian, and may occur after nearly all consonants. Other languages which find it expedient to distinguish in writing corresponding "soft" and "hard" consonants give no useful help. What French writes as *bagne* would be rendered in Spanish by *bañ*, in Portuguese by *banh*, and in Catalan by *bany*. The Slav languages which use the Latin alphabet equally vary: Czech writes *baň* or *baň*, Polish *bań*, and Croat *banj*. It is clear then that no letter can be found for Ъ which would have anything approaching general intelligibility and acceptance. Even for philological and bibliographical purposes there is no agreed method of transliteration; *j*, very rarely *y*, or a diacritic mark (an apostrophe<sup>3</sup> or tick) is used. In Russian telegrams for abroad, where the Latin alphabet is obligatory, *q* is frequently pressed into service, no doubt because it seems wasteful not to use this letter of the alphabet in some way. Mr. Morison, who adumbrates the possible use of *q* in the future, has preferred *y*, in agreement with his general scheme and following the example of Hungarian; *y* seems to me inadvisable on the following grounds: (a) the lead set by Hungarian is not important, (b) all except Hungarians would have to unlearn old habits before they could think of *tolyko*, *kosyba*,

<sup>3</sup> For every consonant which becomes palatalised when followed by Ъ (and there are not far short of a score of them), phonetic accuracy demands a new character. On a small scale this has been done by Serbian (for *џ* and *ђ*), but any wholesale adoption of the system would be impractical, expensive and unæsthetic. The use of our apostrophe or tick, however, would not cost money, nor be wholly unfamiliar to languages like English, French and Italian. It would certainly be a fairly satisfactory solution phonetically, and would provide a very good way out of the difficulties connected with *я* and *ю*. Consonants followed by *я* and *ю* would be transliterated by consonant, plus apostrophe, plus *a* or *u*. There could be, it is true, typographical difficulties about the position of the apostrophe (on the top, or to the right, of the consonant!). To represent initial *я* and *ю*, on the other hand, by '*a*' and '*u*' seems unfortunate; the trouble here, of course, is that Russian spelling is itself inconsistent.

etc., as two-syllabled words (and make the normal assimilation of the *s* to a *z* before the *b* of *kosyba* !), and, for what it is worth, (c) such a transliteration runs counter to the practice of other Slav languages.

*q* is in some respects worse than *y*. It makes Russian look even more unpronounceable than it is popularly supposed to be, and many words become strangely ugly through lack of familiarity, for example, *Lqvov*, *Gorqky*. However, *q* has, I submit, two advantages over *y*: (a) it already has a limited application by Russians,<sup>4</sup> and (b) it obviates the danger of allowing an extra syllable to be inserted. It is used without the customary following *u* and so its value must be learnt, and this can be done without any false associations disturbing the learner. It is undeniable, of course, that *carq*, representing царь, will be quite wrongly read by Western Europeans till practice in the alphabet has been gained.

(2) *ы*. *y* is suggested not only because it agrees with the Polish and Czech representations of the Slavonic sound, but because *y* has commonly in most languages a vocalic as well as a consonantic value. It seems to be preferable to Mr. Morison's suggestion of *u*, which could be acceptable only to the French (though much more so to the Welsh). The argument that *ы* is derived from an earlier long *u* has, I think, no bearing on the question, for antiquarian considerations are beside the point in matters of practical interest.

(3) Cyrillic *y* can be suitably rendered in agreement with the usual European practice by *u*. The only serious objection to this course could come from the French. The disadvantage of the diagraph *ou*, which Mr. Morison is forced to adopt in order to have a coherent scheme, is that it offends against the phonetic principle of a single letter for a single sound. Apart also from the dissatisfaction a Czech would feel with *ou* for *y*, such transcriptions as *dvououst* would be clumsy.

(4) For *ə* Mr. Morison suggests *e* initially and *ě* in the body of a word. This would certainly prevent any confusion with the Cyrillic *e* which palatalises a preceding consonant, whereas *ə* does not. On the other hand, *ə* occurs medially and finally only in foreign words, which are readily recognisable, and I should be inclined here to allow the mechanical system of transliteration to break down, that is, to transliterate коэффициент, Родə with *e* in spite of the fact that such spellings would appear to have *e*, not *ə* in the original Cyrillic. If exactness were necessary for bibliographical or other purposes the diæresis over the *e* could be used.

<sup>4</sup> Namely, in telegraphic and other transliterations. In the Morse alphabet as used by Russians *q* is the equivalent of *и*.

(5) The transliteration I suggest for Cyrillic *e* is *ye* initially, and *e* everywhere else. This means transliterating one original letter (though more than one original sound) by two, and is therefore contrary<sup>5</sup> to the principle on which my scheme is based. On the other hand, there is no difficulty about the practical application of the rule, and it seems advisable to distinguish initial Cyrillic *e* from *ə*, if only because of the one word *этор* and its forms. Initial *ye* cannot be thought to be a transliteration of *ме* because such a combination does not occur in Russian (*м* never begins a word). It is unobjectionable also to those accustomed to Western European languages and to the Slavs, and is preferable to *ie*, which would be needed for such words as *Иезуит, иерархия*. *Je*, more familiar to the other Slavs and to the Germans, is wanted elsewhere (*see* under 7). *Yedva, udivlenqe, dobroe, taet, udivlenie, sosed* would be the transliteration of Mr. Morison's examples.

*и* will be rendered by *i* in all positions, irrespective of the difference of pronunciation between *ими* and *итор* which Mr. Morison quotes : so *moi, imi, itog, sprosil, poistine, idiot*.

*ë* is not generally used in Russian works outside school manuals and the like, and so can always be transliterated by *e* (so long as a transliteration of the Russian alphabet, not a reform of Russian spelling, is under consideration), in spite of the completely differing pronunciations of *e* and *ë*. Wherever it might be essential to reproduce an exact transliteration of a Russian text which prints *ë*, I have nothing better to suggest than the joined *œ*. *ë* could not be used, because it would be required for any *ə* occurring in the text, and *yo* or *io* would mean representing one original letter by two. Thus, the examples of Mr. Morison would appear as *elka, moe, sestry, idet* (for *еме see* below), with the alternatives of *œ* for *e*.

For *я, ю* I am obliged once again to make a combination with *y* (namely, *ya* and *yu*) do duty. It is a pity that *y* should have three parts assigned to it—representing *ы; й, see* (6); and be the first part of a diphthong for *e, я* and *ю*—but there seems no way out under the conditions I have set myself. As transcriptions of *выя* and *вьюга, вууа* and *вгууга* are very ugly, but inevitable. To use *ia* and *iu* would run counter to my *ye* for initial Cyrillic *e*, and would involve a diacritic or other mark for such words as *иуда, медиум*, which I am able to transcribe *iuda, medium*, without ambiguity. Mr. Morison's examples become in my version : *yazyk, moya,*

<sup>5</sup> If the principle is adhered to, there is no great disadvantage in using *e* initially also. In that case initial as well as medial and final *ə* would be transliterated by *é*. In practice, almost the only word to be affected would be *эиот*, which does not occur so often as to disfigure the printed page.

*yurodstvo, tvoyu, podnyala, lyubovq, rybqya*. Mr. Morison's scheme is able to distinguish neatly between *гостя* and *гостѣя* by *gostia*, *gostya*, while I am obliged to transcribe them as *gostya*, *gostqya*.

(6) For *ѣ* there seems nothing for it but to make *y* serve once more. If certain easily established rules were known, the transliteration back into Russian of a text in Latin characters could be satisfactorily done. Although there seems to be therefore no objection to *y* on this score, there is once more the undoubtedly ugly look of such forms as *dobryy* or *vyyti*. Mr. Morison's *moi* becomes *moy* in my scheme.

(7) The Russian letters now left are seven in number, *ж, х, ц, ч, ш, щ* and *ѣ*, and there are only five single letters of the Latin alphabet still available, *c, h, j, w, and x*. Russian *x* can, I think, be more satisfactorily transliterated by *h* than by any other letter. The sound of English and German *h* is very close to the Russian, and it may be noted that Croat uses *h* where Russian has *x*. Mr. Morison has preferred *c*, presumably because in words beginning with *cx* the *s* and *h* would have to be separated by an apostrophe. *c* seems indicated for *ц*, though it would find favour only with the other Slavs, for it is quite foreign, objectionable even, to Western European usage. To render it by *ts* would be doing some violence to the phonetic value, besides having the disadvantage that Mr. Morison discusses.

*ш* may be represented by *x*. This transliteration has no analogy in other languages (in earlier Spanish *x* was used for the sound), and is therefore unfortunate, but that is the only objection.

For *щ*, in origin a double letter and possessing over a wide area in Russia the pronunciation of a long, palatal *ш*, *xx* appears most suitable. As *ш* followed by *ш* does not occur in Russian, ambiguity is not caused, and the fact that the value of the *x* in my transliteration scheme differs slightly when it is single from when it is double is unimportant.

To represent *ж* by *j*, in which Mr. Morison's and my scheme agree, has the disadvantage of being objectionable to Slavs and Germans. On the other hand, it is the French spelling, and uses up another of the letters of the Latin alphabet.

*ч* offers difficulty, and *c* with the cedilla under it would appear to prove the best solution.<sup>6</sup> *ç* is in common use in French (also in

<sup>6</sup> To use *w* seems impossible for *ч* (and almost as objectionable for *ш*). It is unfortunate that nowhere can a place be found for it in the scheme here outlined. It is indeed a case of looking a gift horse in the mouth! Mr. Morison also has not used *w*, but he has not had recourse to a cedilla as I have.

Portuguese and Turkish) and is available in the printing presses of most other countries. For this practical reason it is to be preferred to *č*, though the latter would naturally receive a heartier greeting from the Slavs.

For the ' or ѣ in the comparatively rare words of the *с'ѣд* type, the apostrophe would be used, as Mr. Morison suggests.

Words like *отендѣть, отзвук* would present no trouble in my scheme. The transliteration of the others mentioned under (7) by Mr. Morison is: *četyre, pixet, sčastie (xxastie), exxe, ixxt, jelanie, torjestvo, prihod, prieħal, carica, kolqco*.

Mr. Morison is inclined to advise the use of an acute accent, as in Spanish, to show the position of the stress whenever it does not fall on the penultimate syllable of a word (certain endings being counted as monosyllables). There can be no doubt of the immense value such an innovation would have for foreigners, and Mr. Morison makes out a very good case for its adoption by the Russians, too. As he correctly implies, an indication as to which syllable receives the stress would enable learners to read a text correctly, and no great changes in Russian spelling would then be required.

A version of the first two texts transliterated by Mr. Morison follows:—

(a) Poydu teperq nezavisimo ot vseh sobiratq griby a to moi priobreteniya nezametny—skazal on i poxel odin s opuxki lesa, gde oni hodili po xelkovistoy nizkoy trave mejdu redkimi, starymi berezami, v seredinu lesa, gde mejdu belymi berezovymi stvolami sereli stvolы osiny i temneli kusty orexnika. Otoydyxa xagov sorok i zaydyxa za kust bereskleta v polnom cvetu s yego rozovo-krasnymi serejkami Sergey Ivanovič, znaya, čto yego ne vidyat, ostanovilsya. Vokrug nego bylo soverxenno tiho. Tolqko vverhu berez, pod kotorymi on stoyal, kak roy pčel, neumolkaemo xumeli muħı, i izredka donosilisq golosa detey.

(b) Petruħka !. Večno ty s obnovkoy,—S razodrannym loktem ! Dostanq-ka kalendarq. Čitay, ne tak, kak ponomarq, A s čuvstvom, s tolkom, s rasstanovkoy. Postoy-ka. Na liste čerkni na zapisnom Protivu buduxxey nedeli: K Praskovqe Fedorovne v dom Vo vtornik zvan ya na foreli. Kuda kak čuden sozdan svet ! Pofilosofstvuy—um vskrujitsya ! . . .

N. B. JOPSON.

## SOVIET LEGISLATION (IX.)

*(Selection of Decrees and Documents)*

*Decree of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.*

### **On the responsibility for delivery of goods of bad quality.**

In spite of continued increase in the output of State industries and of the successes achieved in mastering new technique, the managers of some undertakings and economic organisations still maintain a criminally careless attitude towards the quality of goods produced. Deliveries of machinery of poor quality or not supplied with all the necessary parts and also deliveries of spare parts and auxiliary materials of low quality by the supplying factories cause considerable harm to the State. Especially criminal and inadmissible are the deliveries of such faulty goods to the factories which work for the needs of defence of the country.

The Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR, considering the deliveries of faulty goods to be a grave political crime and thinking it necessary to augment the responsibility for deliveries of faulty goods, resolve to make the following corrections in the decree of 23 November, 1929. (See "The Collection of Laws," 1930, No. 1, page 9).

(1) To establish that managers of Trusts, factory directors and members of administrative and technical staffs guilty of delivery of faulty goods or machinery without the necessary parts, are to be liable to criminal prosecution and punished by imprisonment for a term not less than five years.

(2) To instruct the Public Prosecutor of the USSR to watch over the unflinching execution of the present Decree.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,  
M. KALININ.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,  
V. MOLOTOV (SKRYABIN).

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,  
A. ENUKIDZE.

Moscow, Kremlin, 8 December, 1933.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 9 December, 1933, No. 298-5229).

*Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).*

### **On exemption from taxation of the population of the Far Eastern Province.**

Owing to a considerable influx of immigrants into the Far Eastern province and the necessity of rendering every assistance to their economic

well-being in the difficult natural conditions prevailing in the province, and also in order to make conditions of labour easier for workers and State officials who are obliged to live far away from the cultural centres of the USSR, the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) resolves :—

#### I

To exempt, as from 1 January, 1934, kolhozy and members of kolhozy for a period of ten years and individual peasant farms for a period of five years from the obligatory surrender of all grains and rice to the State; this exemption is to embrace the whole of the Far Eastern province.

#### II

To exempt, as from 1 January, 1934, kolhozy and members of kolhozy for a period of ten years and individual peasant farms for a period of five years from the obligatory delivery of meat, potatoes, sunflower seed, wool, milk and butter to the State and also from the obligatory contracts for deliveries of soya-beans, vegetables and flax; this refers to the following districts: the Terneysk, Sovetsk and Olginsk districts of the Maritime province, the Komsomolsk, Nizhne-Amursk, Okhotsko-Evensk and Koryaks districts of the Amur provinces and the Chukotsk, Sakhalinsk and Kamchatsk provinces.

#### III

To decrease by 50 per cent. as from 1 January, 1934, for a period of ten years, the fixed quantities of meat, potatoes, sunflower seed, wool, milk and butter which kolhozy and members of kolhozy are obliged to surrender to the State, as well as the fixed quantities of soya-beans, vegetables and flax which they are obliged to contract to the State; this refers to the Maritime province (with exception of the districts mentioned in paragraph II of the present decree), to the Amur province, and to the Birobidzhan and Prigorodsk districts.

#### IV

To increase by 20 per cent., as from 1 January, 1934, the prices of raw fish which kolhoz fisheries and members of such kolhozy are to deliver to the State; this refers to the whole of the Far Eastern province.

#### V.

To raise, as from 1 January, 1934, the wages in the whole of the Far Eastern province in accordance with the following schedule :—(a) by 30 per cent. for workers and technical staff employed at undertakings of the coal industry; (b) by 20 per cent. for workers and technical staff employed in factories, transport, post, telegraph, sovhozy, machine and tractor stations, and also for teachers, political and educational workers, medical staff, agronomists, veterinary surgeons and land surveyors;

(c) by 10 per cent. for clerks employed in the State institutions and in all other undertakings.

## VI

To raise, as from 1 January, 1934, the pay of the troops quartered in the Far Eastern province :—(a) for private soldiers and junior commanders—by 50 per cent. ; (b) for medium, senior and higher commanders—by 20 per cent.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,  
V. MOLOTOV (SKRYABIN).

Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki),

I. STALIN.

11 December, 1933.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 12 December, 1933, No. 301-5232).

*Circular Letter of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki).*

**To all Provincial Committees and the Central Committees of National Communist Parties ; to all party organisations at the food factories.**

In spite of the exceptional importance of undertakings of the food industry irrespective of their size, the undertakings which produce food stuffs for the toilers, local party organisations pay little attention to the food industry, especially in comparison with the large undertakings of other branches of industry. The party and cultural work in undertakings of food industry is being conducted by party cells rather poorly and is insufficiently connected with the problems of the industry ; party members and workers are not educated in the spirit of special responsibility for the good quality of products which they are turning out. Especially bad are the conditions prevailing in the undertakings of the food industry as to observation of the rules of sanitation and hygiene.

As a result of such conditions at the food factories and unsatisfactory work of party organisations, there were cases of poisoning of toilers with bad products (in Dnepropetrovsk, poisoning with vegetable caviar prepared by the Odessa cannery ; at pit No. 10, " The Paris Commune," poisoning with decomposed meat ; at the Sormovo works, poisoning with decomposed fish).

The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) instructs all provincial committees and the central committees of national Communist parties to improve, in the shortest possible time, the work of the food-making factories, to attack their anti-sanitary conditions, and to achieve the production of goods of proper and good quality by the food factories and shops belonging to the Commissariat of Supplies and to the Centrosoyus.



The Central Committee instructs directors and members of the administrative and technical staff of food factories to note the following directions and to carry them out with the active support of the party and trade-union organisations :—

(1) To ensure the strictest observance of a sanitary and hygienic régime at the factories, and, in particular, the observance of the regulations as to the personal cleanliness of the workers (regular medical inspection, disinfection of clothes, compulsory hand-washing, etc.).

(2) To conduct systematic propaganda of the basic principles of hygiene and sanitation among workers connected with the food industry by means of lectures, organisation of educational circles, distribution of instructive literature and practical devices, organisation of socialist competition between various exemplary and demonstrative departments, etc.

(3) To establish that foremen, gangers and members of the technical staff of the food factories must pass an examination in the knowledge of elementary hygienic and sanitary rules.

(4) To pay special attention to the work of the chemical and bacteriological laboratories attached to the food factories; to choose tried and experienced Communists and members of the Communist League of Youth for working in these laboratories.

(5) To keep a constant watch over the exemplary state of the equipment, apparatus and appliances of food factories; to tin the kettles in due time; to replace unhygienic apparatus and equipment with modern appliances which would respond to strict sanitary requirements.

(6) Not to use raw materials and semi-finished stuffs which fail to correspond to the established standards and technical requirements; in particular not to use any raw materials and semi-finished stuffs without preliminary chemical and bacteriological tests.

(7) Not to release the food from the factories for sale without having tested it thoroughly in the chemical and bacteriological laboratories.

The Central Committee instructs the provincial committees and the central committees of national Communist parties to strengthen the party cells at the food factories by sending the best Communists thither to ensure a better standard of party work there; to strengthen the staff of sanitary and technical inspectors and of labour inspectors at the food factories.

The Central Committee instructs the provincial committees and the central committees of national Communist parties to report to the Central Committee in a month's time on the measures taken to improve the work at the undertakings of the food industry.

Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

22 December, 1933.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 23 December, 1933, No. 310-5241).

*Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.*

**On the results of the agricultural season of 1933 and the Spring-sowing campaign of 1934.**

After having heard the report of the People's Commissary of the USSR for Agriculture, Comrade Y. A. Yakovlev, and the statement of the Commissary for Grain-Producing and Cattle-Breeding Sovhozy, Comrade T. A. Yurkin, the Central Executive Committee of the USSR registers the fact that during 1933 the Soviet country has achieved considerable successes in the development of agriculture on the kolhoz basis.

In the agricultural season of 1933, in comparison with 1932, the gross production of grain has increased by 1,200,000,000 puds, the marketable quantity of cotton has also increased; the kolhozy have fulfilled the programme of grain deliveries before the time and in full; they have formed sufficient seed funds 2 or 3 months earlier than last year, and have paid out considerably larger quantities of grain than in 1932 to their members per each working day; the majority of the kolhozy have considerably improved their cultivation of the soil, and have carried out the sowing, ploughing of furrows, harvesting and threshing of grain cultures in shorter periods; the labour discipline in the kolhozy has improved; a considerable number of machine and tractor stations have improved their utilisation of tractors and their cultivation of the soil, the cattle-breeding kolhoz farms have increased their herds, and individual members of kolhozy have begun to breed their own animals.

Grain-producing and cattle-breeding sovkhozy have also attained considerable successes; they have increased their deliveries of grain, meat and butter to the State in comparison with 1932 and simultaneously have increased their herds.

The Central Executive Committee of the USSR particularly notes the fact that these achievements have taken place not only in the republics and provinces which had pushed forward their agricultural production last year (the Kabardinsk-Bakarsky autonomous province, the Tartar autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the West Siberian province, the Moscow province, the Gorky province and the Crimean autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic), but also in the republics and provinces whose backwardness in respect of agricultural progress was registered at the session of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR last year (Ukraine and the North Caucasus).

The successes in agricultural development were attained because the party and soviet organisations carried out Comrade Stalin's directions in the work in the villages, as contained in the historic speeches he made at the January plenary session of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and at the conference of kolhoz shock-workers in the spring of 1933, and also because the party and the government not only had given correct directions, but also had strengthened the village organisations and had improved the guidance of kolhozy and

sovhozy by sending thousands of tried Bolshevik organisers to the villages, as members of political departments attached to the machine and tractor stations and the sovhozy.

The Central Executive Committee of the USSR in particular records the colossal material assistance rendered by the Workers' and Peasants' government in 1933 to the kolhozy (420 new machine and tractor stations were organised, over 70,000 new tractors were given, over 100,000,000 puds of grain were advanced as seed, fodder and food relief).

The Central Executive Committee of the USSR records the most beneficial significance of the strict observance of the Law on the grain deliveries passed at Comrade Stalin's suggestion, for the strengthening of the kolhozy; this Law fixed the exact quantities of grain per hectare which each kolhoz had to deliver to the State.

The Central Executive Committee of the USSR, however, warns all soviet and land organisations, managers of kolhozy, machine and tractor stations and sovhozy that the successes attained in 1933 in agricultural progress, are only initial steps. The enormous possibilities as to the increase of agricultural production and the creating of conditions of well-being for the members of kolhozy are utilised only to a very small extent; the kolhozy which, with the assistance of the Workers' and Peasants' government, are building up their economy on socialised land given to them, and are equipped with an ever increasing number of tractors and agricultural machinery, have still enormous possibilities for every kind of improvement.

The crops of such technical cultures as cotton and flax are absolutely inadequate and inadmissibly low as far as beetroot, sunflower and hemp are concerned.

The majority of the machine and tractor stations and the sovhozy have not yet mastered the technique of large-scale mechanised agriculture. Stock-breeding is only at the very initial stage of improvement. The Urals, Lower Volga, Eastern Siberia, Kazakstan and the Far East are still in a backward state of agricultural development. The organisational work and the whole system of agricultural organisations are still lagging behind the requirements of the Party. The improvements, achieved in the work of land organisations as a result of criticism on the part of the Communist Party, and the formation of political departments and measures carried out by the People's Commissariat of the USSR for Agriculture, are still inadequate. Practical and efficient management of machine and tractor stations, kolhozy and sovhozy is very often superseded by bureaucratic and "red-tape" methods of management, by the issuing of abstract instructions.

The Central Executive Committee of the USSR considers the main task in the agricultural season of 1934 to be the increase of crops of all cultures, and especially of technical cultures. In order to attain this increase it is necessary to improve further the cultivation of the land, to improve the utilisation of machinery and implements, to strengthen the

labour discipline so as to make not only the majority but all members of kolhozy work honestly and take good care of the kolhoz property; it is necessary to make an improvement in the practical and efficient management of agricultural production by all party, soviet and, in particular, by organisations immediately concerned with agriculture.

The Central Executive Committee of the USSR resolves :

*I. On Repairs of Tractors.*

To instruct the People's Commissariat of the USSR for Agriculture and the People's Commissariat for Sovhozy, the Councils of People's Commissaries of allied republics and the provincial executive committees to finish the repairs of tractors by 5 March in Central Asia, Transcaucasia, Odessa and the Dnepropetrovsk province of Ukraine, Crimea and the southern districts of North Caucasus; by 20 March—in the remaining districts of the Ukraine and North Caucasus, in the central Black-Soil Province, in the Lower and Middle Volga provinces; by 15 April—in all other provinces and republics;

to start criminal prosecutions against directors and chief mechanics in sovhozy, machine and tractor stations and repair shops who are guilty of sending out ill-repaired tractors;

to establish a strict watch over the decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR regarding the economical consumption of fuel and of the decree of the Council of Labour and Defence regarding the utilisation of tractors; proper instruction of machine and tractor stations and sovhozy should be organised for this purpose.

*II. On the Sowing.*

To instruct the People's Commissariat of the USSR for Agriculture, the People's Commissariat for Sovhozy, the councils of people's commissaries of allied republics and the provincial executive committees to take such steps during the winter as will ensure the beginning of the sowing campaign immediately at the right time, without the delay of a single day. The following measures should be carried out during the winter :—

seed should be sorted and cleansed;

ploughing and sowing implements, harness and carts should be repaired and tested;

campes should be prepared in the fields remote from the villages;

sowing plans should be worked out in time for each kolhoz and sovhoz;

horses should be fed and looked after during the winter in such a manner as to have them in good order at the very beginning of the spring sowing;

the staff of each brigade should be exactly determined, so as to avoid re-organisation of the brigades during the spring sowing; the attachment of the brigades to the plots allotted to them in the kolhoz fields, should be completed in 1934;

to fix for each province separately approximate normal outputs of labour and rates of wages for each kind of agricultural operation; the

exact scales of normal output of labour and rates of wages should be established for each kolhoz separately by the managements and approved by the machine and tractor stations;

to instruct the local executive committees and village soviets in no case to overlook the tasks which individual peasants have to perform during the spring sowing, and to render every assistance to the individual peasants, in order to enable them to fulfil the programme of sowing fixed for them.

### *III. On the Quality of Spring Sowing and Ploughing.*

To instruct the People's Commissariat of the USSR for Agriculture, the People's Commissariat for Sovhozy, the councils of people's commissaries of allied republics and the provincial executive committees to take steps for the further improvement of the quality of all agricultural operations in 1934. The following measures should be carried out:—

to carry out the spring ploughing exclusively with the best types of ploughs;

to shorten the periods of sowing of grain plants;

to see to it in the strictest way that the proper quantities of seed should be sown per unit of land;

to sow the various crops in correspondence with the established system of rotation;

to organise public control over the quality of the sowing in all the kolhozy; experienced older men, members of kolhozy, devoted to the kolhoz cause, should be chosen as sowing inspectors;

to carry out the weeding of all fields under grain cultures infested with weeds.

### *IV. On Technical Cultures and, primarily, regarding Cotton and Beetroot.*

To instruct the People's Commissariat of the USSR for Agriculture, and all soviet and, particularly, all agricultural organisations in Central Asia, Transcaucasia and the beetroot districts to ensure the execution of the following measures:

to finish the sowing of cotton in the principal cotton-growing districts not later than by 5 May; to shorten the periods of drilling of beetroot;

to carry out the following preliminary operations: to plough over land destined for cotton crops twice—the first ploughing to be sufficiently deep—and to put in mineral fertilisers on an area of not less than 400,000 hectares; to apply cultivators and harrows to the area ploughed over in autumn for beetroot; to plough the soil in spring to the depth of 15 or 20 centimetres; to put in dung and superphosphate fertilisers in all the fields under beetroot;

to apply drill-ploughs for the sowing of the whole area under beetroot and up to 80 per cent. of the area under cotton in order to facilitate consecutive cultivation;

to exterminate weeds on the fields sown with technical cultures by

means of the ridging of cotton fields—three, and the particularly infested plots, even four times—during the season, and to irrigate them properly, with regard to beetroot the fields must be singled, hoed in due time, and the space between the rows must be mellowed at least twice during the season.

The Central Executive Committee of the USSR states that persons guilty of damaging mineral fertilisers are to be prosecuted in the same manner as persons guilty of bad repairing or poor utilisation of tractors.

*V. On the Improvement in the Working of the Land and the Sovhoz Organisations.*

To instruct the People's Commissariat of the USSR for Agriculture and the People's Commissariat for Sovhozy, to concentrate their efforts on removing shortcomings and on improving the working of agricultural organisations, in order :

- to secure practical management of agricultural undertakings, which management should be based on the study of the details and technique of the business and on constant contact with the local links of management and production ;

- to augment the personal responsibility of directors of the machine and tractor stations and sovhozy, heads of provincial land departments, directors of trusts and heads of other State institutions for the business entrusted to them ;

- to entrust the managers of land departments and the directors of machine and tractor stations and sovhozy with the task of supervising and checking all the work of kolhozy and sovhozy ,

- to ensure the removal of fully qualified workers from offices to the machine and tractor stations and sovhozy ; to reduce the office staffs ;

- to entrust the directors of State institutions and of machine and tractor stations with the task of the proper distribution of personnel ,

- to establish a minimum standard of technical knowledge which the directors of machine and tractor stations and sovhozy must possess and which they will have to master in the fixed minimum period of time.

*VI. On Sowing in Grain-producing and Cattle-breeding Sovhozy.*

To instruct the People's Commissariat for Sovhozy, the councils of people's commissaries of allied republics and all provincial executive committees ;

- to ensure the preparation of the working programme of spring sowing in each separate sovhoz not later than a fortnight before the beginning of the sowing ; this programme should provide for the order in which the work should be organised, for the distribution of sowing of various crops in correspondence with the system of rotation, for the formation of permanent brigades, for the organising of the feeding of the workers ;

- to begin at once the conclusion of agreements with kolhozy, in order to ensure the necessary number of labourers in the sovhozy ; the councils

of people's commissaries of allied republics, the provincial executive committees and the chairmen of the kolhozy must render every assistance in recruiting labour for the sovhozy.

*VII. On Agreements between Machine and Tractor Stations and Kolhozy.*

To instruct the People's Commissariat of the USSR for Agriculture to organise control over the conclusion of agreements between machine and tractor stations and kolhozy in order to ensure:

unfailing inclusion in each agreement of a practical programme of work to be done by tractors belonging to machine and tractor stations, and of the obligations accepted by kolhozy;

personal discussion of the agreements by the director and the chief of the political department of each machine and tractor station with the management of each separate kolhoz;

preliminary discussion of the agreements at the general meetings of the members of kolhozy;

strict observance of established procedure by the representatives of kolhozy and machine and tractor stations as to the checking and acceptance of work executed by tractors.

The Central Executive Committee of the USSR confirms that agreements between machine and tractor stations and kolhozy have binding power and their violation should be punished in accordance with the existing regulations; directors and chiefs of machine and tractor stations and the chairmen of kolhozy must see that the agreements are adhered to without fail.

*VIII. On Women Members of Kolhozy.*

The Central Executive Committee of the USSR especially notes the prominent part which women play in all agricultural operations. The hopes of enemies of the Soviet Union to destroy the kolhozy by means of making use of the backwardness of peasant women have been crushed by the actual practice of kolhoz life. Millions of women take part in building up the kolhozy; not only the women keep pace with the men, but very often they leave the men behind. There are hundreds of thousands of women shock-workers, thousands of women-brigadiers, members of kolhoz boards of directors, chairmen of kolhozy.

Nevertheless, the promotion of women to the responsible posts in kolhoz administration fails to correspond with their participation in productive and political activities.

The Central Executive Committee of the USSR instructs local soviet organisations and, especially, directors and chiefs of political departments of machine and tractor stations to organise, during the winter, technical and political instructions for women holding posts in kolhoz administration and, first of all, for women employed as chiefs of agricultural and stock-breeding brigades; to be more bold in promoting the best women shock-workers to the responsible posts of foremen and members of kolhoz boards

of directors. To consider it to be inadmissible where there is not a single woman sitting on the board of directors of a kolhoz.

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The Central Executive Committee of the USSR warns local soviet organisations, all agricultural organisations, directors of machine and tractor stations and sovhozy and the chiefs of political departments, and kolhoz boards of directors that the achievements attained in agricultural developments must not result in slackening the work of strengthening the kolhozy and sovhozy. The achievements attained must be consolidated and multiplied in the course of the coming season.

The Central Executive Committee of the USSR appeals to all members of kolhozy, to all tractor drivers, tractor brigades, agronomists, engineers and technicians employed in agriculture, and calls upon them to secure, by their honest and conscientious work, a regulated and organised fulfilment of the sowing programme, to observe the strictest labour discipline, to join the ranks of agricultural shock-workers, and to make further steps towards the increase of productivity of kolhoz fields, towards the fulfilment of the ultimate aim proclaimed by the leader of the workers and peasants Comrade Stalin—to make all the kolhozy truly Bolshevik and all the members of kolhozy well-to-do.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,  
G. PETROVSKY.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,  
A. ENUKIDZE.

Moscow, Kremlin, 4 January, 1934.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 5 January, 1934, No. 5-5253.)



# OBITUARY

## ANTONÍN ŠVEHLA

To the world at large the achievement of Czechoslovak independence and the infancy of the new state will for ever be associated with the two names of Masaryk and Beneš; but in the mind of most Czechs a special niche is reserved for another man who was, indeed, Czech of the Czechs, but had nothing of Masaryk's universality or of Beneš's bending steel.

Antonín Švehla was born on 15 April, 1873, at Hostivař, near Prague, of typical Bohemian peasant stock, and his whole life was devoted to those agricultural interests which he regarded as the bedrock upon which all national effort must rest. As a young man he attached himself to the Czech Agrarian Party, which, together with the Czech Radicals, was slowly ousting the once dominant young Czech Party from its hegemony over the electors; and the introduction of universal suffrage in Austria brought to the Agrarians a further increase in power. Švehla's activities in the Reichsrat established his position on sure foundations, and by 1914 his name had for large sections of the Czech countryside—smallholders and the intermediate, indeterminate class between peasant and artisan—the same sort of meaning as the name of Lueger had possessed a decade earlier on the wider stage of Vienna as champion of "the Small Man." The faction fighting of the pre-war generation in Bohemia—between peasant and townsman, between socialism, nationalism and internationalism, and, of course, between Czech and German, which at the time seemed so barren and constructive, above all, so wasteful of energising forces on both sides, but which today is seen to have been the necessary preparation for the final achievement—still awaits its historian. But when he comes, he will assuredly devote very special attention to Švehla's work as a forerunner and as a master of realist detail.

The war confronted him with new problems, and from the first he was one of the innermost ring of politicians who directed Czech policy at home in Prague and made possible the foreign activities of Masaryk, Beneš and Štefaňik, both by their secret encouragement and information, and still more by their steadfast refusal to issue declarations of loyalty to the Austrian State and dynasty. Being still merely a secondary name to the authorities, and being endowed with a highly secretive, vigilant and externally undemonstrative nature, Švehla escaped the fate of such outstanding figures

as Kramář, Klofáč, Rašín and Scheiner, who were all imprisoned during the period of the repression (1915-16), when the General Staff dictated its home policy to the Austrian Government, and when the Staatshalter of Bohemia, Prince Thun, vainly pled for milder methods. But all the time he was working cautiously behind the scenes, building up the "Maffia," or secret organisation, whose aim was Czechoslovak independence, and preparing the "unitary front" between all nationally conscious parties and groups. When the Emperor Charles instituted a milder régime in 1917, amnestied the chief political offenders and convoked the Reichsrat after over three years of suppression, Švehla was one of the ringleaders of the Czech movement and inspired the skilful tactics of proclamations, manifestos and demonstrations, by which the solidarity of the nation was gradually revealed to the outer world in a form that was at once irrefutable and immune from prosecution, unless Austria was to belie her public professions towards Washington.

When the final crisis was reached, Švehla, acting in closest accord with the leaders abroad, played the decisive rôle in Prague itself. It was he who as President of the Národní Věbor, or National Council, on 28 October, 1918, formally took over the food supplies of Prague and accepted the responsibility for rationing the population. His three colleagues in this and in the next critical step of demanding the surrender of the Stadthalterei to the new national authority, were Dr. Rašín (Young Czech or National Democrat), Mr. Soukup (Social Democrat) and Mr. Štříbrný (National Socialist). The Council's firmness and clearness of decision ensured that the revolution was effected without bloodshed, and that next day the military authorities realised resistance to be hopeless and surrendered the garrisons. It was Švehla, then, in whose hands rested the critical task of establishing the republican government and bureaucracy, while Masaryk, the President-Elect, was still in America, while Beneš was tied to Paris on the eve of the Peace Conference, and while Kramář, as first Premier of the new state, had to leave for Geneva to establish direct contact with his colleagues abroad and then joined Beneš in Paris as peace delegate. Švehla meanwhile occupied the key position of Minister of the Interior in the first three Czechoslovak Cabinets and in countless ways exercised decisive influence upon the future evolution of the Republic. In particular the system of the "petka"—or coalition of five parties—sharing power according to the proportion of votes which they had secured at the last elections under universal suffrage—owed more to him than to any other man, and with all its good

and bad points represented his peculiar contribution of sound commonsense, tempered perhaps by occasional ruthlessness and peasant cunning. Other more doctrinaire politicians might have attempted the impossible, or at any rate highly dangerous, task of immediate elections; he saw at once that with the very cream of the nation still absent in Siberia, this would have been to offer a premium to subversive or unbalanced elements; and in his various devices—doubtless unconventional or even revolutionary, but emphatically not undemocratic—for securing a respite before general elections and governing meanwhile by an improvised national assembly, he had the full approval and assistance of President Masaryk, then, of course, at the very height of his powers and of his prestige. Indeed, the close and cordial co-operation between these two men, so different in temperament and outlook, is one of the most interesting details of the post-war period.

When the President appointed a neutral Cabinet of officials in December, 1920, in order to escape from the growing party deadlock, Švehla, of course, ceased to be Minister of the Interior, but became President of the Executive Committee of the Coalition Party, and so held the real key to the political situation. It followed quite logically that he should become Premier in October, 1922, and he held this position a second and third time in November, 1925, and October, 1926. His last period of office was marked by the adoption of an "activist" policy by four out of the seven German parties and the inclusion of two German Ministers in the Cabinet; and this achievement, which the President had long ardently desired and worked for, would have been quite impossible but for Švehla's cordial approval and active efforts. In the winter of 1927 his health broke down, and after a long and gallant struggle he had no choice save to resign office in February, 1929. He never abandoned the hope of returning to public life, but every time that he took an active step in this direction a relapse followed, and on 12 December, 1933, he died from pneumonia.

Švehla was not an "article d'exportation," and, indeed, some of his more discerning friends reproach him for his strange failure to establish foreign contacts. He was doubtless handicapped by his lack of languages; he spoke German quite easily but was reluctant to speak it, sharing with so many of his countrymen the foolish, but comprehensible, obsession that to use "the common Slav language" was in the nature of capitulation before the foe. But there was something more than this: behind all his confident nationalism and clear vision there was a reserve and shyness which

perhaps shrank from meeting men from utterly strange and untested milieux; and it was highly characteristic of him that when curiosity led him to pay a visit to London, he not merely did not attempt to make English acquaintances, but could hardly be enticed into his own Legation! But if he lacked the external graces, he was none the less a man of robust intellect and natural judgment, sharing with the mass of his fellow-countrymen a keen sense of musical and artistic values. Above all, he was a realist, capable of measuring what was possible and impossible, and this was the ground on which he and the President met, though he lacked the latter's high philosophic idealism and rarified religious outlook, and possessed a gift of drastic expression which intensely amused, but was entirely alien to, the President.

Five years ago, in the columns of this REVIEW, Karel Čapek, in his inimitable way, supplied the key to Švehla's character. "The underlying, almost mystical, philosophy of his policy is bound up with the land. The peasant knows that he must plough and sow; yet he cannot take a scythe and mow his crop, but has to wait till it ripens; everything has its right time." And, again, "His was the method of democracy, the never-ending labour of smoothing things out, of winning people over, of humouring parties and peoples. It was in this that the master hand was shown, and it was in this that his robust health was undermined." Today Czechoslovakia stands as an island in the troubled sea of openly avowed or thinly camouflaged dictatorships; and we can only pray that the ideals which brought it freedom and inspired its first fifteen years of responsible government will prove equal to the coming test. If it weathers the storm without loss of sails and masts, it will be thanks to a providential combination of very diverse kinds of leadership--the practical horse-sense and tireless application of a Švehla no less than the far vision and constant planning of a Masaryk and the tempered optimism and adaptability of a Beneš.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

## ANATOLE LUNACHARSKY

### A PERSONAL NOTE

I FIRST remember Lunacharsky in the offices of the *Novaya Zhizn*, the independent Left Socialist newspaper which Maxim Gorky ran during the Kerensky period of the Revolution. On this paper all types of Left Wing writers congregated. Along with Lunacharsky were Sukhanov, Martov and Kerzhertsev. They were more Left

than the Mensheviks, but they seemed to boggle at the crudities of the full-blooded Bolsheviks. "Social-compromisers" the Bolsheviks used contemptuously to call them and even when they were in a really ugly frame of mind, I once heard them describe them as "Commis-voyageurs of Social-Treachery"! Truly the Russian Revolution coined some choice phrases.

I next saw Lunacharsky soon after he had resigned from the Council of the People's Commissaries in the early days of the October Revolution as a protest against the damage done by gun fire to the Kremlin in Moscow, when the Red Guards stormed the White garrison there. His action on this occasion was typical of the man. He had become a Bolshevik by conviction, not as in so many other cases, because of poverty and economic pressure. He was one of the intellectual type who reached his end by reason and not the peasant and workman type whose thoughts and actions were governed by instinct and feeling. Nor was he of that other intellectual type, of which Lenin was the best representative, whose convictions were so intense that they led him to pursue his course with a ruthlessness which allowed of no compromise. His was the inquiring mind, which always saw the other side's case, even if it did not agree. It could be assailed by doubts, and on this occasion—the bombardment of the Kremlin—which the others regarded as a regrettable necessity, he was genuinely shocked at the turn of events.

Later in the October Revolution I remember him as Commissary of Education, when he had got over his scruples about the bombardment of the Kremlin. He had set himself the task of combating illiteracy in Russia. Here undoubtedly he made a greater drive than had ever been made before for popular education in Russia. Although education was progressing even under the Imperial Regime, it was not in the front rank of policy and the service was starved for money. But Lunacharsky was not hindered on this account and the field lay open to him. He made the best of his opportunity. His difficulties were largely unavoidable. He had to equip schools during the civil war, when no books were being printed and when pencils and pens were almost unobtainable. Looking back, one can wonder that as much was done for popular education in Russia during these years as was done.

One thing must be remembered to the great credit of Lunacharsky. He was instrumental in saving many of the art and literary treasures of Russia during the turmoil of the

Revolution. It certainly cannot be said that the Bolsheviks were indifferent to works of art; and indeed their philosophy of the materialist conception of history made all art the reflection of social and economic systems and in consequence an object for preservation, if only as historical relief or for propaganda, such as the religious relics in the museum of the former Cathedral of St. Isaac. At the same time it cannot be denied that much damage was done to art treasures during the revolution by insubordinates out of control, as only too frequently occurred in those hectic days. It was Lunacharsky's great work that he occupied himself in pressing on his colleagues in Moscow the need for the ruthless suppression of all vandalism. After long struggles, chiefly with the indifference to such matters of people who were engaged in a life and death conflict, he succeeded largely in his task.

In his literary work Lunacharsky can be counted as one of the more enlightened of the Bolshevik writers. Personally, I like his *Faust and the City* best of all his writings. Through his knowledge of the German classics he was able to carry on the tale of Faust where Goethe left it. He saw the Faust of Goethe reaching his final goal as benevolent despot amidst a docile and admiring populace, and he saw with true Marxian insight that Goethe was only portraying the social and economic environment of his age. So he took up the story and brought it into the modern age, when the people of this well-ruled city revolted, preferring government by themselves to that of an autocrat however benevolent. The whole work is typical of his penetrating mind. He was a man of thought, rather than of action.

M. PHILIPS PRICE.

## CHRONICLE

### RUSSIA. (UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.)

#### *Foreign Affairs.*

Two Trade Agreements—with France signed on 11 January for one year, and with Great Britain signed on 16 February with no time limit, but with provision to cancel it at six months' notice, marked the Soviet Government's new year successes in the domain of foreign policy.

The Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement, which is based on reciprocal most-favoured nation treatment of a modified type adapted to the USSR as possessing a state monopoly of foreign trade, contains on the British side provisions for safeguarding British and Empire trade from the

"dumping" of cheap Soviet goods and also for an approximate readjustment of the adverse British trade balance by means of a graduated increase in the proportion which the Soviet will spend in Great Britain of the proceeds of their own sales in that country.

The tension in the Far East which at one time had become acute, now seems to have slightly decreased. The Soviet officials of the Chinese Eastern Railway, kept under arrest since last autumn, were released, and the question of their successors was settled in favour of Moscow's candidates. The customary attacks on and wrecking of trains, anti-Soviet demonstrations and raids on Soviet premises in Harbin and elsewhere took place on several occasions, followed by the equally customary protests of the Soviet Consul-General. Japan's "war preparations" and "plans for the seizure of Soviet territories" were constantly referred to in the Soviet press and were the subject of forcible comments in all the speeches of Soviet leaders and politicians at the session of the TSIK, the Communist Party Congress and at other local functions. MM. Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, not to mention less prominent men, all spoke of the likelihood of a war with Japan and urged the necessity of being prepared for an attack.

#### *Budget and Plan for 1934.*

The state Budget of the USSR for 1934 was passed by the TSIK (Central Executive Committee), which held its session at the end of December. The total revenue was fixed at 48,879,416,000 roubles. Expenditure: 47,879,416,000 roubles, and surplus reserve fund, 1,571,000,000 roubles. The chief items of revenue were derived from the socialised industries, mass loans, the agricultural tax on collective farms and individual taxes on members of collective farms and individual peasant householders.

The main items of expenditure are devoted to investments in capital socialist construction, grants to state concerns and industries, social and cultural undertakings. The total national income for 1934 was estimated at 60,000,000,000 roubles, 92 per cent. of which is to be derived from the socialised national economy system.

The plan for 1934 was passed by the TSIK. During 1933, which was called "a year of assimilation" of new technique and modern machinery, the rate of construction had somewhat slackened. Now it is given a fresh impetus, and the capital investments were fixed at 25,111,000,000 R. Special attention and increased expenditure are to be given to the railway transport, the state of which is described as "shocking and deplorable" in every way, and to the heavy metal industry, the output of which is constantly and considerably below plan. Socialised agriculture also comes in for a very substantial increase in grants. The quality of manufactured goods, which continues to be very bad, is to be improved and personal responsibility for turning out inferior goods rendered more effective.

*Agriculture.*

The official figures of the harvest, the first for three years, were published by the Commissariat of Agriculture. The gross total of cereal crops is estimated at 896,523,000 centners, 200,000,000 centners more than in 1933, and is alleged to be the highest total ever recorded in Russia. As a certain amount of it is still unthreshed and considerable quantities were lost through lying in the open at railway stations, etc., the actual total figures must be somewhat lower, but undoubtedly the crop was a good one. The grain delivery to the State was completed in record time, and any arrears which remained to be collected from the collective farms were recently remitted by special decree. Unfortunately no definite information is to hand as to how far this harvest has affected the bread supply of the population at large and brought substantial improvement in the condition of the peasants. Neither is there any indication of any increase in the bread rations. It is significant that in his report to the Communist Party Congress on the Second Five Year Plan, M. Molotov, President of the Council of Peoples' Commissaries, said that by the *end* of the Five Years, *i.e.*, in 1937, "the demand for bread, potatoes and vegetables was expected to be satisfied." The plan for spring sowing was fixed at 92,998,000 hectares, of which 23,240,000 hectares are to be under wheat. In spite of the much advertised stock-breeding state farms and "improved" methods in the collective farms, the quantity of live stock, except for pigs, continued to diminish: horses by 3 million head, horned cattle by 2 million, and sheep and goats by over 2 million head, as compared to 1932. The live stock "front" was declared to be the weak spot in the otherwise successful socialisation of agriculture, and steps are to be taken to remedy this.

*Communist Party Purge and Increased Control.*

The Communist Party purge, which has been going on during the past year, was practically completed. Up to 1 January, 1934, 1,149,000 members and candidates, or 93.2 per cent. of the total without counting the army and the OGPU, had passed through the commissions, and the rest are to be examined after the Congress. A considerable discrepancy was revealed between the figures on the registers and the actual number of members, 56,500 "dead souls" not being accounted for. As a result of the purge, 17 per cent. of the members were expelled and 6.3 per cent. degraded to the rank of "sympathisers." The most staunch organisations proved to be the Baltic fleet, with no expulsions, the Red Army, and the OGPU. Territorially Moscow and Leningrad came out top, while socially the most "contaminated" was naturally the peasant group. The statute of the Communist Party was reformed in the sense of far greater centralisation and still more iron discipline. The rules for the admission of new members are much stricter, and admission can only be "individual," each prospective member or candidate to be presented by a specified number of "sponsors," who are responsible for him or her. The Party's



control over the political and economic life of the country is to be greatly intensified. For this purpose the former commission of execution and the commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection are abolished and replaced by a commission of Soviet Control of 70 members, selected by the Central Executive Committee and presided over by one of the deputy-presidents of the Council of Peoples' Commissaries. The Central Commission of Control is also abolished and replaced by a Commission of Party Control, with 61 members elected by the Communist Congress and attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party with one of the secretaries as president. Both these commissions have local ramifications, with representatives appointed by and responsible to the head commissions at the centre.

*Congress of the Communist Party.*

The Congress of the Communist Party was held in the Kremlin at the end of January. It was composed of 1,225 delegates with a full, and 736 with a consultative vote, representing respectively 1,872,488 members and 935,298 candidates of the Communist Party who had passed through the purge. The Congress may be called the apotheosis of M. Stalin. His every appearance, the mere mention of his name (and the speakers vied with one another in panegyrics on this account) roused tremendous ovations. In a four-hours speech he reviewed the achievements of the three years which have elapsed since the last congress. The country had become industrialised and socialised, primitive individual peasant farming had given place to collectivisation and mechanised agriculture, giant factories had been built, new areas opened up, housing and other cultural amenities introduced for the workers. Private ownership and enterprise were practically abolished: the relative proportion of socialised national economy in industry was 99 per cent., and in agriculture 84.5 per cent. The number of workers and employees had increased from 14,530,000 in 1930 to 21,883,000 in 1934, of whom 13,797,000 were engaged in manual labour. Besides praise, however, M. Stalin was unsparing in his criticism of the inefficiency, lack of discipline and organisation, slackness and red tape which flourished in many organisations, particularly in the railway transport service, the commissariat of agriculture, the state farms, the heavy metal industry and the trade system. If all these defects were not speedily remedied, and the key industries brought up to standard, they would "trip up" the progress of the entire socialist construction.

The Second Five Year Plan was passed unanimously. It provides for a colossal increase in industrial and other investments, the total sum being fixed at 133,400,000,000 roubles, as compared with 50,000,000,000 roubles for the First Five Year Plan. Both industrial and agricultural production are to be doubled; so is the capacity of railways. The average annual increase in industrial output is fixed at 16.5 per cent.: 14.5 per cent. for industries producing the means of production, and 18.5

per cent. for consumers' goods, thus reversing the order followed in the first Five Years. It was announced that by 1937 the quantity of certain foodstuffs and manufactured commodities per head of the population would be doubled and retail prices be reduced by 35 per cent. This, together with increased industrial production and free social amenities, would produce a substantial rise in real wages and in the general standard of life of the workers.

M. Voroshilov, Commissary for War, who was received with an ovation, gave a report on the Red Army. It had been thoroughly re-equipped with all modern appliances, such as tanks, aeroplanes, artillery, etc., and as far as mechanisation went, was now the most highly mechanised army in the world. The personnel was also being intensively trained and had reached a high standard of efficiency. The frontiers of the USSR had been fortified, especially in the Far East, and were sufficiently strong to "smash the head of any invader." M. Voroshilov and Blücher, commander of the Far Eastern Army, both spoke of Japan's aggressiveness and war preparations, and assured the Congress that the Army was ready to repulse any attack and would deal a crushing blow to anyone who dared violate Soviet territory. The Soviet government and people wanted peace, but they would rise as one man to defend the land of Soviets and the conquests of the revolution against imperialist attacks.

The Congress closed with a Red Army parade in the Red square, when all the services and mechanised units marched past the delegates grouped round Lenin's mausoleum.

## REVIEWS

### RECENT SURVEYS OF RUSSIAN HISTORY.

THE interest in Russia is one of the notable facts of our time. It reflects, in the first place, a desire to learn the truth about the Russia of the post-war period, when its real national face has been hidden from the outside world by the mask of the USSR. But next to this there is a wider interest in learning about and understanding Russia, not only in her Soviet-Communist disguise, but also in those historical processes and forms which preceded her latest catastrophic transformation and, on one hand, had created that Russia which, for centuries, played a political and economic rôle in the world, and on the other, had prepared the downfall of that Russia. *Russia as a whole historical phenomenon*, in the wide sense of that word, has become an object of close attention, study and interpretation. This interest and attention is not a product of the last years only: the historical knowledge of Russia has long since—especially from the second half of the 19th century—become an indispensable element in a general European historical education. But hardly ever did the need for such knowledge manifest itself with such acuteness and intensity as in our days, at the time when Russia, in her historical forms, has become a thing of the past.

This statement is illustrated by the publication, within the last few years, in Europe and in America, of a number of general surveys of Russian history—both translated from the Russian and written specially for non-Russian readers by Russian and foreign historians. Some of these surveys have already passed through several editions, which shows the more clearly that their authors have not merely indulged their own scientific interest in Russia, but have found in their respective countries the response of a wide public interest.

What do we find, then, in the literature of Europe and America to meet that active interest of the public? We leave Asia aside, though we are aware that both in China and in Japan there is such an interest, too. Nor shall we attempt to give a complete inventory, but confine ourselves to some of the most important works.

Let us first of all emphasise that some of the main general surveys of Russian history that have come from the pen of the outstanding Russian historians are now available for readers who know one of the principal European languages. This refers in the first place to the course of Russian history of that incomparable master—V. O. Klyuchevsky; it is now available in English translation (abridged, it is true),<sup>1</sup> as well as in German.<sup>2</sup> In translation Klyuchevsky's work inevitably loses one of its outstanding characteristics, namely, its literary form, its wonderful language which makes it not only the work of a master historian, but one of the most remarkable specimens of Russian prose. But Klyuchevsky's deep interest in the social and economic problems of the Russian past, so strongly characteristic of his historical attitude, is fully preserved; in the interpretation of those problems he showed much acuteness and perspicacity, and in many respects his views still dominate historical thought.

The textbook of the late S. F. Platonov, which had such a wide circulation in Russia, has also found its way to the European public: it exists now in English,<sup>3</sup> in German,<sup>4</sup> and in French.<sup>5</sup> As distinct from Klyuchevsky, it gives concise but evenly distributed information on the past of Russia and meets the needs of those who desire to learn the actual facts of Russian historical development. Recently there has also appeared in German a very valuable textbook of the history of Russian Law by the late Professor M. Dyakonov, which is important for the

<sup>1</sup> V. Klyuchevsky, *A History of Russia*, transl. by C. Hogarth, 4 vols., London-New York, 1911-17.

<sup>2</sup> W. Kliutschewsky, *Geschichte Russlands*, hrg. v. Fr. Braun u. R. v. Walter, 4 vols., Stuttgart-Berlin, 1925-26.

<sup>3</sup> Platonov, S., *History of Russia*, transl. by E. Aronsberg, ed. by F. A. Golder, New York, 1925.

<sup>4</sup> Platonov, S., *Geschichte Russlands vom Beginn bis zur Jetztzeit*, hrg. v. Fr. Braun; the concluding chapter by O. Hoetzsch, Leipzig, 1927.

<sup>5</sup> Platonov, S., *Histoire de la Russie*, Paris, 1929, pp. 991.

understanding of the legal and social development of old Russia up to the end of the Muscovite period.<sup>6</sup>

A fact apart is represented by an attempt to treat Russian history from the Marxist point of view, made by the late M. N. Pokrovsky, who, until his recent death, stood at the head of the official historical school in Soviet Russia. His survey has come to be regarded in Soviet Russia as a sort of standard work for the interpretation of the historical ways and processes of Russia; it is now also available in several translations.<sup>7</sup> Pokrovsky had a considerable historical knowledge and the keen vision of a scholar. But he limited this vision to the narrow framework of a doctrine, according to which historical reality is reduced to a play of economic forces and processes in close interaction with class contrasts and conflicts; a pronounced political interest in the Communist Party and party ideology is an essential element of Pokrovsky's historical attitude and interpretations. All this makes his *History* an expression, not of the objective spirit of learning, but of a certain political and historico-philosophical dogma. This lends to Pokrovsky's work a more than an ordinary attraction for those readers who are interested in the official Soviet doctrine and in the ideology of the present-day Soviet Marxist historiography.

Beside these translated textbooks, Western European literature now possesses a number of original surveys and textbooks written for the foreign, non-Russian reader, with special consideration of his scientific needs and interests. Thus, in English there have appeared during the last years the works of Sir Bernard Pares and Professor George Vernadsky; in German has begun to appear a large and widely-conceived survey of Professor K. Stählin; in Italian there is a three-volume history by Professor E. F. Shmurolo, now at Prague; finally, the latest novelty is the collective French history of Russia in three volumes, edited by Paul Milyukov, Charles Seignobos and Louis Eisenmann. Besides, there exists in German a circumstantial history of Russian economic development by the Russian author, J. Kulischer,<sup>8</sup> and since the war a new edition has been published of J. Mavor's similar work in English.<sup>9</sup>

Professor K. Stählin's work<sup>10</sup> has not yet been completed, it has only been brought as far as the end of the 18th century—the death of

<sup>6</sup> D'jakonov, M. A., *Skizzen zur Gesellschafts- und Staats-Ordnung des alten Russlands*, Breslau, 1931.

<sup>7</sup> Pokrovsky, M., *History of Russia from the earliest times to the rise of commercial capitalism*. Trans. and ed. by J. O. Clarkson and M. R. Griffiths, pp. xvi + 383. London, 1931 and 1932 (re-issue); also New York, 1928, Pokrovsky, M., *Geschichte Russlands von seiner Entstehung bis zur neuesten Zeit*, hrg. v. W. Herzog, Leipzig, 1929.

<sup>8</sup> J. Kulischer, *Russische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, in the series "Handbuch der Wirtschaftsgeschichte," hrg. v. Bridnitz, I, Jena, 1925.

<sup>9</sup> J. Mavor, *An Economic History of Russia*, 2 vols., London-Toronto, 1925.

<sup>10</sup> Karl Stählin, *Geschichte Russlands von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, B.I., Berlin-Leipzig, 1923, pp. 438; Bd. II, Berlin-Königsberg, 1930, pp. xii + 752.

Catherine II. The reader cannot help noticing a certain disharmony in its construction, of which the author himself is fully aware (*see* his preface to the second volume); it is manifested both in the outward proportions of the work and in the very manner of exposition. The period up to the end of the 17th century constitutes the first volume; the whole of the second volume, which is one and a half times as large as the first, is devoted to the history of Russia in the 18th century, and the reign of Catherine II here occupies nearly twice as much room as the reign of Peter the Great. This peculiar disproportion of Prof. Stählin's work is accounted for in the first place, of course, by the fact that in summing up his information about the old Kievan and Muscovite Russia the author was following along the well-beaten tracks prepared by Russian historians, choosing as his guides, Klyuchevsky, Platonov, Dyakonov, and others. But when he came to the period of Peter the Great and his successors, he felt both a need for and an eager interest in mastering more fully and thoroughly the ever-growing wealth of historical material. In doing so, Professor Stählin did not confine himself to the printed material, but also drew upon the unpublished reserves of the archives—for instance, the unpublished correspondence of Anna Ioannovna (vol. II, 237–8), the reports of the Prussian Ministers and agents at the Russian Court (*passim*). This peculiarity of the second volume makes it a very thorough and fresh summary of our knowledge of the life of Russia in the 18th century, a summary which not only a lay reader interested in Russia, but every historian would study with profit.

At the foundation of Professor Stählin's work lies the usual scheme of the historical succession of facts. After an analysis of the main facts of the history of South Russia up to the fall of Kiev, the author transfers the centre of his attention to the North-East, to Suzdal Russia, and then after a detailed study of the history of the Muscovite State, passes on to the history of Russia as an Empire. This scheme is known to have aroused, and still to arouse, important objections. These objections come on one hand from the representatives of Ukrainian historiography, who contend that the facts of the past history of Southern Russia belong entirely to their competence and not to that of the historians of *Russia*. On the other hand, there are objections—and these are more justified—bearing on the very substance of the problem of Russian history. It is, of course, precisely the interest in the processes which have led to the creation of the Russian Empire, which determines the choice of the historical facts of the past as reflected in the above scheme. Kievan Russia is taken here as the forerunner of Muscovite Russia, and both are regarded as the preparatory and preliminary stages of the subsequent Imperial development of Russia. But if that is so—that is, if that latest form of the Russian historical past attracts above all the attention of an historian of Russia, then it is absolutely indispensable that the processes in those regions inhabited by the Russian people which in the 18th century came into an organic contact with the old regions of the

Moscow State should be taken stock of historically, and not merely mentioned sporadically and purely as subsidiary. The fact of such an organic contact has left a notable mark, both on the contents and character of Russian governmental activity, and on the forms and character of Russian cultural life; this fact has conditioned the origin of certain currents of Russian social thought, it raised a number of purely Russian problems of national life and policy. And if in the historical analysis of the past of Russia the contemporary historian or reader is often looking—and quite rightly—for an explanation of the Russian realities of the last decades, then such a stocktaking of all the complexity of regional processes which received their unifying consummation in the life of the Russian Empire of the 18th and 19th centuries appears justified from the point of view of historical scholarship, and from the practical point of view is indispensable.

One more remark of a general nature imposes itself when one reads Professor Stählin's work which is so rich in historical material. It is especially the second volume of his work that necessitates this criticism. Here the attention of the historian is centred on the governmental power, its holders, its organisation and activity. The past of Russia supplies abundant material for the study of this aspect of historical development: there is no lack of originality in the manifestations and development of State power, nor of its creative efforts. Yet this sphere is after all only one of the factors—often the principal one—of the organic processes undergone by the Russian national organism in the course of its long history. The processes of colonisation and economic assimilation of new lands, so important for the proper understanding of Russia's past, often went ahead and in advance of the actions of the State. The social, social-economic and social-cultural life of Russia, in its organic unfolding often anticipated the governmental influences, and at times reacted to the latter in its own way. In saying this, we are not in the least inclined to accept as really scientific that conception of Russian history which is to be found in Professor Pokrovsky's book, where too little positive meaning is assigned to State power. Yet, the history of *Russia* as a historical phenomenon is, of course, richer and more complex than the history of the Russian State or—which is still narrower—of its Government, even though the destinies of the latter constitute an essential and important element in the historical evolution of Russia, both from the point of view of her internal development and of her international position.

In thus judging the main problems of Russian history taken as a whole, we are, in fact, at the same time characterising the main features of Professor Stählin's valuable work: for his subject he chose in the first place the destinies of the Russian State and Government. With this limitation, his work is a very considerable contribution to historical learning—not only German.

The French reader can now satisfy his interest in Russian history through the *Histoire de Russie*, published as a part of the "Bibliothèque du Monde Slave," under the joint editorship of Milyukov, Seignobos, and Eisenmann.<sup>11</sup> The principal and largest portion of this work has been provided by Russian scholars, only the geographical survey of Russia has been written by a French author (Professor Camena d'Almeida, of Bordeaux), while the chapter on Russian pre-historical geography belongs to the famous Czech scholar, L. Niederle.

The main object of attention in this new work is modern Europeanised Russia; it is with the period of the growing Europeanisation of the Russian State and public life that the exposition becomes more thorough and systematic, in the first place in the hands of P. N. Milyukov, who writes about the Muscovite State in the 17th century and about Peter the Great and Russian life of his period. The history of Russia during the preceding eight centuries (9th to 16th) is presented in a much scantier way, and this is particularly obvious in regard to Kiev Russia—this chapter is written by V. A. Myakotin—and in the treatment of it one does not feel sufficiently the pulse of modern historical studies of that important period in the life of Eastern Europe.

In the history of Modern Russia the French reader will find first of all a more or less thorough investigation of Russia's political life, as well as of her social, economic and cultural development in different periods. Certain organic processes of Russian national life are thus taken into consideration here, yet not to the extent to which this would be justified by their nature and their part in the economic and political development of Russia. In the third volume, which deals with the period from the middle of the 19th century to the Revolution of 1917, the problems of political régime and organisation and of governmental activity obviously tend to relegate to the background the problems of social-economic and cultural life of the country. It is curious that the plan of the third volume leaves less room than does the history of the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries for the intellectual life, only those facts being mentioned which are related to political ideas proper.

It must further be pointed out that other important issues have remained outside the scope of this collective work. Thus the Russo-Asiatic problem, in the sense of Russian political action, and still more in the sense of economic expansion beyond the Urals towards the East and South-East of Asia, is treated quite insufficiently. Also among the maps which illustrate the text, there is not a single one representing Russia as a whole (there is a complete map of the USSR), as a European-Asiatic Empire, showing that territorially-political and nationally-historically scope which has for long made her such an exceptional and original historical phenomenon. It is not a question of the Eurasianist attitude, which the present writer does not share, but of taking into

<sup>11</sup> *Histoire de Russie*, tt. I-III, Paris, 1932-33, pp. xiv + 1415.

account the actual peculiarities of the object of study. The Russia of the French collective history is—territorially, chronologically and historically speaking—primarily *European* Russia. This is reflected in the actual content of the work and in the general attitude of the individual authors. It is the attitude of Russian Westernism and Liberalism.

One of the remarks made by us in connection with Professor Stahlin's work applies also to the French collective history. The conception of Russia as a historical fact must include all the elements which were subsequently fused into a single Imperial stream, even though they preserved, or at least tended to preserve, their peculiarities. The foreign reader is entitled to seek in a work written by Russian expert historians an answer to the question what causes combined to form those internal national differences which fed the federative current of Russian political thought, determined this or that policy of the government towards nationalities and border provinces, and, finally, served as foundation for such important cultural and political movements as Ukrainism, etc. To say that these are problems of secondary importance would, of course, be quite erroneous and unhistorical.

Despite all these peculiarities in the plan and construction of the French collective history of Russia, this work represents no doubt a worthy and interesting acquisition to historical literature. For the French reader it is the only publication on such a large scale, through which such tried masters of Russian historical science as the late A. A. Kiesewetter, P. N. Milyukov, V. A. Myakotin, and others can appeal to him. It is precisely the French reader for whom Klyuchevsky's famous work has remained inaccessible. The Russian authors of the collective history have given their work that scope and tone which permit them, while remaining concise, to unfold before the reader the principal processes in the development of Russian State history and policy. As they approach the present time, the exposition becomes more and more thorough; the reign of Nicholas II is dealt with (by P. Milyukov) in a particularly detailed way, not devoid, it is true, of a certain subjectivity. The work ends with a clear-cut study by Milyukov of the principal stages in the life of Soviet Russia.

In the last years the Italian reader has also had an opportunity of studying Russian history in his own language widely and thoroughly. This opportunity came with the publication, in the series undertaken by the Istituto per l'Europa Orientale, of a text-book of Russian history by Professor E. F. Smurlo (now in Prague), who has worked for a long time in Italy.<sup>12</sup> This textbook is one of the three variants of that author's Russian history. Twice did he attempt the task in Russian, first publishing a succinct *History of Russia* (Munich, 1922), then undertaking a work on a wider scale, with a study of the principal controversies on Russian history and with special attention to the cultural development

<sup>12</sup> Smurlo, E., *Storia della Russia*, 1-3, Roma, 1928-30, pp. 286 + 164 + 175.



of Russia (but leaving out her economic history!)—this wider work is being carried out in the form of a lithographed *Handbook of Russian History* (vol. I, 862–1462, Prague, 1931, pp. 535, and vol. II, part I: *Moscow Lithuania*: 1462–1613, Prague, 1933, pp. 437). Prof. Shmurlo's Italian work deals chiefly with Russia's political life from the origins to the downfall of the Empire after the March revolution of 1917. In the first volume, which covers the period up to the death of Peter the Great, there are also chapters on Russian cultural life—on literature and art (I, 74–90, 190–213), but for the later period there is no such survey; nor will the reader find in Prof. Shmurlo's work any systematic treatment, and still less any large historical interpretation of the social and economic problems of Russian history. The author is seriously interested in the problem of the cultural orientation of the Russian people, in the problem of Europe and Asia in Russian national evolution, but at the same time it is not the Russian people in its manifold creative manifestations that stands in the centre of his attention and exposition, but only one of those manifestations, namely, the Russian State.

It remains for us to say that the English reader also can now know where to look for a thorough answer to his queries about the principal moments of Russian historical development. Professor Bernard Pares' solid textbook<sup>13</sup> throws an even light on the main stages of that development, having assimilated the most important conclusions of Russian historical scholarship. The actual substance of the Russian historical process is treated here in a matter-of-fact way which makes the book a reliable guide for English students and lay readers. Of a sensibly different character is the textbook of Russian history by Professor George Vernadsky,<sup>14</sup> destined chiefly for the American reader. The peculiarity of this work consists, above all, in that its author, as a follower of the "Eurasian" current of Russian historico-philosophical thought, consistently underlines in his book the decisive importance of Russo-Asiatic intercourse for the understanding of the whole complexity of the Russian historical past. There is no need to be an Eurasianist in order to admit a certain measure of truth in this idea in its main lines, even though in its application to Russian historical realities one must not follow blindly the above-named writer. Vernadsky's book contains a detailed study of the main processes in the life of Soviet Russia.

It is impossible for us to examine here in detail all the new general histories of Russia which have been mentioned. We shall confine ourselves to the statement that within the last few years the European book market has been supplied with a fairly-wide choice of such general

<sup>13</sup> Pares, B., *History of Russia*, three editions (1926, 1928, 1930), the latest—New York, 1930, pp. xxiii + 564.

<sup>14</sup> Vernadsky, G., *History of Russia*, New Haven, 1929, 1930 (2nd ed.), xix + 397. In this connection one may also mention D. S. Mirsky's *Russia, a Social History*, ed. by Professor C. G. Seligman, London, 1931, pp. xix + 312 + xxi.

histories on different scales. Non-Russian readers have now a good opportunity of learning the views of the Russian past held both by Western European historians and by Russian scholars of different scientific and social-political tendencies. It would be an exaggeration to say that the problem of Russia, as a historical process and fact, is revealed in the pages of those histories in all its complexity, manifoldness and depth. The preceding remarks show that this is not the case. Nevertheless, thanks to this library of general historical surveys, Russia in her past is certainly brought nearer and made more comprehensible, and becomes one of the organic elements of a general European historical education.

A. FLOROVSKY.

*Byzantine Civilisation.* By Steven Runciman. 320 pp. London (Edward Arnold). 16s. net.

MR. RUNCIMAN has done good service to the cause of Byzantine studies by providing a general sketch of the history and achievements of the Byzantine Empire and by treating as a whole its evolution from the Eastern Roman Empire of the successors of Constantine down to the death of the last Constantine in the fatal breach. It was for long the fashion to dismiss the Byzantine Empire as a pale and degenerate reflection of Rome which, after an inglorious struggle for existence, met a fitting end. History now presents Byzantium in a new light as the barrier of Europe in the East. It checked the Sassanians, fought desperately against Arabs and Saracens, and even began to turn the tide against them. It delayed and impeded the entry of the Turks into Europe, even though it had suffered from the Crusaders an almost crushing blow. Through this long period down to 1453, while Western and Central Europe were in a state of flux, Byzantium remained stable with a continuous and progressive life, social structure, literature, art, law, constitution, and administration. The value of Byzantine art is now generally recognised in spite of the somewhat extravagant claims of enthusiasts, and the Paris Exhibition of 1931 was a concrete demonstration of its accomplishments. In other aspects, such as law, literature, administration, and naval and military affairs, Byzantine has almost been a term of reproach, and it is refreshing that the author devotes separate chapters to them and describes and illustrates both the merits and demerits of Byzantium in these spheres of practical life. Though details here and there need correction, his account of the Imperial constitution and his tribute to Byzantine learning and to the organisation of the empire, both civil and military, are sound. In particular his chapter on the Church is sympathetic and understanding, especially because, as he says, the Orthodox Church has not been kindly treated by Western historians. He rightly emphasises the different points of view of the Eastern and Western Churches and defends the former against the accusations of being unprogressive and unintellectual. The Byzantine Church was, though an admirable State Church, democratic and, as a rule, sufficiently independent to be able to

resist being treated as a mere department of State. It was on the whole tolerant, and its value as a missionary church in the Caucasus, in the Balkans, and in Russia cannot be underestimated. To the Church the Goths and the Slavs owed their alphabets, and the latter again, through the Church, were much influenced by Byzantine art and architecture. The establishment of autocephalous daughter churches was wise and knit the various races together, not as a nation, but as partners in the common heritage of Rome and of Alexander in the East. In commerce and trade more might have been said on manufactures. In town and country life more should have been said of the country, especially of Asia Minor till it was lost to the Turks. Then, too, something might have been said of the estates of the monasteries and their cultivation. The *chiflik* system may well derive from Byzantine times. The chapter on art is, as the author admits, too short and architecture claims too great a space in proportion to other arts. There are some errors. The paragraph on Byzantine silks is far too short and not too accurate. The importance of the Byzantine Empire in the development of European silk-weaving must not be overlooked. The figure mosaics of St. Sophia, so far as known, are probably of the early 10th century. Its purely decorative mosaics, as in the roof of the narthex, are in the richest style of the 6th century and, more effective because of the uneven surface, suggest a glorious hanging of gold and silk hung as the ceiling of an Imperial pavilion.

The book is well written with a quick incisive style and it is certainly easy to read. The publishers say : " The numerous references and annotations facilitate more detailed study." This touches the great weakness of the book. The author should remember to verify his references. Too often are there misquotations, or else the book referred to cannot be identified easily, and the bibliography is quite unsatisfactory. In a work of this character and purpose, if it is really to serve adequately as an introduction to more detailed study, every book or periodical mentioned in a footnote should be listed in a proper bibliography with the particulars essential to enable a student to trace it without difficulty. The index, again, is not full enough for a work of this wide range, for important topics, such as silk and monasteries, are omitted.

A. J. B. WACE.

*Fifty Years of Bulgarian Art.* By Andrew Protich. Price 400 lev.

Publication No. 29 of the Sofia National Archæological Museum.

THIS book gives a complete account of the rise and development of contemporary Bulgarian genre painting, and is admirably illustrated with fourteen plates in colour and forty in half-tone. It is the first of a series of three volumes intended to form a complete survey of modern Bulgarian art. In the second of these landscape painting, portraiture, and the nude will be dealt with; and in the third, draughtsmanship, sculpture and the development of style.

popularising modern, that is to say, impressionistic art. Finally, in 1920, the "Society of Independent Artists" was formed.

The fourth and last chapter of the book deals with Bulgarian artists; all of whom belonged at least to one of these societies. Their lives are briefly summarised by the author, and reference is made to their more important works and to the influence which they exercised on the art of the country. The paintings are on the whole of a high standard and compare favourably with contemporary work in western European countries. Most striking are the paintings of Tzeno Todorov and Nikolay Mařinov, who worked on impressionist lines, and of Dimitrov Maistova, whose style is more traditional, though no less original and vital. A rather formal, icon style, appears in the work of Ivan Midev, while Mrkvička and Ivan Angelov, though innovators, follow a more academical western tradition.

D. TALBOT RICE.

*Jean Kochanowski: l'homme—le penseur—le poète lyrique.* By Jacques Langlade. (Publication de l'Institut Français de Varsovie.) Paris (Les Belles Lettres), 1932. Pp. viii, 415.

THIS large work on the greatest poet of old Poland is divided, as the title indicates, into three parts dealing successively with the man, the thinker, and the lyricist. In view of Kochanowski's position in literature, we are, naturally, most curious about the last section, which is, however, relatively less extensive than the first two. M. Langlade starts by interesting his reader in the poet's life, and succeeds in giving it a coherent outline, delicately combining the scanty material of the documents, soberly discussing probabilities, adroitly avoiding the pitfalls of hypotheses which had been so amply provided by earlier students of the Renaissance master. We may say definitely that this part of the book is the most scrupulous and so far the most complete account of Kochanowski's career.

When we are reading the second part of the work, which is the most lengthy, we are at times a little disconcerted by such remarks as that which opens the chapter on the moral and political ideas of the poet and noting the very great abundance of the matter, expresses at the same time surprise at its lack of consistency. How many other poets would not plead guilty to the same charge? However, we need not feel disquieted, for M. Langlade, after having analysed Kochanowski's varying moods, comes to the conclusion that we should, indeed, be grateful for them; for—to quote the author's own words, characteristic of his fine style—"au lieu d'une œuvre didactique, imperturbable, docte, ennuyeuse, nous avons des poèmes, doucement nuancés par l'émotion, gonflés par la douleur, illuminés par l'espoir ou la joie, soulevés par l'indignation ou l'enthousiasme, des vers allègres, plaintifs, éclatants, murmurants, une œuvre vivante, enfin, et baignée de vraie poésie."

And in the same way as with Kochanowski's moral philosophy and politics, M. Langlade writes with discernment on the poet's religious views and feelings, although we cannot restrain the doubt that poetical expressions are regarded rather too much as judicial statements.

In the third part of the book the author gives proof of the same soundness of judgment and width of knowledge, but also of psychological insight and mature taste. One might mention as an instance the firmness with which he discards the theory of the gradual quasi-evolutionary origin of the poet's masterpiece *The Lamentations*, although, with typical French elegance, he praises the exponents of that view for the ingenuity of their argument.

Analysing Kochanowski's views on poetry and his literary ambitions, M. Langlade combines the opposite opinions of his predecessors, which deprives these pages of striking originality, but makes them the more convincing. The chapters on translations and imitations are an excellent summary. The classification of the poet's lyrical motifs, under the headings Nature, Love, Religion, Moral and Patriotic Sentiments, does great credit to M. Langlade's understanding of the intrinsic lyric forces in Kochanowski's work. One might expect greater detail about the poet's style, especially as what the author has to say on his rhetorical "movements" and his treatment of traditional allegorical and mythological images makes the most fascinating paragraphs in the book.

A reviewer reading the work with pencil in hand has long to wait for the opportunity to perform the usual gesture of writing a query or an exclamation on the margin. He gets this opportunity, practically, only with the last pages, in which M. Langlade surveys Kochanowski's prosody. Beginning with stanzas, he passes on to verse lines, but, treating various rhythmical types as one according to the number of syllables of which the lines consist; and, falling unexpectedly into statistics, he says, for instance, that the 13-syllable line "appears 166 times in 297 poems, that is to say in the proportion of 55 per cent." But this means nothing, as there are two kinds of Polish 13-syllable lines, distinguished from each other by the placing of the *casura* (7 and 6, and 8 and 5), which makes them as different to the ear as *hors d'œuvres* differ from soup to the taste. Still, in a work destined primarily for those who do not read the poet in his original text, this is only a slight flaw, a small black spot on an otherwise well-arranged and well-designed critical picture.

W. BOROWY.

*World Revolution and the USSR.* By Michael T. Florinsky,\* Ph.D., Associate in Economics, Columbia University. Published by Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1933. Pp. 264. 8s. 6d. net.

THE problem of the changing attitude of the Soviet Government towards World Revolution, vital though it is both to students of communist theory and to practical politicians, was not tackled in any work of length until Dr. Florinsky undertook the task which he has this year completed. Observers of Soviet development had, indeed, commented upon the decline of the Communist International and upon the determination of the Soviet Government to work as long as possible in harmony with the

\* An article on this subject by this author appears on page 535 of this *Review*.

capitalist countries, but a study of the theories and the practical issues underlying this change of policy was lacking. Dr. Florinsky's work, filling this gap, shows remarkable gifts of choosing the significant points from a medley of data almost untouched by the hand of any research student and of summarising them with such success that, in the scope of a volume of 250 pages, a concise history of the International unfolds itself clearly before the reader and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union under the Five Year Plan is succinctly presented.

It is the story of the rapid rise and fall of a world-wide movement and of the victory of national Bolshevism, with its stress on material reconstruction, over the flaming ideals of those who strove to place an international proletarian revolution before the building of socialism in their own country. What a contrast there is between the heyday of the world revolutionaries from 1918 to 1920 and the snubbed and neglected Communist International of today! In describing the "Sturm und Drang" period of the International, Dr. Florinsky gives some striking quotations which reveal the spirit and the hopes once animating that body, but now dead. Zinoviev, for example, wrote in the spring of 1919: "Now, as we write these lines, the Third International already has as its foundation-stones, three Soviet Republics—those in Russia, in Hungary, and in Bavaria. But no one will be surprised if at the moment when these lines appear in print we will have not three, but six or more Soviet Republics. Old Europe is dashing at mad speed towards the proletarian revolution. . . . The movement is proceeding at such terrific speed that we may say with full confidence, within a year we shall already begin to forget that there was a struggle for communism in Europe, because in a year the whole of Europe will be communist."

With the failure of these prophesies to materialise and with the end of the period of war communism and the beginning of the new economic policy, the flames of the Third International died down and its attitude toward the outside world was revised and brought more into relation with political and economic realities. This change of policy was recorded in the third congress of the Comintern which sat from 22 June to 12 July, 1921, and which revealed how the cold douche of outside events had sobered its leaders. No longer taking liberties with that most fickle plaything, the future tense, they came to two main conclusions. The first was the advisability of the slogan, "To the masses!" which meant the participation of communist organisations in the everyday petty struggle of the working class, the stubborn and systematic preparation of the masses for the coming struggle and the gaining over of the trade unions to communism. The second important conclusion was the recognition of the fact that a small minority of communists, not enjoying the support of the masses, could never hope to win a victory over the bourgeoisie in an open armed struggle.

The abandonment of the idea of immediate world revolution was closely connected with the Soviet Government's attempts to resume normal trade relations with the rest of the world, and from that moment the aims

of the Comintern were to come into conflict with the policy of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and of the foreign trade organisations. Except for a temporary outburst of revolutionary ardour in Germany in 1923, the failure of which dampened Comintern enthusiasm for work in Europe, the conflict resulted in the victory of the moderate elements who realised that a bold bid for revolution, heroic but fruitless, damaged and hampered the efforts of the Soviet Government to attain greater trade and greater security against war.

The *coup de grace* against the visionaries of the Comintern was dealt, however, by the doctrine of "Socialism in a single country," which Dr. Florinsky discusses with admirable lucidity. The clash of dogmas, which led to the triumph of Stalin's theory over Trotsky's "permanent revolution" and to the Five Year Plan, was destined to affect profoundly the career of the International. The policy of industrialising the Soviet Union, following upon the disastrous failure of the International in Asia and the ejection of Borodin from China, shifted the interests of the communist leaders from international to domestic problems and demanded closer co-operation with more advanced countries, in order mainly that machinery might be imported to further the Plan. The results of the new policy are patent in the reports of the sixth congress of the Comintern, which met in July-August, 1928, and which, though exuberant in its uncompromising revolutionary phraseology, in reality proposed aims of exceeding mildness. First of these aims was the defence of the Soviet Union, which leads Dr. Florinsky to comment: "the Comintern had itself largely degenerated or grown, from the militant and uncompromising general staff of the world revolution into an international organisation for the defence of the USSR." The Five Year Plan, therefore, based upon a need for peace and for co-operation with capitalist countries, spelled the doom of the Comintern, which is now "merely another government department, in the work of which few but its own employees take any interest." Indeed, far from desiring revolution in Europe, the Soviet authorities regard with anxiety the growth of the revolutionary movement in Europe.

Side by side with the eclipse of the Comintern goes the growing peace policy of the Soviet Union, the keynote of which is the determination to avoid war at all cost and the proofs of which are, first, the Soviet Government's remarkable spirit of conciliation in dealing with Japan, and, secondly, its extensive system of non-aggression pacts.

Such are the conclusions which Dr. Florinsky declares with boldness and confidence, and he is justified in doing so. The writer of this review has investigated, in Russia, the problem of the Communist International and has arrived at precisely the same results. The idea of world revolution has been driven out of the thoughts of the Bolsheviks by the continual thud of the hammers and by the roar of the engines of the Five Year Plan. It has been hidden away as one of the remote aims by the Communist leaders. The Comintern has been manned by nonentities who play little part in the real life of the country and who are little known to the masses.

Those wishing to know the reasons underlying this decline of the Third International and to study in brief outline the present trend of Soviet foreign policy will find in this short book material and views of great value.

GARETH JONES.

## RECENT RUSSIAN ACCESSIONS IN AMERICAN LIBRARIES

### (A.) NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.

ASIDE from current Soviet and émigré literature, secured as a matter of routine, the New York Public Library has in the last two or three years made important acquisitions of pre-revolutionary Russian literature. The most notable addition to the Russian collection is the private library of the late Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich, uncle of the last emperor, (purchased in 1931). It consists of some 2,200 volumes, chiefly files of government publications, some of the confidential, also important works on the dynastic, administrative and, particularly, military history of the Empire, and a number of books dealing with the institutions of the Orthodox Church. Another valuable accession is a group of some 500 books and pamphlets comprising for the most part bibliographical works and descriptions of the contents of public archives. The files of many official publications, scholarly reviews and collections of documents issued under the auspices of learned societies have been either completed or considerably augmented, and not a few new items in this field have been purchased. A further idea of the scope and character of the Library's recent accessions may be gained from the following brief list of individual titles: *Kamer-furyerski tzeremonialnyi zhurnal*, St. Petersburg, 1853-1916, 192 volumes; *Polnoye sobraniye zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii, Sobraniye I-III*, St. Petersburg, 1830-1916, 235 volumes; *Stenograficheskiye otchety Gosudarstvennovo Soveta*, St. Petersburg, 1906-1917, 21 volumes; *Sbornik geograficheskikh, topograficheskikh i statisticheskikh materialov po Azii*, St. Petersburg, 1883-1914, 81 volumes; *Trudy Imperatorskovo volnovo ekonomicheskovo obshchestva*, 1765-1898, 140 volumes; *Obzor vneshnei tergovli Rossii po yevropeiskoi i aziatskim granitzam*, St. Petersburg, 1803-1917, 63 volumes; Timm's *Khudozhestvennyi listok*; Nevakhovich's *Yeralash*; Viskovatov's *Istoricheskoye opisaniye odezhdyy i vooruzheniya Rossiiskikh voisk*, St. Petersburg, 1841-62, 30 volumes, with its sequels: *Peremeny v obmundirovani i vooruzhenii voisk Rossiiskoi imperatorskoi armii s vosshestviya na prestol gosudarya imperatora Aleksandra Nikolayevicha*, St. Petersburg, 1857-81, 11 volumes, and *Illustrirovannoye opisaniye peremen v obmundirovani i snaryazhenii Imperatorskoi Rossiiskoi armii*, St. Petersburg, 1898; *Obshchii gerbovnik dvoryanskikh rodov Vserossiskiya imperii*, St. Petersburg 1798-1836, 10 volumes. Eighteenth century books have figured rather prominently among the purchases, and last year there were acquired the following exceedingly rare specimens of early "Slavo-Russian" printing: *Apostol*, printed in Moscow in 1564, the first dated Russian book; one of the "anonymous" works which are



believed to have been printed in Moscow prior to 1564; *Apostol*, printed by Fiodorov in Lwow in 1574; one early work with an Ostrog imprint and two issued from Wilno presses; *Ucheniye i khulrost ratnovo stroyenia*, printed in Moscow in 1647.

A. YARMOLINSKY.

(B.) COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

THE most important recent acquisition of the Columbia University Library in the Russian field is the private library of the late Alexander Eugenievich Presniakov, Professor of History in the University of Leningrad and a member of the Russian Archaeographical Commission. This library consists of about 3,600 books and 2,200 numbers of periodicals, and includes, besides general historical works, monographs and collections of documents, the catalogues of many of the most important public archives of Russia. Still more recently, the widow of Dr. Samuel Abel, an alumnus of Columbia, has presented to the University her husband's private library of some 3,500 volumes, nearly all of them in the Russian language. The Abel collection is particularly rich in the field of *belles lettres*, and includes also a number of sets of periodicals of the Revolutionary period. In addition to these collections, the Library has recently made very substantial individual purchases and is engaged particularly in the rapid and systematic expansion of its collection of Russian public documents, originally established by gift of Count Witte. Among the most important items recently acquired through either gift or purchase are a complete set of the publications of the Imperial Society of Lovers of Early Russian Texts, 227 volumes; the *Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles*, 26 volumes; *Documents on the History of Southern and Western Russia*, 15 volumes; the *Russian Historical Library*, 39 volumes; the *Papers read before the Imperial Society of Russian History and Antiquities at the University of Moscow, 1846-1918*; the *Collection of the Imperial Russian Historical Society*, 148 volumes; the *Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire*, 235 volumes; a nearly complete set of the *Messenger of Finance, Industry, and Trade*, published in several parallel series, 1865-1917; substantial bodies of material on the liquor trade, and on the petroleum industry; and important serial publications of the Duma, the State Council, the Senate, the State Controller, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Justice, Education, Finance, Trade and Industry, and Agriculture, the Nobles' Land Bank, the Peasants' Land Bank, and other like institutions.

Through the generosity of Mr. Edward S. Harkness, a new library with a capacity for three million volumes is now being constructed at the University. When this new building is occupied, this will clear the way for the concentration of all the Russian books in a single hall in the old library, where special provision will be made for seminars and for the work of individual research students. For the special benefit of those beginners in the field of Russian history who are unfamiliar with the language, the

Department of Slavonic Languages has recently established an introductory course in the reading of Russian historical prose.

The students of the University have full access, of course, to the rapidly expanding Russian collection of the New York Public Library.

GEROID TANQUARY ROBINSON.

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